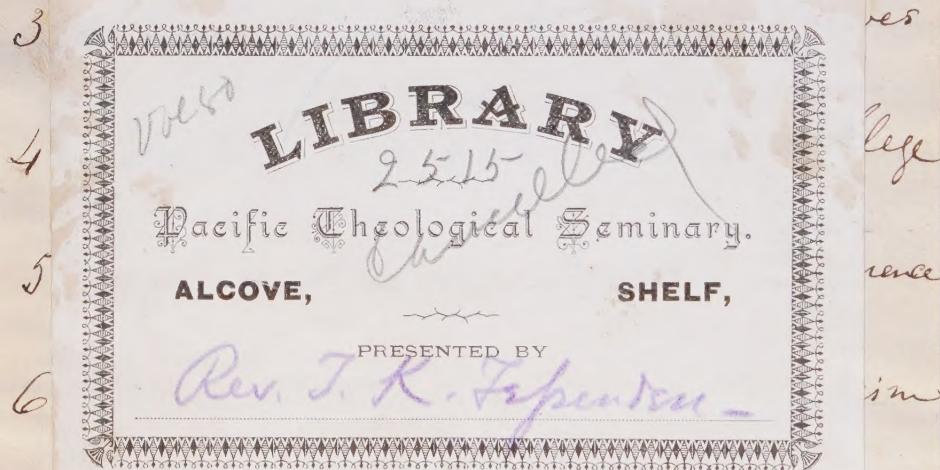






1834  
1 Park, Port & Bacon  
Before the Congregation! Union

2<sup>o</sup> Sturtevant & Stearns



7 Prof Long - Relation of Natural  
Laws to Theology -

8 Prof Lawrence? Inaugural

9 " " On Dr Woods Sermons

10 Symbolic Prophecy

11 The Time to favor Zion. Bickerton



- 12 Course of Reading
- 13 Princeton Repertory  
on Prof Park
- 14 " " on Dr Bushnell
- 15 Homer Ch Manual







ADDRESSES  
OF  
REV. DRS. PARK, POST, & BACON,  
AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
AMERICAN  
CONGREGATIONAL UNION,  
MAY, 1854.

PUBLISHED FOR THE AM. CONG. UNION.

NEW YORK:  
CLARK, AUSTIN & SMITH.  
BOSTON: S. K. WHIPPLE & CO.

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THE FITNESS OF THE CHURCH TO THE CONSTITUTION OF RENEWED MEN.

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AN

ADDRESS,


DELIVERED MAY 10, 1854, IN BROOKLYN, N. Y., BEFORE THE

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION,

BY

EDWARDS A. PARK,

ABBOT PROFESSOR IN ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.



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## THE FITNESS OF THE CHURCH TO THE CONSTITUTION OF RENEWED MEN.

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### ADDRESS.

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EVERY one is familiar with the distinction between the positive and the moral, as applied to laws and institutions. It is well to retain these terms in their distinct sense. There are positive enactments of men, which are not moral, having no intrinsic propriety of their own. On the other hand, there are moral duties which are not positively commanded by human governors. Under the divine administration, however, the positive and the moral do not entirely exclude each other. Laws and institutions which are positive, have an inherent fitness, although not so apparent as those which are moral. On the other hand, laws and institutions which are moral, receive the positive sanction of Jehovah, although, apart from this positive sanction, they have an authority from Heaven. It is, then, in a modified sense, that *divine* statutes are called arbitrary or thetical; their intrinsic value being just as real, but not as obvious, as is the inherent worth of moral statutes. Thus we denominate the Christian Sabbath a positive institution; for, independently of the divine command, we should be slower to detect its importance, than the importance of supreme love to our Maker. It has, however, a moral or philosophical basis. It is adapted to the constitution of man. It meets the wants of the human body, as well as of the intellect and heart. It is so conformed to the structure of a nation, that our political as well as ecclesiastical prosperity depends upon our observance of the Lord's day. We prove the divinity of the Sabbatical ordi-

nance from its harmony with our constitution, and we infer its harmony with our constitution from its divinity. The ministerial office, also, is prescribed in the New Testament, and it thus has a positive, which is of itself a sure basis. But this basis overlies a moral groundwork. The adaptation of the office to the very make of the soul is a signature of its divine origin, and is alike a cause and a proof of its irrepressible influence. The religious sentiment demands a consecrated order of men, who shall be an embodiment of the religious idea. It insists on having a specific organ of communication between earth and Heaven. By their very nature, men are impelled to demand such an organ for expressing their devotedness to a superior power; because, themselves being disturbed by the turmoils of life, they confide so much the more in a selected band who dwell amid the stillness of the temple, and are imagined to have the spirit, as they are seen to have the marks, of unusual godliness. On the same principle, it is an impulse of nature that men desire a special organ for receiving their choicest gifts from Heaven; because, immersed as men are in the cares of life, they need a class of instructors from whom they may gain spiritual wisdom. They have a faith in the teaching, instruction, and example of those who devote their life to the mysteries of religion, as they have a faith in the instructions of professed mechanics, or philosophers, or jurists. Thus, if the Christian ministry were not prescribed in the New Testament, it would still be a divine institution. The Church, likewise, by which, in its Biblical form, I mean a society of ostensible Christians, bound together by covenant, and meeting together for the worship of God, the observance of sacramental and other divine ordinances, is justly called a positive institution. It was formed by Christ in the most solemn, though simple manner. Unless it had been expressly organized by its Divine Head, the authority of it would have been less clear than it is now. But the Church has, moreover, a moral ground. It is



beautifully accordant with the aims and aspirations of a devout mind. It is admirably fitted to express many deep thoughts, to address many fine sensibilities. It is none the less, but all the more divine, because it satisfies a class of wants otherwise inappeasable. It is none the less, but all the more accommodated to our wants, because it is divine. The wisdom of God is manifest in setting an ecclesiastical structure over against our religious sentiments, and making the outward significant of the inward. The dignity of man is evident from the fact, that he needs a divine sanction for his religious observances, and these observances lose their power over him if they be separated from his Maker. A Bible, as a positive revelation, must be added to natural instruction. Faith must combine with reason. Men were made for God, and God adapts his administration to men. We may augment our reverence for the divine government, if we consider the tendency of its various institutes to ameliorate the character and condition of our race. Therefore it will be the aim of the present address, *to specify certain principles of the renewed mind to which the Church, particularly in its purest forms, is fitted, and by which it educates men.*\*

It is obvious, in the first place, that the institution of the Church is fitted to express and to exalt our estimate of the soul's value. We have a consciousness that the mind is of rare dignity. The refinement of its thoughts, the grace of its sentiments, the loftiness of its aspirations, the wide and ever widening reach of its powers, have given to men the irrepressible conviction of their being so formed that they

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\* When we speak of "the Church, *particularly* in its purest forms," we, of course, imply that there are *various* forms of a true Church, some less, some more in unison with the Biblical standard. They range from the Church of the Pilgrims to the Church of Rome, and as they include both of these, so they embrace the intermediate churches.

may even please God by worshipping him. They have aspired to be like their Maker. They have conceived of him as the model of which they are the images. Even the Greeks, with all their nice regard to decorum, fashioned their divinities in the likeness of the most athletic or graceful men. The Bible heightens, rather than lowers our estimate of the soul's worth. It assures us that our nature, in the person of our Redeemer, is elevated to a seat at God's right hand; that the sublimest act of Jehovah has been performed in his union with man; that the glory of the Most High is not fully revealed except in the atonement which has identified our history with his. Such is the soul. This is the inspired record of its greatness. Our sense of its value needs to be expressed. How shall we express it? Not by pyramids to its honor, not by proud monumental inscriptions, so well as by assemblies convened for the praise of the Infinite Spirit; by a visible communion with the Sovereign who treats us, although his subjects, as his children. Here is the true dignity of men, that they band themselves together in a brotherhood for the reception of spiritual influences from the Father whom they adore. There is no man so beggared, but he may join with the company of those whom God calls his chosen ones. Superior to our Saviour's miracles of causing the deaf to hear, and the blind to see, and the dead to rise, was the ordinance that the sublimest truths ever revealed should be proclaimed, in the most emphatic way, not to the rich only, but "*to the poor.*" And the Church, even the most corrupt, has in some degree accommodated itself to the ignoble in all ages, even in the darkest. In the Romish communion, monarchs are seen washing the feet of paupers. At the Reformation, Luther addressed the men of learning and the men of authority; but his main reliance was on the people. His hymns fascinated the men, women, and children, who sung them in the fields and streets; his musical compositions were suited to the taste of the populace, as well as the

amateurs. He thus moved the masses. Without them, the Electors themselves would have feared to go forward. Influence worked from the lower orders to the higher upward. More than once, when a Romish divine began to inveigh against the doctrines of the Reformation, the people, thronging the sanctuary, and strangely forgetting all decorum, would drown his voice in the congregational singing of some Lutheran and deeply evangelical stanzas. For whenever the mind of the populace is moved, it is like the sea and the waves roaring. For there is an energy found nowhere so stirring as in the soul when quickened by communion with kindred spirits, and when conventional restraints are laid aside, and each gives vent outright to all his emotions. Every Church organization should cultivate a high sense of Christian propriety, a punctilious courtesy, but it cannot be appropriate to the real endowments of a soul, unless it repose a confidence in the practical wisdom of that soul when renewed by its great Author. It must educate the affluent powers of the mind which was made that it may be developed. It must give to each mind its healthful activity, and thus pay homage to the grace that has enriched the humblest disciple; for what God hath honored, let none of his servants despise. A pure Church will not withdraw its trust from a man merely because he is a layman; for he is a *man*, and a renewed man is God's noblest work. Few divines had ever studied the Bible so profoundly as the Puritan fathers of New England; few had learned, from experience, such costly lessons as they on ecclesiastical government; few had studied so minutely the records of the Church, Ante-Papal, Papal, and Reformed; they perceived that the true ecclesiastical spirit, so far as it was a religious spirit, had fraternized with men in humble life; had lived in them eminently; and from them the great movements of the Church had received impulse. Hence, our Pilgrim ancestors characterized their Church system by



its brotherly regard for man as man, apart from his office. It is said, they had no ecclesiastical emblems; but the very words of their ecclesiastical documents were emblems of their respect for the dignity of a church composed of souls. Their councils did not cite a church, nor summon a church to appear before them, nor order a church to send up a document, nor direct a church to keep any human ordinance; but, if the church asked their advice, they gave advice in a respectful, and thus a manly style; if it desired them to recommend some remedy for a grievance, they yielded to the desire, and *recommended* measures which they were too deferential to enforce. They inserted in their form of church discipline a most beautiful provision illustrating their reverence for the mind of every visible Christian, even the most obscure. So they gave a meaning to the phrase, "*mother church*." If the humblest disciple be aggrieved by an act of his companions, he is entitled to the arbitration of a mutual council. A majority of the church have pronounced their decision against him, but it is possible that an ambitious or envious feeling controlled them. He is not to be summarily excluded from all hope;—he is a soul, capable of indefinite expansion; he has claims for relief if he be wronged; he is not compelled to bow down in silence before a priest who may be unhealthily elated with a consciousness of power, nor to abide by the decision of certain men around him who form one standing judicature, and who may be disqualified for a fair decision by partisan hopes or fears, by social affinities, by personal obligations; nor is he shut up to a trial before a state or national tribunal, who are commissioned without any view of their fitness for arbitrating in precisely such a cause, and who have neither the serenity nor the leisure to examine with care and faithfulness the claims of this one man, a stranger, whose interests are but a small item in the multiplicity and the novelty of the concerns pressing upon the mind of his numerous judges.

He refers his case to a few men, selected for their skill in exactly such arbitrations. Some of them are chosen by himself and are the especial objects of his regard. They are not compelled to conduct their investigations according to technical canons, but they are confided in as *men*, having good sense, able to meet an exigency, to examine *minutiae* for which there can be no fixed rule. Their candid discursive judgment is exercised and strengthened by being trusted; the community rely on their decisions more than on the decisions of a civil jury. A secular court has sometimes condemned a man whom an ecclesiastical Council has acquitted, and sometimes acquitted a man whom an ecclesiastical Council has condemned; but the decision of the Council has prevailed over that of the Court as more impartial, less embarrassed by conventional formalities, more consonant with the fair demands of a free mind. Such aid is provided for even the weakest of the elect saints. If he be refused the arbitration of a Council chosen mutually by himself and his accusers, still he is not crushed, the dignity of his immortal being is not forgotten; he is allowed to call in for himself the churches good and true in which he may confide; and their wisdom may sketch out a straight path through his perplexities. It has happened to me within a few days, to read several old documents written by the elder Edwards, and his friend Hopkins; and I have been touched by the moral sublimity of several councils which they attended, investigating for an entire day, and with more than a father's patience, the complaint of some hired laborer, and then adopting no magisterial tones, but adjusting their advice to his necessities, as if they were the exigencies of an empire. For the mind is an empire, and the care of its virtues is a more than regal responsibility. For what shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul! The sense of freedom nurtured by the congregational polity, is a fruit of no rampant Jacobinism, but of a brotherly interest in the mind for which Christ died. The spirit of our

communion is to leave the ninety and nine, and search for the one sheep lost upon the mountains. It remembers that whom the Father did foreknow, them he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, and whom he did predestinate, them he called, and therefore justified, and consequently glorified. Such minds, if not looked for and cared for by the church,—whom can they trust on earth? and whoso doeth an ill to the least of them, doeth the same ill to Him who includes them in himself. Hence it comes, that a church faithful to the spirit of our Puritan ancestors, to their history and their influence, is in its inmost heart a society for the extension of freedom. Even when it abstains from political disputes, it silently moulds political institutions. It is effective in its operations on the State, by simply enforcing the truth that whom the Son makes free, the same are free indeed.\* By the diffusing of a pure ecclesiastical system, we redeem the sons of God from captivity; for the genius of the system is, that all believers Greek or Barbarian, bond or free, are brethren, foreordained alike to reign as kings and priests unto God. It says to the slave, who has been refashioned in his Sovereign's image: If thy brother, who claims the ownership of thee, shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother; but if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more of thy fellow bond-

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\* "It soon became apparent (in the reign of Elizabeth in England), that they (the Puritans) tended naturally towards republicanism; for certain it is, that monarchy and episcopacy, the throne and the altar, are much more nearly connected than writers of bad faith or little reflection have sought to persuade mankind. Besides this insensible, but natural inclination towards democracy, which arises from the principles of a popular church government, there was another cause why the current should set in that direction; it was only under Commonwealths that the Puritans saw their beloved discipline flourish."—*London Quarterly Review*, vol. xvi., pp. 517, 518.



men; and if he shall neglect to hear them, tell his fault to the church, even if they be all his legal property; and if he neglect to hear *that* church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man, and whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven. No scheme of despotism can survive the liberalizing spirit of such a discipline. Here is compressed a political power, illustrating the foresight of him who buries the seeds of a lengthened history in one brief statute. The moral of this statute is, that all men whom the Spirit of the Lord has made free from sin, have essentially the same rights. Hence it was the opinion of Mr. Pitt, that if the Church of England had been efficiently established in the North American colonies, they would never have refused allegiance to the British crown. It was the policy of not a few English statesmen to introduce into these colonies an ecclesiastical regimen which would favour, rather than oppose a spirit of subjection to the father land. It is true that the advocates of our political freedom were found in sects of all names; some manly defenders of it arose from the Romish communion; still we are not arrogant in claiming, what our political and ecclesiastical opponents have often conceded, that the self-sustaining spirit of the New-England churches emboldened their members to resist the usurpations of Britain. Partly by the habit, which these churches fostered, of independent thought on the most momentous themes, the colonies were, in the significant phrase of Lord Clarendon, "already hardened into republics." The zeal for political freedom was quickened, perpetuated, and made authoritative by the religious sentiment, that a *mind* is too noble to be in bondage; that the law of God commands and the glory of God requires the free thought, free speech, and free act of a spirit which can be developed only by freedom. The temper of a New England church-meeting suggested the idea of the political town-meeting: and the principle of the town-meeting is the basis of our republic. One of our fond hopes for this republic is derived

from the affinity of its germinating law with that of the church brought over in the May Flower; from the known influence which that church organization had upon the colonial spirit and history, and upon the mind of the framers of our national Constitution,\* and from the faith that He who made the soul for unshackled activity in the right, will honor the principles of government established by himself.

It is objected that an ecclesiastical regimen which gives to the poorest man an equality with the richest, can never satisfy the select classes. The select classes?—Who are they? Such as dream of being elevated above their race in mere etiquette or office, and will not recognise the dignity of a soul as such? The church was never designed to satisfy men who give themselves up to the fripperies of fashion. If it complied with their instincts, it would forfeit its honor as a church. It might be respectable as an association for purposes of emolument or pleasure; but, as an ecclesiastical institution, it will lose the general homage, unless it exemplify the greatness of the mind that was in Christ Jesus, who for the rescue of our spiritual being, emptied himself of the divine glory. There is no right-hearted church that does not aspire to an honor above that of aristocratic fortunes, even the honor of being composed of men who are *men*, and who feel a meaning in the word, *human*. Other things may be admired for other reasons; but that it is the admirable *religion* which expresses and reveres the wisdom of God

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\* "Several years before the American Revolution, there was near the house of Mr. Jefferson, in Virginia, a Church which was governed on congregational principles, and whose monthly meetings he often attended. Being asked how he was pleased with their church government, he replied that it had struck him with great force, and interested him very much; that he considered it the only form of pure democracy that then existed in the world, and had concluded that it would be the best plan of government for the American Colonies." See *Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge*; Article "Congregationalists," prepared under the supervision of Drs. Emerson and Wisner. See also *Memoir of David Hale*, pp. 275, 6.

in appending to every, to one single moral act of a soul, an infinite retribution. Seldom has there been consecrated to the Christian ministry a mind so majestic as that of Robert Hall. When one of his blundering parishioners prayed for him in his own presence at a meeting of the church, and characterized him as deficient in certain ministerial qualifications, the great man, while grieved at the indecorum of his reprover, responded *Amen* to the prayer. The uncouthness of the suppliant was incongruous with the true order of the church; for the spirit of the church is that of an accurate taste. No one could reprobate it more than he whose faults were thus solemnly exaggerated; but the earthly shepherd was kindred with the Chief Shepherd of our souls; he devoted his vast learning and his large heart to the culture of minds needing improvement; he allowed no obliquities and no vulgarities of his flock to intercept his view of their substantial worth. Far from being ashamed of his people, he honored them as a royal priesthood; and while the nobility of England hung with delight upon his eloquence, and the doors of the Establishment opened for his admission, and the highest preferments awaited him there, he manifested the true nobility of a Congregational pastor, remembering that every soul is capable of infinite refinement, and the grandeur of the most accomplished mind is seen in its self-denial for the most necessitous. Our great office is to elevate men who *require* elevation. In this upward progress we must encounter many roughnesses; our sensibilities must be often pained; we must be conversant with those from whom some of our more delicate tastes would shrink; but the soul is worthy of all this cost; its education is more of a good than our aesthetic pain is an evil; and if the most refined of all men could live for three weary years with Judas Iscariot, we may join in conference and in counsel with the most uncultivated brother, who is also a brother of his Lord.



Secondly, the institution of the Church is fitted to express and to exercise our sense of individual responsibility. Intimate as our social alliances are, they can never eradicate our conviction that a soul was made for personal duty. In all his corporate relations, the moral sense of every man individualizes him. He reads : *Thou* shalt love the Lord *thy* God, with all *thy* heart. The promises are addressed to him in the singular number. Each man is to repent for himself, and to believe for himself in Jesus, who tasted death for every man as singly as if there were only one man to be redeemed. Every individual is to die on his separate couch, to be "in *his* narrow cell for ever laid," to rise again as if he were alone, to meet his Judge face to face, to enjoy his own bliss, or to endure his own woe. This consciousness of an insulated responsibility struggles to be expressed. The church was designed to body it forth and give it strength. Our Puritan fathers, remembering that there had ever been, and foreseeing that there would continue to be a tendency to merge the individual into an organism, and to forget all personal duty in the imposing form of an ecclesiastical unit, labored to restore the Biblical idea, that there is no real visible church, other than an assembly of individuals, covenanting to meet together for the purpose of discharging the most solemn personal duties to God, and to themselves in Him. Our history has proved, that this feeling of separate accountability, as it stands related to a conviction of the soul's worth, is a central wheel in the apparatus of philanthropic movement ; it starts as many benevolent enterprises as there are minds that recognize their private duties. Hundreds of eleemosynary institutions have sprung from this impulse of personal responsibility for the souls of men, and for their physical as conducive to their mental welfare. Our creed, representing the society of believers in one place as a church complete in itself, does not allow it to throw off upon a national organization any part of the responsibility for the moral culture of that one place. It thus quickens the vitality of the local

organism, and makes it a germ of philanthropic societies for the relief and the culture of man. It devolves the momentous interests of religion upon every member of that church as really as if he stood by himself. A monarch has said, "I am the State." But no Committee, or Session, or Pastor, or Board of Pastors, have a right to say: "We are the Church." It is a truism, that the church are the men who compose it. Every man has his own vote on every grave proposal. For this vote he must prepare his mind and his heart. He has a judgment and a conscience, and the command is to him, as to the Jewish king: "Be strong and show thyself a man." Tell thy brother's trespass not merely to the officers of the church, but to the church, is the rule; to all the men whom God has called into it, and who are therefore worthy of your confidence. Let each of these men recognize his obligation to study as a juror, or an ethical philosopher, the peculiarities of this individual wrong, the mode of reparation and rebuke. So are the varied sensibilities of every believer educated. What searchings of his own heart, what purifying of himself, what penitential faith have been quickened within him by this critical discipline. Cicero has discoursed eloquently on the advantages of a civil prosecution to the men who conduct it. The Apostles intended that the community of believers should be disheartened from sin by their mingling in the ecclesiastical reproof of it. Deep and prolonged reformations of the church have risen from this participating of its members in the solemn duty of adjudging the demerits of a fellow communicant. His heart has reflected theirs as face answereth to face in a mirror; and in censuring him they have learned, almost as from a sacrament, their own individual need of expiatory blood.

And when the discipline of transgressors is devolved upon the body of the communicants, it will be performed, unless the peculiar aptitudes of our organization be peculiarly neglected. If it rest upon the minister alone, there is danger that he will fear to encounter the titled dignitary

who has been accused of wrong. If the duty be assigned to an established board of officers, they have a strong temptation for recoiling from the peril. They are too few, too conspicuous, for a conflict with some erring brother who may enlist the sympathies of the people against them. But there is a courage in the assembly of the brethren. According to the very laws of mind, the individuals meeting as a band of equals, rejoicing in their responsibility to God and to God alone, stimulate and fortify each other. An absolute monarchy forbids the public convocation of a church as hazardous to tyrannical sway. Good men, in such a course, become valiant in resisting wrong wherever it be detected. A titled offender does not overawe the multitude of faithful men. What philosophy teaches, history confirms; the churches of New England, as compared with those of Germany, bear plain witness that the most healthful discipline is administered where every man is responsible for a voice in it.

Nor is it only administered—it is felt, when it assumes a popular form. The censure of a pastor is the word of but one man. A small number of church officers do not speak with the authority which comes from the people. There is a sometimes inexplicable power in the decision of a church, when every individual member of the church aids with deliberateness and with prayer in the forming of that decision. The New Testament bids the mass of believers to discipline an offender; because, if each of them seek to be led by the Spirit, the voice of them all is the voice of God. Good men, every one of them, searching for the truth candidly, dispassionately, cautiously, in reliance on the divine word, and in supplication for the divine wisdom, will not bind on earth one who is to be loosed in Heaven, nor will they loose on earth one who is to be bound in Heaven. Is it too much to anticipate, that all the brethren in the church will bring an earnest, candid, humble temper to the act of Christian discipline? This is their responsibility. Here is



their motive for scrutinizing their hearts, and educating themselves for the grave office assigned them. The theory is, that all ought to unite in the godly discipline of an offender, and a just theory helps to secure a right practice.

There is, too, an emphatic meaning in a popular vote, when taken, as it may be, as it always should be, as it sometimes is, to admit a member into the church; and every one who gives that vote is called to purify his own conscience, in fitting himself for his decision. There are various symbols of ecclesiastical dignity. The lofty arches and spires of the cathedral are said to body forth this idea. And other communions are said to be superior to our own in their symbols of the grandeur belonging to the assembly of the saints. But when an humble pastor in the obscurest hamlet propounds a man or a woman for admission to the elect society, and thereby invites all the communicants, if they deem it well, to examine the candidate, to propose objections or queries, and to prepare for a solemn assent or dissent, there cannot be a more eloquent emblem of the loftiness and the purity of the institution, guarded thus by all its members, every man responsible for watching at its gates, and securing the entrance of those only who are "the beloved of God," "called to be saints."

This very fact of the responsibility of each man to make the visible church, as far as he may, coterminous with the invisible church on earth, is the spring which historians have strangely failed to notice, but which moved our divines in the last century, to examine the laws of church membership with more thoroughness than these laws had been canvassed for ages before, and to unfold principles which have exerted a purifying influence on various other communions in this and in our mother country.

It is human nature—it is sanctified human nature—to feel the significance of the vote by which an assembly of men, moved of their own proper impulse, unawed by ecclesiasti-

cal patrons or ecclesiastical courts, invite a minister to preside over them. He feels that he has been *elected* to his genial work. The heart of the multitude comes out after him. With spontaneous acclamation they welcome him. He is the friend of their choice rather than acceptance. He educates the souls who have thus, by their independent love of him, received him into their affections. In qualifying themselves to elect a pastor, hundreds of laymen have read, and reflected, and reasoned more than in any process of their secular life.

It is objected—for a regimen that calls up every man to a grave work is not congenial with our love of ease, and will not escape opposition—it is objected that our ecclesiastical system is noisy and clumsy; every man must think his own thought and say his own word; every measure must wait for majorities of the people; and every individual among the people must be convinced in his own way, and at his own time. We are obliged to admit that no popular government can hush its processes into an absolute stillness. The training of the general conscience results in some debate. An enlightened vote is preceded by discussion. But the excellence of our system is,—it aims to confine our discussions within the lines of their appropriate usefulness. It disciplines the spirit of those men who are best fitted to examine the questions in debate, and who are so situated that they must act upon the questions. As we make every church responsible for itself, exempt from the authoritative interference of distant churches, we do not convulse the ecclesiastical bodies of the entire land by one village controversy. We do not arouse a national organization for the trial of some recreant bishop or deacon. Ours a noisy system? It is open, frank, ingenuous; it exposes whatever is wrong in its administration, but as it limits the number of ecclesiastical rulers, it tends to repress officious intermeddling, to hush a contention by lessening the area over which it can spread itself, to soften a controversy by exclud-

ing remote combatants from lordly participation in it. Ours a clumsy system? It is clumsy for the purposes which it was never intended to serve. It does not multiply facilities by which an ambitious man may climb into high office, or an envious man may depress his rival. In order to preserve the church pure, it holds out few glittering offices for ambition to seize at, and in order to keep the church peaceable, it discourages those national preferments which inflame the envy of ten men, while they gratify the pride of one man. Various controversies of the church have arisen, not so much from any serious question of doctrine, as from the official question, "Who shall be the greatest in the kingdom of God?" Various ecclesiastical trials have been prompted, not so much by a brotherly concern for the errors of the accused, as by an envious uneasiness at his high station. Therefore, our church system does drag heavily, when men would pervert it to rolling forward any scheme of personal aggrandizement or resentment. It was contrived for obstructing rather than accelerating the progress of selfish men. It does not transform ministers into lawyers, nor provide a machinery by which a manœuvring partizan may work at his will a complicated organization. If the church be designed for sustaining a secular or sectarian aristocracy, rather than for religious growth, our ecclesiastical regimen is a failure. We have an awkward apparatus for securing the co-operation of the multitude in a scheme of doubtful usefulness. Our measures must commend themselves to the good sense of good men, or they cannot be urged on by our system, misshapen as it is for ecclesiastical ambushes. The merit of a pure church is, that it aims in toilsome ways to elevate society in general by educating the particular men who compose it. Its end is gained not by authoritative movements of a hierarchy, but by the distinct efforts of each individual in rectifying his own perceptions, and purifying his own feelings by obedience to the truth through the Spirit. If these individualizing aims make the progress of

the church slow, they tend to make it sure. If our ecclesiastical plan stimulate every church member to inquire, "Lord, what wilt thou have *me* to do," it also favors a kind of discussion that heightens the dignity of a mind; and this discussion is the opposite of noise. The very clumsiness of its machinery for sectarian stratagems, is its expertness in training the individual for the world to come. Its distinctive and disciplinary motto enjoins one of the hardest, as it is one of the choicest of the virtues: "Let every church," as Paul writes of every individual, "study to be quiet and to do its own business; ambitious of no sovereignty over its neighbors, except the moral sovereignty of an example dissuading from pride, ostentation, selfish ease; persuading to self-rule, self-denial, condescension for the good of all men, devout fellowship with the brethren.

We often hear the inquiry, Why is it that so many churches, of so many sects, are eager to obtain teachers and pastors from the ecclesiastical institutions of New England? Doubtless, out of her rugged soil has come up some strength into the intellect of her sons. Her chill atmosphere has breathed an energy and a fortitude into their spirits. But there are Canadian winds which have not thus stimulated the Canadian mind. There is a soil in Nova Scotia, that might have been as disciplinary as the soil of Vermont. There are *varied* causes of this difference, and *among* these causes is the fact, that our churches have individualized their members, made them responsible for religious, the most invigorating and expanding of all duties, imparted to them spiritual wisdom in the committee-room, the conference-room, the business meetings of the brethren. These brethren have lived in an ecclesiastical school. They have drawn instruction from their ministers, as from doctors of educational institutes. They have not been bound down to rubrics and minute formularies, but have been thrown upon their own discretion. Their main book of discipline has been their own fair judgment, enlightened by the Bible. Instead of



being servants of arbitrary rules, they have exercised themselves to become men of principle. There is nothing that so arouses the activity of the intellect—nothing reaches down so far into the very elements of our being, as the conviction of our own personal duty in conducting the affairs of the kingdom of God on earth. The obligation to select wise legislators in the state, to secure the passage of wholesome laws, invigorates the mind less, expands the charities of the heart less, than the obligation to watch over, to advise, and to aid the assembly of the brethren. If the pious men in the provinces of France had been trained, during the last two centuries, under the discipline of New England churches, judging for themselves with regard to doctrine and practice, feeling themselves called of Heaven to give their individual advice, on their own individual reasons, at the assembling of the local church, and at the ecclesiastical council, there would have gone forth from these men an influence quickening the mind of the entire community, and the nation which is now too ill-trained for preserving a republic, would have been too well-trained to endure a usurpation. And it is partly for the maintaining of our political institutions, for the educating of our people to give an intelligent suffrage, that we desire to see the same ecclesiastical principles moulding the character of our Western States, as helped to form the intellect and conscience of our New England colonies.

In the third place, the institution of the Church is fitted to address and to quicken our sense of nearness to Jehovah. At a table in New York, Mr. Webster was once asked by the late Col. Stone, "What is the most important thought that ever occupied your mind?" After a pause, the statesman replied: "My individual responsibility to God." Our nearness to our Judge is seen in our accountability to him for the powers which he has given us, and upon which his eye is fixed ever. So far forth as we love him, we are united to him; he dwells in us by actuating our

wills ; we dwell in him by intercommunion with him. Our feeling that he is not far from any one of us, seeks expression in the church. Romanism has essayed to give it an outward symbol in the sacrifice of the mass. The Godhead abides in the sacristy, is touched in the bread, looked at in the wine. The Puritan fathers of New England, fearless as they were of men, trembled before God, and they adopted a form of church polity that bodied forth the idea of their ceaseless contact with Him. This polity exalts inspired men above the fathers ; because inspired men are the conduits through which the wisdom of Heaven flows down to us : it refuses to erect any creed to an equality, or an approach to an equality, with the sacred volume.

It has been objected to us, that we have no creed.—None ? We have a richer collection of creeds than is possessed by any other body of Christians on earth. And these creeds, being drawn out for individual churches, are apt to be more carefully and less superstitiously studied by the communicants to whom they are appropriated, than are any human symbols composed for promiscuous use. Such is the tendency, even if not the fact. And the substance of nearly all of these creeds is the same, their form only being diversified. Our generic confession of faith is the essence of our hundreds of local compends. The appositeness of our creeds is, that they are framed by the individual churches, as the prayers of the sanctuary are composed by the individual ministers who offered them. So are these creeds emblems of an immediate communion with God. They are drawn out of the Bible directly. Several of the early New England churches framed elaborate catechisms for themselves. There were other catechisms which these churches approved in the main ; but they chose to exhibit the idea that they derived their faith from no human reservoir, but from the fountain of all truth. The God of truth was near them and led them into the knowledge of himself.

Our ecclesiastical system honors the Christian ministry as

a divine institution. It is divine as the New Testament. It is divine as the religious sentiment itself. It is divine as the human soul. It was no more devised by man than his constitutional instincts were devised by him. It is a characteristic of the Puritan system to honor the ministry as an exponent of the will of God. But this system is careful to bedizen the ministry with no artificial splendors, that will intercept the clear view of Him whom it was intended to serve. Our system fears to accumulate those titles which flatter vanity and ambition; for a vain man cannot preach with effect, and an ambitious man cannot preside over the church with safety. The epithets Very and Most Reverend, His Holiness, His Grace, Father in God, Head of the Church, are epithets which, like stars, spangle until their effulgence is drowned in the brighter light of the Sun of Righteousness. We fear, also, to multiply the official gradations of the clergy, lest the parade of clerical ranks bedim our view of the Real Head of the Church. All our offices are to be expressive of His inworking. We believe that order is Heaven's first law; that some are and must be greater than the rest; so we think more of the distinctions made by God, than of those made by accidental or capricious votes. He gives to one man especial wisdom; we defer to the wisdom as coming from the Most High. He gives to another man richness of grace; we prize the gift as honoring the Giver. His elect will be *discovered*, not by the decision which a corporation of ecclesiastics may happen to make, but by the tenor of the life which we perceive that they lead, day after day. The structure of our system prompts us to note all worth, to revere God who reveals himself in his elect. We believe in the formal ordination of the clergy; Robert Hall never was ordained, but in his later years, he regretted the omission. John Foster ridiculed the practice of ordaining the clergy, and would not condescend to participate in it. Here he erred; for the rite is an appropriate and an apostolical method of illustrating the idea, that a pastor is called of Heaven to a great work, and is to be acknowledged as a

co-laborer with Christ. But our creed recognizes in ordination no talismanic efficacy, and teaches us to value more that daily ordination from God, which we discover in the devout life of his ministers, and which is the substance, while the other is but an appropriate form.

It has been objected to our church order, that one of our pastors has as much authority over his people as a pastor has anywhere. He has authority among those who witness his good works, which ought to be revered as prompted of Heaven; he has influence over men who know of his comprehensive views and large heart, which illustrate the generousness of his Redeemer; he has power, for his character is power, and the tendency of our system is to develop and to reveal personal merit; and this personal merit, as it cometh down from above, is the great ordination of which the outward ceremony is but a fitting shadow. It has been further objected, that we, as well as other churches, have an order of bishops, superior to the common clergy. But we have none made by artificial enactment, or human manœuvre. If the aptitudes of our system be regarded, our bishops are those whose learning and meekness and zeal and wise counsels and unspotted life have raised them to their chairs; and their chairs hold out as long as these good qualities last, and no longer. Whenever and wherever we have men deserving especial reverence, then and there, if the capabilities of our church system be filled out, we have bishops, consecrated by Him who gave the virtues which we revere. They have a divine authority, flowing through its normal channels. The bishopric of one man may be confined to one topic, that of another man to a different theme; here it may be developed in scientific discussion, there in practical wisdom; by one man it may be retained many years, by another occasionally for a few months. Nathan Strong was a bishop in sterling sense; Jeremiah Hallock was a bishop in simple-hearted piety; Timothy Dwight, in the education of youth; Samuel Worcester, in the cause of



Missions. It is the genius of our system, to detect that bishopric which the laws of God in nature and in grace have instituted, and to revere it more than all conventional dignities, and thus to honor the Providence which bestows upon men gifts differing as the stars differ. It was their virtues and endowments, rather than their superiority in office, that distinguished Peter and John from their fellow ministers; so has it been with all successors of the Apostles.

We have heard it again objected, that in fact, though not in form, we have ruling elders in every church. But we reply, that they are daily appointed of Heaven and not by human votes cast once for all. These adventitious votes do not remain permanent indices of the varying merit that descendeth from God. So far forth as a man is known to have a good judgment, and a pious aim, he will be a ruling elder in a congregational church, unless the historical spirit of that church be thwarted. His eldership comes, or ought to come, day by day from his seen and felt worth. He rules, yet not he, but the grace of God that is in him. If our churches remember the distinctive idea of their polity, they will respect the opinion of a wise man, in office or out of office, rich or poor. It is a reverence not for the man, but for the wisdom that is an expression of heaven. Richard Mather said, that the decision of a council has just as much force, as there is force in the reason for that decision. And on the same principle, it is the aim of our institutions, an aim not fully reached, to clothe our ruling elders whom God has elected unto Christian wisdom, with just as much authority as their varying character deserves, no more, no less. Their office is revered as an index of their merit, and their merit is venerated as an emanation from him, who is to be recognised in all the excellences of his children.

It is objected, on the other hand,—for the complaints against our system are of Protean diversity,—that our ecclesi-

astical regimen is too democratic. It is no more democratic than is the government of Jehovah. It aims to be his government, conformed to the principles which he has exposed in his word and in his works. His laws are intended to permeate our laws. He makes every man responsible to Heaven. He makes every one of his own children a kingly spirit. Is this an unfitting democracy, which exalts a soul to its true elevation, and makes the Monarch of Heaven supreme? What is meant by the charge that Congregationalism is of a levelling tendency? That it levels the character of good men upward, by treating them as the elect, precious? So does the Bible. That it gives to every man a vote in the church? But, if he be fit to remain in such an assembly, he is fit to vote in it. The idea of the church is, that it is composed of the best men, τῶν ἀρίστων, and hence it has been often called a moral aristocracy. Can our system be reproached as an unduly levelling system, when its aptitude is to honor the Most High, in paying deference to his children, and in elevating the church even as it is elevated in the doctrine of the atonement. By inspired men this church is denominated "the family of Jehovah,"—"his sons and daughters," "the flock of Christ,"—"he lays down his life for the members of it;" "the bride of Christ,"—he encloses it in his tenderest love; the very body of Christ,—and no man despiseth his own flesh; the temple of God,—He dwelling in it ever. Is it an unbiblical democracy, then, to repose confidence in the peculiar people of the Most High, and listen to the voice of every one of this royal generation? What is meant by the charge, that we give to the masses too much power over the cultivated few? The masses of good men, honored for the praise of Him who chose them in Christ Jesus, who are termed 'the sanctified in Christ Jesus, members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones,'—these men too much honored? The cultivated few, unshielded?—the very persons whom it is the nature of the regenerate masses to

honor! These masses love to substitute the erudite ministry for the gew-gaws of Romanism. Intelligent defenders of the faith!—God is their shield evermore, for he gathers around them the multitude whom he has sanctified. The responsibility of the church to Jehovah is the protection of the clergy. No mere theory is this, no merely ideal representation. Our churches are not without stain. They do not perfectly discriminate between good and ill-desert. But they do illustrate the tendencies of our ecclesiastical freedom. The instances are rare, in which a layman complains of oppression, or a clergyman of injustice. The exceptions are noised abroad, the general rule is apt to be unobserved. It is the characteristic of an untitled multitude, meeting together on terms of equality in one place, for expressing their love of God, to be accommodating, kindly, charitable; and, anomalies apart, for all rules have their deviations, there is more reason to fear that superior minds will have too great, than too little influence over the mass of the faithful. A frequent complaint has been that our laymen pay too great homage to expert metaphysicians and accurate philologists. It is true, that we do not exalt the artificial prerogative of church officers; but we assign to them all the power which the laws of Heaven give them, all the power which instructors can exercise over the public intellect familiar with the Gospel, over the public conscience sensitive to personal responsibility, over the public will intent on obeying Christ as supreme. Our principle is, certainly it ought to be, we do injustice to the very genius of our ecclesiastical regimen unless it be our devout aim, to stimulate the religious enterprise of a minister, so that he may wield a godly influence over discerning men, to discourage him from relying on any dominion that comes from a church clique, or from side-long appliances; on any adventitious lordship, for this lordship endangers his mind and heart as well as the heritage over which he would bear sway. He becomes the abler and the better man, if he be

compelled to rely for influence on the demonstration of the Spirit, and if his power come by the laws of the human soul and of divine grace ; it being then not *his* power, but that of the Holy Ghost.

In the fourth place, the institution of the Church appeals to, and bodies forth, our love of divine truth. Nearness to God endears his word to us. Error will never satisfy the intellect of even unrenewed men. It impoverishes their sensibility also. The truth which they reject has a strange fascination over them. They gaze, and admire, and hate. All along they have fears, perhaps undeveloped to themselves, that the doctrines which they try and pretend to disbelieve are right. They will often resolve never to hear again a teacher of the simple gospel. But they will hear him again, and re-resolve to hear him no more, and then will listen to him anew, and make another vow to absent themselves, but still they come. The moral preferences of regenerate men combine with their religious instincts in clinging around the truth for which the soul was made. These men have felt its power, and therefore believe it; they need no sign-manual to testify that the medicine has a sanative energy. They have tried the medicine, and it has cured them, and they know its genuine virtues. They need no certificate proving that the key will move through the wards of the lock. They have used the key, and it has turned the bolt, and they are sure of its fitness. Loving this truth they long to band themselves together into a society for celebrating it. The church is that society. It honors the reason, judgment, conscience of men ; and the doctrines of the gospel afford the noblest exercise for all our mental powers. It is concerned for the mind of posterity, and therefore stimulates us to search for principles which will be healthful to future generations. It reverences the Bible as the book exactly adapted to the wants of all men in all times ; but the very style of the Bible awakens a curiosity



to make advance in religious knowledge. The church was founded for the honor of him who is the objective truth. Its primitive usages were intended to make the right faith prominent. They rendered meek and unobtrusive service to the truth. The very badges of the church are means of sober instruction. They are not mesmeric charms, but embodiments of reasonable biblical ideas. The outward structure of the church ought to be eloquence itself. The rite of baptism is a lucid exposition of the fact, that we are sinners by nature and need a thorough purifying—a radical transforming of the heart. It is not a mere artificial remembrancer of regeneration, but a vivid portraiture of it, a visible discourse upon it; not a rationalistic discourse, but one which the Spirit of Jehovah has framed and will bless. He is especially present at the baptism. The Lord's Supper is an eloquent exhibition of the doctrine, that we need a costly atonement for sin—that the body broken and the blood shed are essential for the possibility of our escape from penal justice. This ordinance is not a bare mnemonical sign of the atonement, but a clear elucidation of it, a sermon addressed to the eye as well as to the ear; not a rationalistic sermon, but one which the Head of the Church has indited and will honor. He has an especial, a real presence at the sacrament. His truth is consubstantiated with our souls, transubstantiated into us. Our ecclesiastical system has been stigmatised as degrading the sacraments. It does exalt them as edifying portraitures, accompanied with a divine sanction, of doctrines so great that merely articulate language fails to impress them upon the heart. A love of these doctrines is fostered by all the appropriate acts of worship; for worship is not a simple recumbency on velvet cushions, an easy sentimentalism, a gentle movement of the heart's surface, a routine of genuflexions and bows and crosses; it is a manly and solid and severe thing, a stirring of the depths of the soul, a consecrating of the intellect, and feeling, and will to the Most High; it is an outpouring of love not to the letters

that compose the name of Jehovah, but to himself, in the impenetrable depths of his being; and it implies that we pay to him an intelligent homage, that in our finite way we toil to comprehend a portion of the length and breadth of his excellence. A pure church will make the house of God a sanctuary for thought, not display; a temple, where truth reigns in her unveiled majesty, her figure ever foremost, uppermost; all outward observances being like glass, attracting no attention to themselves, but inviting the worshipper to look through them to the doctrine that lies behind them. A spiritual church will introduce few ceremonies, and make them expressive of good sentiment; a multiplicity of forms being like the multiplication of emphatic words, covering the idea which ought to stand up and stand out, through and above all formalities. The incense ascending in graceful wreaths from the Romish altar rises into a cloud, and hides from our view the very truths which we most need to see. The preaching, and the prayers, and the sacraments lose their simple dignity in a service overloaded with ornament, and encompassed with superstitious theories. A well ordered church allows no ceremonial so cumbrous as to indispose the wearied observer for reflecting on the divine mysteries; so protracted as to crowd out the appropriate expositions of sacred writ; so unbending as to preclude the due flexibility and fitness of thought and feeling; so heterogeneous as to prevent a wise unity in the exercises of a single Sabbath. A well-balanced church makes the liturgical services conspire in alluring the worshipper to a study of the truth, and makes the unfolding of the truth a stimulus to the hearty interest in prayer and praise. It commends a large variety of doctrine, and dissuades the preacher from a monotonous reiteration of thoughts as pertinent anywhere as here, at any time as now. It requires him to imitate in his addresses the ever fresh and ever salient style of the divine word; not always to preach in the hortatory way, but sometimes; not always to discuss doctrine, but sometimes; not

to discuss it philosophically always, but only when he can thereby corroborate the faith of his people; not to discuss it philologically always, but only when the words of inspiration may become thereby the more impressive on the heart; to make the epistles of Paul a model for some discourses, and the Psalms of David a model for others; to preach now historically, and then biographically, if abstract statements fail to educate the will of his hearers; to venture on a long sermon, if a full treatment of his theme demand length; to give a political sermon if the godliness of his people need this practical turn; to cast out of the church all species of error, by all appropriate means, as our Saviour expelled from the temple-porch money-changers and market-men, and sheep and oxen; to become all things to all men so that all may be variously trained; the reason strengthened, for what so invigorates the mind as the truth for which it was created; the conscience illumined, for how can we enlighten the moral faculty unless by the doctrines which emanate from the Light of the world; the sensibilities refined, for what influence is so spiritualizing as that growing from the character of God in Christ; the will regulated, for nothing gives life and strength to virtuous principle but the word of Jehovah applied by his Spirit. This was the wisdom and the taste of our fathers in adapting the usages of the church to the exact, diversified, complete illustration of the truth; in exalting the pulpit so that the altar may become the more sacred; identifying the prosperity of the church with the moral culture of its individual members. Our ecclesiastical system depends upon sound doctrine; it cannot flourish unless good and practical thought flourish with it. Of set purpose it sweeps from under the minister a gorgeous ceremonial, on which he might love to lean. With a wise design, it takes from around him an authoritative coterie, who will hold him up when he is unable to stand up. It leaves him to the truth, and the God of truth. His life depends upon his

evangelical sentiment. If he fail to plant his feet upon right doctrine he falls; and there is no redemption for him while in the wrong. It requires that its ministers be men, and thus stimulates them to vigorous thought. Still more does it require that they be masters of the truth and enamored of the truth. It thus illuminates the intellect for the sake of purifying the heart. Our associations of ministers are designed for communion with the divine word. The time given to them is not consumed in adjusting a church machinery, in debates on forms of order, rules of business, in sharpening the forensic acumen, perfecting the tactics of ecclesiastical warfare; but in prayer to God, in examining his doctrine, in the softening, mellowing influences of Christian meditation. Hence, our clergymen are seldom adepts in strategy; but, if they move in the lines drawn out by our church government, they will be men of independent thought, and of religious growth. They have no bands of a national organization holding them together when the truth does not cement them, but they fly apart, unless reciprocally attracted by the principles of the Gospel.

This is said to be the weakness of our ecclesiastical structure; it will not stand of itself; it might endure while the apostles touched the springs of pious thoughtfulness, or while the stern mind of the Puritans bore rule; it might work well if the interest of men in the truth were always fresh; but it cannot outlast the whirl of steamboats and railroads, the fascination of orchestras and operas. It must be a provincial and evanescent polity. So we are told. But wherein we are weak, there our strength lies. We cling to the system which tends to prolong the solemn life of the Puritans and the Apostles. We prefer the church whose body does not move when the soul of it is gone. We choose to be shut up to the faith, and not to succeed if that faith fail. Thus does our interest allure us to our duty. Thus does our success require that we become the more firmly rooted and grounded in right principle; and if we hold out in putting the



truth into the foreground, and all human authority and human formularies into the background, our distinctive polity will last as long as the divine word itself, for which, as a picture, this polity is a fitting frame. For in despite of the entire sinfulness of men, the substance of the Gospel will arouse them, and if enforced by his grace, will subdue them. The church founded upon the simple Gospel is built upon a rock, and the constitution of the soul is predestined to come up for its defence. That ecclesiastical structure which sets off this truth to the best advantage will be prized like Doric architecture, on account of its very simpleness. The adventitious power of a diocesan may drive some men into the sanctuary; the vivid thoughts of the Gospel will draw more. We cannot overawe true minds, for any length of time, by a display of ecclesiastical authority; but they will be overawed by fair exhibitions of God's electing love; his sovereign, more than imperial sway; his justice that is the very archetype of majesty. We cannot long attract men to the temple by a painting of the murder of Abel; but they will feel a deep, though a painful interest, in intellectual, and therefore the more quickening descriptions of the far-reaching tendencies of sin, as illustrated in the fall of Adam, and as the depth of its guilt is measured by a woe never to end. The artistic, operative intonations of a choir may ravish the auditors with an ecstasy as high as it is evanescent; but the clear proofs of the necessity of an instantaneous regeneration, the honest, earnest entreaty to immediate repentance will give them a healthier and more enduring stimulus. Wise men will tire at last of a splendid pageantry in the house of God. But there is one truth, embracing in itself a rich circle of kindred doctrines, which will ever take hold of men, even when they would if they could escape from it, and the more simply it is presented, so much the firmer is its grapple upon the mind. Those deep laws which the Author of our being has prescribed for our moral action, will ever be unmet, unsatisfied, without a vivid idea of the

*atoning sacrifice.* It is the Lamb slain, and there is no other name, no ceremony, no official privilege, given under Heaven among men whereby the cravings of their inmost heart can be appeased. Sooner or later, if Christ be lifted up in the sanctuary, he will draw all men unto him. The thoughts involved in his life and his death, are the permanent attractions to his temple; and any rites, forms, order, or etiquette, that are obtruded before these thoughts, will deter men from the worship of him who is a Spirit, and is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

In the fifth place, the institution of the Church harmonizes with our desire of uniting a conservatism of the truth with an activity in diffusing it. There is a diseased conservatism, which represses all zeal in disseminating the right faith. There is a kind of religious activity, which overlooks the importance of sound doctrine. One distinctive excellence of the system which our fathers borrowed from the Apostles is, that it moves us to retain the truth inviolate, and also to spread it through the world. It aims to gain these ends, by giving a due influence to an instructed and a pious laity, and the wants of such a laity are themselves conservative of right doctrine. It makes the pastors dependent in the last resort upon their flock. The power of selecting and dismissing a minister rests ultimately with the people. A minister cannot be forced upon them by an outward authority, overriding their own tacit or expressed will. They may bind themselves to certain conditions which afterward they must respect. They may be advised, but cannot, in the final issue, be governed by an ecclesiastical council. If the hungry sheep look up and are not fed, they may obtain another shepherd. No creed can be imposed upon the people, no brother can be excommunicated from their fellowship, more than be introduced into it, not even a new collection of Psalms and Hymns can be substituted for the old, no church scheme can be consummated, without

the individual votes of the people. And the people having this power, are disciplined for its wise use. The adaptations of our ecclesiastical regimen are perverted, unless the laymen, who are the depositaries of this authority, are trained to use it with discretion. Knowing the worth of their souls, they are incited to examine for themselves the truth which is revealed for their study. Feeling their individual responsibility to God for their belief, they are induced to search the Scriptures daily, whether the sermons which they hear be true. Hence, they derive a meditative faith, through grace acting upon them by these means. That is no tenacious faith which is received passively, and comes from a fear of a hierarchy; but that is the masculine belief, which comes of the Holy Ghost in the processes of careful thought and ripe intelligence. That is not *faith* which is transplanted from one mind into another, but that is faith which springs up and takes root, and grows in each individual mind under the dews of heavenly grace. When the clattering of church machinery does not drown the still small voice of truth for the ears of the people, when the brilliancy of an outward ceremonial does not blind their eyes to the meek visage of the Gospel, they learn to hold fast the pure word for its own sake. They are often ill fitted to analyse the scholastic theories of clergymen; but they well know the substance of the Gospel, and this they bind close to them; for it has comforted them at the birth of their children, or at the burial of their dead, or in some nameless peril or woe. They have a complexity of individual interests, and all these interests converge upon the Gospel. Their homely, but lasting, attachments are fastened upon it. When one man is alienated from the right way, the multitude are not; they have no spirit of caste; they are ill-adapted to form a cabal. If the clergy were separate from the people, and independent of them, their clerical profession would expose the adepts in its mysteries to a clannish influence. They would be tempted

to combine with each other, and all to go where a chief man goes. They would be liable to the seducement of a mistaken philosophy, which might have been rebuked by the round-about sense of godly laymen. They would be ensnared by poetical vagaries, which the stern discipline of practical life might have dissipated. Hence, our church system unites the minister with his people in such an interdependence, that he finds their cordial philanthropy flowing up into himself, even as the head is nourished by the heart's warm blood. This philanthropy helps to regulate his speculations, make them true to the wants of the soul, and true to the volume which was adapted of Heaven to these wants. If the clergy were independent of the people, they would often be misguided by partizan influences; and religious parties are in danger of distorting some part of the comprehensive truth. They seize upon an insulated doctrine, magnify it out of its just proportions, and each faction is repelled from the other into some extreme views. The laymen, however, when our polity has its normal influence upon them, are not so easily pushed into sidelong measures. They must perceive some broad, tangible good to be gained, or they will not rally around a turbulent dogmatist. If a false doctrine, or a clannish scheme begin to fascinate the community, every distinct church is a new obstacle, and in the church itself, every distinct member is a new impediment to the proposal, unless the proposal have some palpal and sterling merit. Hence, it is notorious, that when false doctrine has inundated the church, it has flowed in from the clergy, and not from the people; and when the people have been trusted with power commensurate with their spiritual culture, they have stimulated their pastors to a maintenance of the simple truth. Our ecclesiastical system educates the people *for* their responsibilities, and *by* their responsibilities; it honors them in *training* them, and in the *purpose* for which they are trained. It thus gives them a conservative influence, and prompts the clergy to respect that influ-



ence. Accordingly, we find that an immense majority of the churches standing on the republican platform, have retained the evangelical faith; while the larger part of those which have been ruled by a hierarchy, have lapsed into error. A small fraction of the Church of England, with its Calvinistic creed and its skilful apparatus for enforcing it, is designated by the epithet evangelical; while the Congregationalists of England, with all their aversion to œcumenical symbols, are a model of unity in the evangelical belief. If the pastors were to abandon their faith, the people would stand fast upon it. It has been often objected, that among the fifteen hundred and twenty-one churches in the State of Massachusetts, one hundred and seventy-two are Unitarian.\* Still, Unitarianism has not flourished so vigorously in this Puritan commonwealth as Deism has flourished under a more concentrated church government; not so extensively as—in the opinion of wise observers—it would have prevailed under any other than our free polity; for if the churches of Massachusetts had been amalgamated into one state confederation, it is supposed that nearly all of them would have gone, where the few dominant spirits had led the way, and the congregationalism of that venerable commonwealth would probably have been—what the Presbyterianism of England now is—penetrated with Socinianism. The gracefulness of Buckminster, the amenity of Greenwood, the sober sense of Ware, the wit of Kirkland, the genius of Channing, the strength of Theophilus Parsons, himself a host, the fame of the University, the princely fortunes of the metropolis, would have carried the churches headlong, unless every church had been trained to stand on

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\* In the State of Massachusetts are four hundred and seventy-three Unitarian congregational churches, two hundred and fifty Baptist churches, two hundred and fifty-five Methodist, one hundred and seventy-two Unitarian, and three hundred and seventy-one churches of other denominations—Episcopal, Catholic, Presbyterian, &c. Nearly one-third of the churches, then, are orthodox congregational, and nearly half of all the churches in the state unite the orthodox faith with the congregational polity.

its own foothold, and feel its responsibility to God rather than to the dignitaries of the state. The life of the churches in Massachusetts, after the irruption of Unitarianism, when contrasted with the death-like torpor of the Prussian churches after the irruption of Rationalism, affords an indisputable argument for the policy which trusts the conservation of the truth to a free people. It is a note-worthy fact, that those churches of New England, whose congregationalism was the most unshackled, remained the firmest against the Unitarian onset. While ecclesiastics, who had a centralized government, were oscillating or yielding, the Baptists, who stretched Congregationalism into Independency, stood erect in the faith. The late Prof. Edwards, a divine eminent alike for his candor and accuracy, remarked, at the close of an extensive tour: "Throughout all my travels in Europe and in the southern states of our own country, I have never heard the doctrines of total depravity, regeneration, atonement, sovereignty, decrees, and eternal punishment, proclaimed in so pungent and uncompromising a style, as I have ordinarily heard them among the congregationalists of our north-eastern states."

The world has heard of New England divinity; and the aim of this divinity has been, as its result has been, to maintain and to perpetuate a consistent Calvinism. Certain technical terms it has exchanged for others more strictly English. It has introduced some sharp distinctions where the words had been vague; but the substance of it is the old idea, which, in the main, the fathers mean to express, and around which the minds of good men have always clustered; this idea made more definite, more congruous with the system of which it forms a part. That word *sin*, which had been loosely employed to denote various kinds of evil connected with the transgression of the law, is used by New England divines in a more exact way, and limited to voluntary disobedience. That word *punishment*, which had been indefinitely employed to signify all the sufferings resulting

from sin, is used by New England divines in a more precise sense, and limited to the pains which express the divine and human disapproval of the sufferer's personal transgression. In the more guarded language of Dr. Dwight, the main spirit of his theology would have been sanctioned by Turretin himself; and in the more ambiguous phraseology of Turretin, his real meaning would, in the main, have been sanctioned by Dr. Dwight. The Edwardean definitions were introduced not to subvert the substance, but to conserve the substance of the old Calvinistic faith, and to prolong its influence over the mind of an intelligent community. The people, intent on having a creed that may be preached to them, impatient of any religious system that must be hidden under a set of obscure technical terms, have emboldened, and even required their ministers to make the Edwardean analyses, and thus to portray fully and boldly the ancient faith in a form more consonant with its ruling spirit, and with the idioms of our speech; and this is a sound conservatism. Not a conservatism of words that have changed their meaning—not a conservatism of jargon, which the men who use it do not themselves understand, and for which they wrangle, because they are perplexed about it, but a conservatism of the *truth*, the essence of the same truth to which the sensibilities of good and plain men will ever cling.

When President Edwards promulgated his views, the clergy opposed him. His friends were few, his foes were the vast majority of staid and gentlemanly divines. Had he and they been trained under an authoritative organization of churches, there is little doubt that he would have been summoned before their tribunal, and in its summary action, every member of the court inflaming every other, and all of them in a state altogether unfit for grave deliberation on intricate themes, he would have been condemned, and in all likelihood a new denomination would have been started, and its differences from the old would have been exag-

gerated, and its distance from the old would have been looked upon as a great gulph. But he appealed to the sober men of the country, wherever he could find them; they reflected, each man for himself, and some approved, others doubted; and the more part could see no reason broad enough to warrant their refusal of fellowship with him; and so the truth increased mightily. His friend Hopkins was thus encouraged to show his opinion. The clergy resisted him. He was reasoned against and rhymed against. If he and his enemies had been drilled under a concentrated government of churches, he also, in all likelihood, would have been summoned for trial, and in the haste and heat of his judges, each one igniting the other, and disqualifying the other for a patient study of his analyses, he, too, would have been the cause of a new explosion in the church, one fragment repelling, and repulsed by its antagonist. But he sought out the calm thinkers of the land, fit readers, though few; he sent his volumes to the farmers and the merchants. They read; each man by himself reflected; some received, others disowned his views; and the majority chose to see them discussed, rather than to see the church divided;—and so again, the word of the Lord grew. The essential spirit of Calvinism made a bold stride. The friend of Hopkins, Emmons, was thus emboldened to publish his investigations. He had more clerical friends than either Edwards or Hopkins; but they were less numerous than his opponents; and if a church court could have seized upon him, he would have been crushed under its quick-rolling wheels, and schismatics would have been multiplied, and the denomination would have again been riven asunder. But he knew the patience of the people, their proverbial slowness to condemn any man who *means well*, and is *about* right; and he threw his sermons among them; they looked and pondered; many disbelieved; some approved; but the dominant opinion was, that a sound creed would be preserved by candid thought longer than by judicatories and schisms; and thus again the old faith of the church was yet



more surely imbedded in the heart of the people. Once and again argument has been followed by reply, and this by rejoinder, and these have called out the truth, and called up her friends; and free minded men have rallied around her, and graced her triumph as she has marched forward scorning to drag bound captives in her train. Men who are interested in the truth will be sensitive to its differing phases, and sensitive men are eager to debate, and if multiplied controversies will save the church from rupture, let them come; there is evil commingled with them, but they may deliver us from a sadder evil,—spiritual torpor or violent schism; and as it has been, so it will be, the truth is perpetuated by the free conflict of honest, earnest minds. Ever and anon among men to whom doctrine is presented simple, and who are anxious for its sure stay, there will be an outward commotion; the cataract is troubled; the sides of it are tremulous; we hear a deep rumbling at its base; and after ominous heavings, the crater is opened, and out comes a—pamphlet; and we call that a *discussion*, not a *concussion*; and if the pamphlet be a strong one, the people believe that it is strong, and so that matter is settled; and if the pamphlet be a weak one, the people believe it is weak, and so *that* matter is settled. And the *people*—trained to think for themselves—on their bosom it is that every honest thinker may rely; the men and women and children of the churches, incompetent as they may be for his scholastic subtleties, will feel the moral bearing of his arguments, and if this agree with their strong sense, and their Christian sense, they will come to his rescue from the ecclesiastical volcano, and not a hair of his head shall be singed, neither shall so much as the smell of fire pass upon his garments; and he will remain a thinker still; and it is by the pensive thought of erudite men in communion with their God, and in sympathy with his plain-hearted children, that the faith once delivered to the saints shall continue to be preached. For this faith is not conserved as an Egyptian king is embalmed, lying breathless in his cerements, under a pyramid that holds him safe,

but it is preserved living, in the free air, and amid elements that move. It is the indication of all history in this land, and in every land, that the principles of Biblical science are to be retained in their healthful vigor, and kept free from partizan distortions, by that ecclesiastical regimen which relies on argument rather than human authority, and on the plain sense of men acting, as God has assorted them, with a manly faith in their equal rights, rather than on the irresponsible mastership of a few who are accustomed to hold empire. There is nothing which so intoxicates the mind of the ruler and enfeebles the mind of the ruled, as the dominion of a small coterie over a wide-spread ecclesiastical communion.

But the spirit of a pure church is not merely retentive ; it is aggressive also. We have been visited with the charge, that our distinctive polity, while it will hold its own on its own ground, has no power of advancement ; it is not the form for the world-religion, nor even for the religion of our entire land ; it still remains blocked up within a few ice-bound states. This attitude of repose, however, has resulted from a benevolent concession rather than a want of vitality. Because we relied on the noble temper of our neighbors, and voluntarily yielded our denominational interest to theirs, we are said to have made a virtue of our necessity, and to have abstained from our church extension because we were incompetent to carry it forward. These are ungrateful charges. The very fact that our regimen is elastic, and will open itself so as to adopt all appropriate beauties, or will close itself so as to shut out all offensive ornaments, and will bend itself to all tastes which are not bad, and will be pliable enough to encourage all predilections that are good, is enough to prove that it encloses the springs of an onward movement. Its germinal principles give it a progressive life ; for if a man revere the souls of his fellow-men, and feel his responsibility to God for them, and a love of the truth which is their vital strength, he must be earnest in

diffusing this truth in its best forms. He loves the forms, because they aid sound doctrine. He desires to extend the free principles of the church, because they favor a candid and a pure orthodoxy. Our fathers acted out the real feeling which their ecclesiastical system inspired, when they sent preachers to the red man, as soon as they had built churches for themselves, and had scarcely reared their own cottages at the time of their beginning to erect a university for the defence and the dissemination of the gospel; and they established a system of collegiate instruction better fitted for their times than the present system is for our times. Nearly all the colleges of New England were founded expressly for the spread of religious doctrine. The prime necessities of our system require that our schools be well endowed; that they give an impulse to every species of literature, send forth ministers able to instruct intelligent laymen, and to commend the truth to every man's conscience. The same divine,\* who was one of the most active in originating the oldest Theological Seminary in the land, was also one of the most active in starting the associated effort for our domestic missions, and was one of the two men who projected the oldest board for foreign missions; the cause of learning and the cause of an aggressive Christianity being identified in his esteem. Two of the same divines† who originated that ancient seminary, were the first to propose our most ancient education society, and one of the most honored pupils of that seminary,‡ stated, a few months before his demise: "I could never have done what I did in the incipient movements of the American Tract Society, nor in the forming of the American Temperance Society, nor in the establishment of the American Sabbath Union, unless I had enjoyed the aid of a popular and unfettered church government, allowing me to combine the agencies of enterprising individuals whenever and wherever I could find them—men accustomed to act for themselves—

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\* Dr. Samuel Spring. † Drs. Pearson and Morse. ‡ Dr. Justin Edwards.

minute-men, ready for every good work, without waiting for the jarring and warring of church courts." All these benevolent societies are for the extension of truth in its diversified forms; and when the genius of congregationalism hovers over these societies, as they hold their annual jubilee in Boston or New York, she does not exclaim, "These are my jewels," because some of them came from her mines; but she does say, that if her friends, in proportion to their means, are one whit behind the very chiefest of the churches in spurring onward the movement for the world's obedience to the truth, then they are recreant to the primal law of their system; they are the ossified sons of a flexile parent; and while there is impulse in their principles and their history, there is a paralysis only in themselves.

Sixthly, the institution of the Church harmonises with our desire for our intellectual, æsthetic, moral, and religious improvement. We often hear, that even in our most inaccurate translations of the Bible there is presented a clear view of the evangelical system. Equally true is it, that in the most corrupt forms of the church there is some tendency to gratify our innate love of progress. The Romish communion has elevated the mind of its members above the standard of heathenism. Her Aquinas and Abelard, her Paschal and Bossuet have suggested ideas which would have enlarged the intellect of Plato or Aristotle. The taste of the world has been refined by her lofty Basilicas, her Gregorian chants, and we all bow with reverence before the piety of her Bernards, Anselms and Fenelons. It is a mistake to suppose that all desire of improvement has been crushed out by her compact organization. Still there is danger that whenever honest men, exposed to heterogeneous influences, are brought under a consolidated and extended church-government they will experience frequent checks to their progress in good. There is danger that every individual will be less or more subdued by the fear of advancing farther or faster than



the unit advances, of which unit he feels himself to be but an insignificant fraction. When the *man* sinks under the *polity*, he loses somewhat of his impulse to form his own opinions, and is sometimes persuaded to abnegate the right of private judgment. He sacrifices the freshness and vitality of his conceptions to the idea, often romantic and fascinating, of the one church absorbing all its members. He is tempted to aggrandize the stereotyped creed of a human tribunal, above the ever living Word. The love of improvement is fostered by nothing more than freedom from artificial restraint. This freedom is the element in which the soul was destined to move. He thinks well, who thinks as God inclines him.

It has been objected, that while the desire of intellectual progress may be gratified by the ecclesiastical system of the Pilgrims, the taste is neglected by it. The commissioners of Charles II. uttered an oft repeated complaint when they said of the churches of Massachusetts, that "their way of government is Commonwealth-like; their way of worship is rude, and called Congregational." We own that careless preachers may give to our ceremonies an appearance of rudeness. Whoever does so, however, himself wants sensibility, not the material, for a graceful worship. Destitute of a rubric, ministers may deviate into offensive peculiarities of style, and hence arises a new motive for them to cultivate their sense of propriety and beauty, but the Congregational worship may and should be conformed to the canons of the most exact taste. In its freeness lies its capability of gratifying our love of æsthetic culture. The paintings of Raphael do not adorn our temples; but the august doctrines of which the canvas gives but a faint outline, may be pictured forth with a fulness and variety which would refine the character of the most delicate artist, and which are excluded by the pericope and the liturgy from what are called the more elegant churches. The statues of Canova and Thorwaldsen do not ornament the niches in our sanctuaries, but

by the rich thoughts expressed with comely phrase in our Psalms and Hymns, and in the sermons of such men as Bates and Howe, the genius of the most cunning sculptor may be quickened ; and these thoughts will do more than a cathedral in refining the taste of worshippers. The plain announcement of a district prayer-meeting where the God of truth is to be supplicated, educates a sensibility to the fit and the noble, better than it can be trained by swinging censers or marble altars. Our church covenants have been stigmatized as inexpressive and crude ; but when properly composed and read they are eloquent symbols of Christian charity and care. Our communion service has been represented as bald and unattractive ; but its very simplicity is eloquence ; the modesty of its outward forms makes men sensitive to inward beauty ; and while sitting in silence with the consecrated bread in his hand, the communicant gains a clearer idea of the grandeur of truth, than he would ever gain from the disquieting ceremonies of a more showy religion. We learn the delicacy of Christian themes by such external observances as subject matter to mind, and are so chaste and suggestive as to raise the attention above them to the truths which they eloquently signify. He who cherishes an intelligent love for comprehensive doctrine, is prepared to delight in all beauty ; and he who exhibits the truth in forms which most clearly set forth and show out its own sublimity, cultivates therein a taste for all that is symmetrical and grand. Such a careful discipline in the divine word as our church services allow us to give, nurtures a reverent spirit ; and such unobtrusive ceremonies as conceal the least and expose the most of those doctrines which awaken reverence, are in the most admirable harmony with the æsthetic laws. It is a vitiated taste that studies to introduce unnatural insignia of the church ; and a pure church is, in fact though not in seeming, a kind of university for æsthetic as well as intellectual culture. Much more than is it a school for moral and religious improvement. All our powers and

sensibilities are so connected that the advance of one facilitates the advance of all. As a simple ritual refines the taste, so a simple government purifies the moral feeling. It tends to repress ambition and envy, to elicit a sense of fairness and honor, to nurture a fraternal spirit. The church makes a daily appeal to the conscience, to gratitude for the past, and hope for the future, to all our religious feelings, and aims to make every virtue luminous, shining brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. It does in fact secure a regular growth of right feeling, and thus it breathes into the mind that serenity which results from a consciousness of progress in the highest of all excellence. It facilitates and expedites improvement, by assuring the pious of their being predestinated to improve. There is one grace, in particular, which it is eminently fitted to nurture and I therefore remark :

Seventhly, the institution of the Church appeals to, expresses, and strengthens, the catholic spirit of renewed men. Because they prize their individual responsibility, they rejoice so much the more in their moral oneness with the entire kingdom of God. Their freedom from outward ligaments which restrain spontaneous movement, makes their charity the heartier ; for the peace of men is the more undisturbed when they are not unnaturally tied together. Some divines are fond of describing the visible church as an undivided organism comprehending all visible Christians. But in so far as they amalgamate separate churches into one external organization, they diminish the *number* of true churches ; they lose in extent what they gain in intensity ; and for the sake of an historical genus, they lessen the variety and the opulence of the species. But the Biblical theory is more august ; it represents the ecclesiastical organism as a spiritual one, all obedient men being the body of which Christ is the head, and he and they animated by one soul, and this life-giving-spirit, this Holy Ghost, being also the vital principle of the

church in heaven, cementing them with us in one communion. This moral organism widens our charities, that they take into their embrace all who are embosomed in God's love.

There is a sectarian spirit. It multiplies the outward insignia of a church, and attracts men to a sect by the superficial adornings or the skilful machinery of that sect. But the church system of our fathers and of the apostles, drops the external badges that are not in themselves an edifying species of eloquence, and puts in their place the main principles of the gospel, and these principles are Catholic. A sectarian temper aggrandizes the positive peculiarities of a church, and is tardy in recognising the merits of those who neglect some outward rite, or disown some philosophical theory. But the ecclesiastical creed, which our fathers learned from inspired men, lets its few positive peculiarities fall behind and sink beneath the cardinal doctrines of the Bible. And these doctrines are œcumenical. The fewer artificial rites are associated with them, so much the more readily may they be diffused through the world. A pure church is ample in its benevolence, and is ashamed to contract the charity of its friends, by detruding from its fellowship any good men who utter sibboleth for shibboleth. Here is the grandeur of our communion, that it stands forth large-hearted, grasping the essential truths of Christianity, and inviting to its brotherhood all who love these truths, even if in minor particulars they follow not us. There are churches outnumbering our specific organizations, and excluding from their communion Luther and Zuingle, Whitefield and Wesley, Carey and Fuller, Robinson and Eliot. But our organization, specifically limited, is generically large, and sweeps into itself the pious men of all evangelical sects, adopting as essentially its own disciples, not only the Eliots and the Robinsons, the Fullers and the Careys, the Wesleys and the Whitefields, the Zuingles and the Luthers, but also the Fenelons and the Pascals, the Anselms and the



Bernards. All churches whom God owns are ours, and we are Christ's, if we inspire the generous breath of a living Puritanism. A sectarian will not unite with other denominations in beneficent enterprises, unless his own sect can be repaid for its contributions, by well-counted and well-proportioned gains; so much for so much. But the churches of the Pilgrims have poured out their treasures, and parted with their men—more than jewels—and have consecrated these gifts with their prayers for the noble charities in which they have fraternised with other sects, and have never asked, and have never received, any private emolument meted out as a recompense for their public services. No. It is the honor of our Catholic communion, that she has forgotten her sectarian welfare in her zeal for the general good, and loves her name because it allies her with the whole congregation of the people of God. A sectarian will resist the ingress and the progress of other churches upon territories which he has appropriated to the exclusive benefit of his favorite sect, and will rejoice in "union" only when it is, or promises to be, an amalgamation of other parties in one, and that his own. It must be a "union" all on one side. But a church that aims to be Catholic welcomes all good men, of all names, to do in their own way, on their own soil, or on any soil, all the good which they can do by all fair means which they can use. It reprimands no sect for attempting to live, but only for attempting to take the life of its brethren. It demands of no church that it abandon its ecclesiastical creed, but only that it have a benignant temper toward all the faithful in Christ Jesus. We call heaven and earth to witness, that we rejoice in the welfare of any church whose pure aim is to gather the wanderers from virtue into the congregation of the saints. Our comparative indifference to external rites has been interpreted into a sign of conscious weakness and want of self-respect. It has been reported that we are grown tired and sick of our Congregational platform, and are willing to see it crumble down piece by piece. We can

never flourish, it is said, unless we become more exclusive. Often has it been objected against us, that we are not sectarian enough; that we have no denominational apparatus upon which our zealots can play with ease; that hearers who attend upon our services, and happen to be pleased with our divines, have yet no love for our system *as such*, and escape from it when they leave the repulsive climate of New England; that we do not even retain our own children within our ecclesiastical embrace; that we bring men up to habits of diffusive charity, and this charity eases their escape into other denominations, and some of these denominations insinuate their own spirit into men whom they induce to give up for a party what was educated for mankind, and thus the very spirits once in fellowship with us become alienated from us, and the children are bigoted against their mother. We admit that some of our most vehement opposers are men who have eaten of our bread, and thence derived their strength. Even in the church of Rome are divines who dug up their treasures from our fields. It is not true, however, that our ecclesiastical system is barren of allurements to those whom it has trained. Its very liberality is fitted to attract wise men. They love it because it is not sectarian. They cling to it because it saves its friends from narrow schemes; they toil for it as an antagonist to bigotry; they desire the extension of it as conducive to the spiritual enlargement of its neighbors. We love the generous churches of our fathers, because we love all other churches, and hold the world in our embrace. We venerate the memory of our ancestors, and in our heart of hearts cherish the polity bequeathed to us by men who were better qualified than any uninspired men to detect the adaptations of a church for the structure of society. We adhere to the polity which they recommended to us, because, while certain other polities have become bad masters of their adherents, our system is a good servant. It recognises a broad distinction between a denominational interest and a sectarian zeal. A denominational

interest is a regard for the characteristics of a denomination on account of and in proportion to their real worth ; it cultivates the deeper reverence for the more important excellences ; and it honors all denominations just so far as they exalt the essential truth above incidental theories or notions. But a sectarian zeal is a fe vid attachment to the peculiarities of a sect, whatever the sect may be ; it is more contentious for the minor distinctions of a system than their relative value justifies ; it demands of all differing systems, even if they be right in the main, that they yield their peculiarities while itself yields nothing, their concessions tallying well with its exorbitancy. The records of the past assure us, that our system has been kindly and charitable, has gone about doing good, and has often given up its life for its brethren. So it deserves to live. So—our trust is in the God of our fathers—it will live.

This day are we convened to polish the golden chain that binds us together. From the East and the West are we come, that we may perpetuate and enjoy the Catholic spirit of our communion. We have diversities of opinion among ourselves, but there is no harmony that comes not from variant voices. A true union is of different men. Some of our brethren may be belligerent, as everywhere are persons with a peculiar genius for the church militant. Others of our brethren may prefer a dormant attitude, and shrink from the faintest whispers of a controversy. Let not these two classes separate from each other ; but let the chivalrous impart of their vigor, and let the pacific give of their charity, each to each. Some of our brethren may be young men, predestined to remain young whatever may be their years ; young by nature and younger by practice. Others of our brethren may be old men ; old by original inheritance, superannuated not from the lapse of time, nor of their own free will, but superannuated from their very birth. Let not these two races of Christians repel each other. Let those who are constitutionally safe cleave to the imprudent and

guide them ; and let those who are organically impetuous rally round the lethargic to stimulate them and spur them onward. Some of us may be expert in nothing but loading the ship with ballast. Others of us may be quick in nothing but spreading out the sails. Let neither party leave the ship, because of their differing tact ; lest the party who are eager for progress should be wafted to the shore and there stayed and stranded, and lest the party adverse to movement should overload themselves, and make their progress downward. Our wisdom is to remain together, with a fellow-feeling and in loving kindness toward each other and toward all men. Forgiving those who misinterpret our measures and misjudge our motives, let us illustrate the benevolence of our own communion ; let us develop its power to apprehend and advance the spirit of the gospel ; let us exemplify its salient energies ; let us be more faithful than we have been to its diversified aptitudes for the moral culture of the race in every benevolent scheme ; and, above all,—for without this all effort is fruitless,—let us feel, each man in the depths of his own heart, that all our help is in God ; that without prayer to Him we have no hope ; that all our failures are our own fault, and that all our successes are to the praise of the glory of His grace, to whom as in the days of our fathers, so now and for ever more, be honor, and power, and dominion.



THE MISSION OF CONGREGATIONALISM AT THE WEST.

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AN

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED MAY 10, 1854, IN BROOKLYN, N. Y., BEFORE THE

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION,

BY

T. M. POST.



# THE MISSION OF CONGREGATIONALISM AT THE WEST.

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## ADDRESS.

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BRETHREN OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION:—I attribute my invitation to address you, on this, your first anniversary, to my geographic position. The kind missive of your committee, which reached me beyond the great Father of Waters, I ascribed to a wish on their part to express the national, I may say, continental reach of the sympathy and fraternity of this Union; and to aid this expression I am come.

I suppose, also, I am called here to-day as an outlier towards our frontier; if not of the extreme west of our denomination and country, at least as far towards it as the call of this Union to its annual rendezvous can at present expect a regular response. When the great pathway to the Orient, through the gates of the sunset, shall have been achieved, and the commerce of teas and ideas between London and Pekin shall be expressed and telegraphed through the gorges of the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, then we may look for our brethren of Oregon and California, with the dust of the golden shore and the spray of the ocean that washes the Spice Islands, fresh on their garments, coming up with a week's whirr across the continent to our yearly convocation. But for this we have to wait, though I believe not long.

At present, those living under my line of longitude may, perhaps, truly be regarded by our denomination as border men, a sort of wardens of the marches; though in no very

distant future, the centre of Congregationalism as well as Anglo-Saxondom on this continent, will, I believe, be a hundred leagues beyond our western horizon. It is only the fact of our nearer vision of the ever-flying frontier, our comparative proximity to where the outer wave of our population, with a flow that never ebbs, dashes on the great wilderness, and each year wins an empire from the waste, that gives whatever of peculiar interest may now attach to utterances from what a decade since was the "far west." Ours is a post of nearer outlook on the genesis of a new world. It is of the relations of our denominational system of faith and order to that world, in its genetic agitation, that in this time and place I interpret it as my call to speak. *Has Congregationalism a mission and sphere amid the creative forces of that world?*

By Congregationalism, I do not mean simply our church polity, or simply our church creed. Each already exists and thrives there, in various ecclesiastic bodies. But I mean our faith wedded to our polity. Is not our faith entitled to whatever advantages of disembarassment and energy would be rendered to it by our polity? and ought not our polity to have its power enhanced in beneficence by blending it with our faith? Is not their combination demanded among the organic powers of this perpetuated new creation? The church of the Pilgrim Fathers, a power so mighty and beneficent in organizing the East, is it a requisite and desirable element in the elaboration of a Christian civilization at the West? Has it an especial adaptation, sphere, or duty there?

This question is proposed in no invidious or exclusive spirit. We are not asking whether as aggressor and combatant, with effort and aspiration after solitary or supreme dominion, Congregationalism is to enter the field of the West. No; nothing like this; nothing in disparagement at all. Not a jot or tittle would I bate of respect for the many noble, gifted, and earnest men of various ecclesiastic



banners, that are now, and for toilsome and weary years have been, laboring there in the name of the Lord. Of such, many sleep in Jesus, in the solemn shadows of the wilderness; but their memory is fragrant through all that land. Many of them toil on in obscurity and penury. But their riches and their record above are such as monarchs might covet; they are men tried and true, with the scars of honorable warfare on them; they bear on their bodies, their toil-worn and thought-worn countenances, their forms bent under life's many burdens, the marks of the Lord Jesus. They are the heroes of many a sore conflict with hardship, and want, and care, and pain, and unattended sickness, and lifelong griefs; conflicts unwitnessed, save of God and the angel. Such men I delight to meet with, to preach with, to pray with; I give them my hand and heart; my sympathy; my admiration; my love. Heaven forbid that differences in opinion, which do not divide from Christ, should ever divide me from such men. For such men, under any symbol, I thank God; and would they were a thousand fold more numerous and more successful than they are. Of such, too, I have confidence that they would willingly grant to me the same liberty of denominational opinion and argument which I cheerfully accord to them; and will feel no offence in a freedom in utterance of preferences and convictions, which I am sure their Christian frankness and conscientiousness would lead them in like circumstances to use.

The question I propose to discuss is simply this: Has Congregationalism a work of its own in the social problem of the West? Has she some peculiar adaptation to the wants of that world? Some especial capacities for beneficent action there that constitute to her an imperious duty of the present time? If so, what is that duty? Or, on the other hand, is there some reason why she, of all the Christian sisterhood, is to be excluded from that vast field? why she alone should refuse to accompany her children in their migration westward,

or to extend her institutions as fast and as far as the people may desire ?

I put the question because, in consequence of measures springing primarily from laudable aspirations after Christian unity, Congregationalism has come to be regarded beyond certain degrees of longitude, as an exotic and an intruder ; as if ruled out of the West by some tacit or formal compromise, or excluded from it by some unhappy antipathetic idiosyncrasy. While her sons and daughters have to flee for their lives from the fogs and frosts of the east, she, alas ! can live nowhere else. Her temperament would seem most decidedly antibilious. Beyond a certain line, she has been expected to resign her identity, and submit to a transmutation, or translation—

“ Into something rich and strange ”—

passing by a sort of euthanasia into another ecclesiastic system—similar in creed and worship, and embodying a noble order of Christian men, eminent for intelligence, piety, and power, but widely distinctive in the principles of its polity. The attempted union by compromise or suppression of essential organic principles, has bred manifold disasters ; internal agitation and oppugnancy, convulsions and disruption. Are these disasters necessary ? Different denominations may combine for many objects most beneficently. But is the incorporation of different organic ideas in the same ecclesiastic structure expedient or desirable ? Is it for the peace or power of the church ? Is there anything in the condition of the West that renders it necessary ? Anything forbidding Christian denominations there as elsewhere, pursuing distinctively, with their proper natural force and adaptiveness, their peculiar methods of Christian work ?

To answer these questions fully, would require an analysis of mind and society at the West,—their tendencies, tastes, and

aptitudes,—their action within themselves, and their relation to the general interests of our civilization and Christianity. We should then have to inquire, what characteristics of ecclesiastic order and action this analysis of the West would indicate as requisite to conciliate and mould it? what it needs? what it demands? what it will bear? what will most effectively co-operate with its dominant spirit and ideas? In the third place, we should have to complete our argument with the inquiry, to what extent does the church of the Pilgrim Fathers meet these exigencies of the West? This method of argument we shall aim to pursue; though our present limits will allow us to develope it but imperfectly.

From the first glance at the West, considered by itself, or in its general relation to the kingdom of Christ, springs our main proposition, viz. *The West requires the mightiest forces we can there introduce for the creation of a Christian order.*

All colonial civilizations exhibit this requirement, ours especially. Our republic presents a peculiar blending of the Colonial and Metropolitan in its aspects. The “West,” of which we inquire, is no fixed territory. No map of it is good for more than a year; its boundaries are constantly wavering, ever-receding lines. It is that ever-moving belt of increment, with which our nation is expanding towards the setting sun,—the ever renewed ring of growth on our national tree. The West, therefore, is the part constantly being incorporated with whatever new elements it may bring into our national life,—the part where deadliest injuries and poisonous influences are most readily introduced, and where blossoms of fruit, too, are thickest, and richest, and frailest. It is consequently the place where the vital energy, assimilative, eliminating, and organic, is especially in requisition; the place of ever-fresh peril and promise, and of ever-renewed vital conflict; the “West,” thus, is synonymous with the ever receding battle-ground of our national life.

Again, the “West,” in the shifting map of the world, marks especially the birth-place of empire, I might almost say, the

birth-era; for our "West" is a composite idea of time and place combined. It is that portion of our territory over which the zone of the births of empires is casting its ever-westering shadow—the ever-drifting natal "Delos" of new nations, following the sun in his flight. Its definition is its plea. A plastic era—a formative zone—a social deep, momentarily crystallizing to the marble and granite of new worlds; it surely needs no argument for the urgent application to it, of the mightiest and most beneficent forces of social order.

This plea of the West, found in its very definition, becomes awful in its force, in view of its relations to the vast problem of American history and civilization. The constant blending of the colonial and metropolitan influences in the life of our empire, presents to us vast perils and vast prizes. The colonies of other nations, as subject dependencies or independent off-shoots, have been separate from themselves. With us they grow immediately upon the main body of the empire, and become constantly incorporate with it. The relation thus established between the colonial and metropolitan elements, constitutes our trial; because all dangers, disorders, and distemperatures incident to the former, are immediately communicated to the latter. It constitutes an advantage as it presents peculiar facilities for combining conservatism with reform, and progress with order. It may blend in union salutary for both, the enthusiasm of novelty with reverence for the old; the sobriety of experience with the daring of adventure; the wisdom of age with the ardor and hopefulness of youth. There is a play of forces and influences thus constantly kept up between the metropolitan and colonial elements, favorable to energy and activity, and generative of that highest kind of power which results from the rare combination of discipline with liberty, and a free life with a strong order. While growth is free and boundless, that whereto and whereon it grows, is fixed strong and deep, a granite peak, the centre of accretion, amid coralline

seas. So, while the metropolitan east furnishes, to a great extent, the organic principle, the plastic mould, and the norm of crystallization, the colonial west, on the other hand, exhibits constantly new exigencies for the application or modification of old ideas and institutions; and the startle of a limitless empiricism amid new scenes, with new material, and in a magnificent and ever-moving theatre. It exhibits a constant necessity of primordial and organic works; compelling minds to look through forms to primal principles, and to pursue principles to their ultimate consequences; and tending to make them bold, energetic, inventive, resourceful, and sagacious. These qualities, through the quick sympathies of national unity, imbue our entire civilization, and impart to the national character the impress of a bold, sagacious, generous, and powerful life.

Colonization, with its novelty and freedom, its emancipation from old ideas and institutions, and its stimulus of new facilities and necessities, was among the mightiest motive forces of ancient civilization. The transfer of the elder Egyptian and Phœnician to the shores of Greece, was a vast step in the history of humanity. Ionia, again, daughter more beautiful of a beautiful mother, presenting to antiquity the first fruits of Grecian Philosophy, Poesy, and Art, attested the benefits of a second transplantation of the "Hellenic" stock to Asia. So of Carthage in reference to "Tyre," and of the Anglo-Saxon race on this continent compared with the aboriginal stock. But in all the above cases, the reaction of the colonial upon the metropolitan civilization was comparatively slow and feeble, because of political and geographic separation. With us it is instantaneous and pervasive, as in a single living organism. Consequently the freedom, energy, bold practical sagacity, and the spirit of reform and adventure of young communities, will, in our case, blend more perfectly with the riper, richer, and more polished culture, the graver and more conservative temperament, and the stronger genius of order in the metro-



politan section. From the combination we may expect a resultant civilization of singular brilliancy and power.

But offset to these advantages, are peculiar dangers: rashness, recklessness, irreverence, presumptuous empiricism; social, religious, and political charlatanism; anarchy, barbarism, infidelity; these are vices that, through constant colonial contact, may infect the nation's life-blood.

To increase these hazards a medley of all nations, kindreds, languages, and civilizations, mingle on our colonial border. This may make the resultant order more composite and complete; but it vastly enhances the difficulties of the formative period, and multiplies the dangers of colonial influence to our civilization and empire. Such are the prizes, and such the perils of our national expansion; and such they must be till we incorporate our belt of the continent. The trial is for stupendous issues; for a resultant social structure more perfect than the earth has hitherto seen, or a ruin that shall fill the darkest cycle of history with the clangor of its conflagration and fall.

Everything then—the work to be done, the exigency of the crisis, and the vastness of the issues—demands of us the mightiest powers for social fusion and assimilation, and for the creation of a Christian civilization that we can introduce into the West. Now then, is or is not our ecclesiastical system one element, at least, in such a force? Has it not already proved in history its aptitudes as the church of a colonial era, showing itself one of the mightiest elaborators of an intelligent and powerful social order? and in the stupendous process of world-building, now going forward in the West, may she not still do good service as a social architect?

To answer these questions, let us first inquire a little more analytically what must be some of the characteristics of an ecclesiastical system that shall have most power to subdue and form to Christian order the western mind? What must be its spirit, method, and organic idea? And then, again,

to what extent does Congregationalism exhibit these characteristics?

1. First, then, in order to be the most effective architect of Christian civilization, the western ecclesiastical system must be one of *genuine and earnest sympathy with liberty, spiritual and civil*. From causes I cannot stop here to detail, but which are obvious to the first glance at our colonial condition and elements, democratic liberty, in church and state, is to the West as its breath of life. No church can acquire great and lasting power that is not, or does not profess to be, in sympathy with this master passion. Aside from all considerations of the morality and the reasonableness of this sentiment, the democratic genius of the West requires it in order to any effective working in its presence.

2. Again, the West requires of a system that claims to meet her wants, that it be an *effective creator and diffuser of a general and commanding Christian intelligence*; that it be a mighty and universal educator, intellectual and moral. By such an instrumentality alone, can a social fusion and unity be effected of its heterogeneous elements. Thus only can the millions be fitted for the work of social architecture which the millions there have to do. By virtue of the democratic prerogative, which there sweeps through the lowest circle, and the democratic spirit which there pervades all things, the million, be they blind, godless, degraded, or the reverse, still are eminently the destined builders of civilization and empire at the West. Beyond all other lands, therefore, just now, the West needs to have its millions pervaded, leavened, and organized, by a profound and universal Christian reason. It, therefore, needs a system, not only most effective to diffuse truth, but to discipline the popular mind to a vigorous and sagacious logic, endue it with a practical, resourceful, and independent understanding, and with clear and profound thought. Such qualities are eminently necessities of western society in the formative era.

3. Again, the West demands a system that shall *attempt to*

*master its mind, not through authority or dogmatism, hierarchical prerogative, or synodical edict ; much less through pageant, dumb show, puerile mummary ; but through intrinsic evidence and independent argument addressed to its free reason and conscience.* Nowhere is the philosophic method more Cartesian, or the habit of the popular mind more that of direct, bold, practical insight into things themselves. Prescription, formulary, dogma, have been extensively left behind by emigrants to the western wilderness ; as in the ancient world were Patriarchism, Caste, and Priest-rule, by the Orientals in their migration to the occident of that age—Europe.

4. Again, the West requires a church system, *that, in its interior structure and working, develops the greatest power for the attainment of the proper supreme end of a church, viz. the greatest power for giving God's truth its ascendancy over the human mind.* In other words, it requires that system, that, in its interior adjustment, hits the nearest possible that medium between organic unity and authority on the one hand, and individual freedom and activity on the other ; that *most perfectly blends these two opposite forces* in harmonious co-operation for the attainment of the great common end.

The highest power of an organization for a given end, is in that combination that most completely unites for its attainment the forces of Order and Liberty, Progress with Conservatism, Corporate Concert with Individual Responsibility. The Christian church, therefore—an organization, whose end respects what is essentially and eternally free, the individual reason, conscience, and will—must present to the West, in order to subdue it to Christ, a living and not a mere mechanic order ; the unity of free reasons, consciences, and wills, and not of command, compulsion, or fear ; a self-wrought organism, “vital in every part,” and not the force-wrought inertia of dead enginery.

Such are some of the requirements of the West, of a church that is to meet its exigencies. Our next inquiry is, how Congregationalism meets these requirements ? Its harmony

with the democratic spirit of the West, its natural sympathy with liberty of body and soul, and with the bold philosophic method of the western mind, I shall not stop to argue. These are obviously of its very essence; they lie in its definition. Nor need I advocate its claim as an educator of the million. History is her most eloquent advocate in this claim. Freedom, individual responsibility, and activity, are always educators. These, as they attach to our system, are a constant gymnastic of the intellect and conscience, a perpetual discipline of the individual and the multitude to a sagacious, practical, self-regulative reason and will. The tendencies of such a system to establish and maintain a beneficent, powerful, and wise social order, need no argument. Indeed the land in which we meet to-day makes such argument in behalf of Congregationalism nugatory. We are too near the roar of her own ocean. Standing where we are, she can point to the results of centuries of trial; to busy marts, cities of machinery; fields of rich agriculture, a thousand flock-clad hills; a thousand mountain torrents subdued to the service of art; to barren strand and the bleak granite draped with the purple of commerce and glittering with the trophies of genius and the spoils of distant El Dorados; she can point to a thousand spires gleaming through the mountain gorges, to schools, colleges, and universities, dotting the vale and the height; to a land where order is strongest, and liberty is freest, and the majesty of law most awful; a land eminently of intellectual and moral activity and progress, whose millions are living with ideas; a land the mother of noble, gifted, and gentle women, and of heroic, hardy, and powerful men, whose children, in liberal adventure and generous enterprise, or on errands of Christian philanthropy, are on every wave and every shore—pointing to these results of a civilization first planted by her in a clime most ungenial, and pervasively and continuously impressed with the type of her genius, she may well group her monuments around her and be silent.

But how, again, does Congregationalism meet that other demand of the West, for an organization *whose interior structure and working are mightiest for the attainment of the proper supreme end of a church*—the enthronement of God's truth over the human mind, the true evangelization of the millions? To answer this inquiry, we must examine the relations of order and liberty in her system, the adjustment of organic unity with individual life.

And here we find, as we believe, the power and freedom most complete; girt round, disciplined, and regulated by the strongest vital order; an order whose bands are the more mighty because they are little palpable, and resemble electric attraction or the organic forces of light rather than chains of iron. Indeed her order seems to us the very strongest which the nature of Christianity—a religion essentially spiritual and free—admits. The highest power of any organization for a given end, we have defined to be in the most perfect combination possible of liberty with order for its attainment. Let us see how this demand is met by Congregationalism; how these elements blend in her system.

And, 1st, of the element of liberty. This is obviously as perfect as the nature of things admits. There is not simply independency of the state, and of all civil or ecclesiastical authority exterior to the local church, but, interiorly, of all prerogative of hierarchy or class, or of human standards; and of all close orders or successional office, and all power not immediately accountable and returnable to the brotherhood. Each church is free of any and all other churches; each individual, with restrictions essential to the simplest primary organization, of any and all other individuals; each age of all precedent ages; each time of all other times. There is a perfect equality of ecclesiastical franchise, and of the individual reason and conscience. Not that the spirit of the system is anarchical or irreverent. Its aim is to bring the individual reason and conscience constantly into contact with God's word, and the intrinsic and essential reality of



things; to imbue them constantly with the sentiment of personal responsibility and duty, and make each separate church, each separate time, and each individual mind an independent centre, elaborator, and trier of Christian truth.

Is not the element of liberty therefore perfect? And must not such liberty, unless abused to dissoluteness and anarchy, be a *generator of vast power*? First, as a mighty quickener of mind, bringing dead faiths into perpetual contact with the living word and the living reason of things; whence dead faith starts to new life, as did the corpse laid in Elisha's tomb from the touch of the prophet's bones? Of power, again, in discovering, elaborating, and enforcing truth? Must it not, moreover, be powerful with a constantly disciplined and widely diffused logic? With a vigorous and partial reason? A quick insight into intrinsic evidence, and a quick sympathy with the thought and feeling of the masses? Strong, again, through the joint sympathy it establishes in each soul, with both God and our brother; like an electric conductor constantly connecting with both, blending in alliance mutually healthful, genial fellowship with awful adoration; wedding faith to reason, love to logic, work to worship, a common sense that walks among men to a spiritual-mindedness that dwells in the vision of God; making Christianity, in brief, like its great author, a constant mediator between earth and heaven.

Must not such liberty be powerful, again, in the *number* of independent and disciplined thinkers it creates and sets to work? Strong in that it trains and summons to the conflict for Christian truth and duty, the million? Every other department of modern society is calling in the million as workers. Christianity must do the same, or fall behind her relative place in the civilization of the age. The great conflict of our times, and at the West especially, is to be fought, not between the ranks and orders, not between principalities and powers battling in mid-sky. The battle, like that seen in the Apocalypse, has been cast down to earth. It is

to be waged man with man, mind with mind, word with word ; not in councils, consistories, chapters, or conclaves, but in each circle, in every walk, amid all work, in every class, and at all firesides through universal society. That system, therefore, that best arms and trains a whole people for the conflict, and practises the popular mind in a Christian logic, is the one in peculiar requisition at this time at the West ; especially in view of the exigencies of the formative era. In that seething caldron of mind, where a mechanical union is fast fermenting into a chemical one, and each individual particle, with its peculiar attractions and antagonisms, is struggling into fresh combinations and a new social order, that system that best arms each individual element with the affinities of truth and love, will insure the most beneficent ultimate combination, and will most effectually eliminate from it superstitions, despotisms, and misbeliefs. Liberty, therefore, as applying itself to the mind of the million, is the mightiest power for the church against spiritual usurpation and error.

The freest church organizations, or those with the least of the hierarchical element clinging to them, can alone encounter successfully that hierarchical despotism that is now projecting its portentous shadows over the West. Freedom alone can fight despotism. Churches trammelled by the still cleaving, though partially broken fetters, are disabled for that battle. In their attempted blows at their foe they are liable to brain themselves by the fragments of their clinging chains. In a simple game of despotism, Rome can have no rival. Hers alone is consistent, and with armory, appliances, and environment of unapproachable infernal completeness. Protestantism must thoroughly purge herself of the accursed thing before she can drive the foe from the land. On her own ground, and in her own circle, Rome is invincible to mortal force. The battle with her is not one of prerogative and prescription, but of principle and of the Divine word ; of liberty with slavery, of inspiration with

tradition, of private judgment with ecclesiastic edict, and of manly and enlightened reason with ignorant and puerile fear. Consistent and complete liberty is therefore the only stable and defensible logical stand-point against unlimited spiritual usurpation, and alone arms nations with that philosophic method by which its sophisms can be baffled.

Again, church liberty is true church power, in that it alone produces an intelligent and vigorous faith. Indeed genuine faith cannot exist at all without a degree of liberty, and just in proportion as liberty is impaired, will faith become spurious, feeble, and timid. True faith, of its very nature, must be consciously intelligent and cognisant of evidence, and this it cannot be unless it is conscious of having freely and fairly inquired. Despotism kills the faith it forces. It can no more produce it than mechanic forces can extract the plant from the earth, or than it can compel a proposition in geometry to be true or false. Perfectly absolute over mind, it annihilates faith; and in proportion as it approaches that hideous consummation, it makes faith imbecile, ignorant, cowardly, and incompetent to wrestle with the epidemic passions and moral distemperatures of the age. The freest faith will, therefore, of its very nature be strongest; and other things being equal, the freest church will be the mightiest religious builder and champion.

Liberty, again, is power in an ecclesiastical system, inasmuch as it is generative of that *progress*, in the development and application of truth, which are requisite to that life, passion, and enthusiasm that are the permanent fountains of power. Passion and enthusiasm feed on mystery, ever opening, ever deepening. They live in an endless vision of dissolving views that are ever passing to aspects deeper, fairer, holier in the everlasting unveiling of immortal truth. True progress, in the Christian system, walks in an ever-lengthening, ever-unfolding perspective of the new, the wonderful, the glorious. God's truth is immutable; but man's stand-point is ever-changing. We are voyaging ever

towards the same starry Heavens. They are awfully and eternally one. But our ever moving position, and ever-deepening insight, opening new aspects, keep up a perpetual excitement and passion of delight. Liberty is power, as it presents the stimulus of this ever-progressive stand-point, through fields of vision momentarily new yet eternally old.

In all the above respects, and many others, church freedom is true church power; and our system, as being eminent in its completeness of liberty, we should anticipate would be eminent in efficiency, and would peculiarly suit the demand of the West for a church order of the highest evangelizing power. But our conclusion waits on the answer to another inquiry, viz. Has Congregationalism the requisite bands of order? Freedom generates energy, excitement, activity, courage. But these are not necessarily power. They may all result in mere blind, idle, disastrous agitation; may waste themselves in dispersion or internal antagonism and convulsion. Liberty without order is weak; its energies spasmodic, sporadic, self-exhaustive, often suicidal; its victories, the achievements of Bastille mobs, strong only to demolish, ineffective to rebuild, and incompetent for persistent systematic labor or conflict. Energy, that it may become power, needs combination, unity, concert. These are to be secured by a wise order. The union of liberty with such order constitutes our ideal of power.

But a general idea of the aims and uses of order is apt to mislead many, when applied to the church. Their minds immediately rush to political analogies, to legislatures, judiciatures, graded prerogatives, dignities, castes, congresses, confederacies, autocracies, and other arrangements and methods of the kingdoms of this world; and they imagine the order of Christ's kingdom must emulate these. They forget that the ends of these kingdoms are entirely diverse, and that their proper order is the internal arrangement fitted to secure their appropriate ends. They need to be reminded that the aim of a church is not to establish a police or collect and

disburse revenues, systematize commerce and finance, guard person and property, or enforce uniformity of law and right, throughout extensive realms, and accomplish other purposes which require a single and forceful rule over vast territories and multitudes. It seems to escape them, that in essential genius, policy, and intent, the kingdom of our Lord, and those of this world, belong to entirely different circles of ideas; that the one is the rule of visible authority and force, for the protection of material interests; the other that of thought and affection, of truth and love, and in behoof of interests purely spiritual—removed from all force or compulsion by the breadth of a universe, by a difference of being. The attempt to apply the order of one of these kingdoms to the other is a stupendous absurdity, and like all attempted violence on the essential properties and relations of things, cannot fail to breed “all monstrous, all perverse, abominable things,” such as teem through the chaos of middle ecclesiastical history, and find numerous antitypes in the present age.

Let us beware of this error. Let us bear in mind that all government must take form and method from the end it aims at, and the means requisite to that end; and that the great and proper aim of Christ's kingdom on earth, and, of course, of all church order, is TO SAVE SOULS—to convert and sanctify them; not by authority or compulsion, which in the nature of things have no relation to the end, but *through the truth*. The end is Salvation, the means Truth. An organization departing from this instrumentality, violates the essential genius of church order; departing from this end, it ceases to be a church at all. It may be an Odeon, an Academy, a philosophic, æsthetic, moral, or social institute; but it is no church. A church efficient for this end, is a strong church, however obscure and small; one not thus efficient is feeble, though with millions of men and money, and an organization embracing the intellect and splendor of realms. All interior adjustment, not harmonizing with this



instrumentality and conducing to this end, is alien to the true nature of church order; and whatever power i may confer for other purposes, fails to make it strong *as a church*.

For the proper aims of a church—aims in their nature attainable only through the truth and the spirit—that order is strongest which best secures the general knowledge and ascendancy of the truth; for in doing this, it furnishes to the spirit also its great instrument of influence, and presents moreover the means to that unity of belief, will, and affection, most favorable to the communion of the spirit. It thus tends to insure that avoidance of internal antagonisms, and that unity of practical testimony and moral impression, and that concert of action under the rule of the highest wisdom, that give a church power for the attainment of its end. It thus again establishes the only influences appropriately regulative and directive of spiritual liberty. For the unities of truth and the spirit are the great bands of genuine church-order, and these bands alone may be worn by perfect liberty. Thus in the kingdom of Christ, the mightiest order consists with the most perfect freedom—yea, it requires such freedom.

In establishment of this proposition let us inquire more particularly into the relations of order to liberty in the church. The office of order in relation to liberty in any polity is that of restrainer, regulator, inciter, director; and that with instrumentalities legitimate to the nature and aim of the organization. In the kingdoms of this world, its means are command, laws, constitutions, and, in the final resort, force. But in the kingdom of Christ, a kingdom of truth—the great instrument is truth. In this kingdom order accomplishes its functions through the reason, affections, and free will; by means of enlightenment, persuasion, influence, and the various appliances of truth to the human mind. Thus in the one kingdom order promulgates ordinances, in the other it diffuses ideas. This distinction springs from their diversity of natures. It is also authenticated by Scripture precept and precedent. In the Scripture model of the church, human

authority and force are introduced only in the primal local organization, and there no further than is essential to the simplest form of association among men uniting on common principles and for a common end. Their scope was simply commensurate with the necessities of that end. Between churches, and through the church universal, and, in the profoundest view, in the church local, government was purely moral and intellectual ; its great agencies were the truth and the spirit ; and that order was strongest, which called into mightiest action those agencies.

Nor do we find anything, in subsequent historic development, requiring a departure from the simplicity of the original model, or changing the requisite conditions and instrumentalities of true church power. Enterprises extending over large territories and times, requiring an extensive finance, and a wide concert and co-operation of Christian men, whether missionary, eleemosynary, or educational, though springing out of Christianity, are not necessarily matters of ecclesiastic order at all. The most effective, indeed, of such enterprises in our times are in no sense measures of church administration, though they are most powerfully carried forward by those churches whose order is freest, most purely that of truth and influence. These enterprises need not, therefore, expand our idea of a church or complicate the question before us.

In the church, therefore, according to both its scriptural type and its essential idea, order has truth for its great agent and instrument. It regulates and directs liberty through the truth ; while again liberty is the discoverer and enthroner of truth, the means to its diffusion and power. Thus liberty and order in the Christian system are not antagonistic, but coincident and co operative—order is directive, rather than restrictive of liberty, regulative and promotive not destructive of it. For her to war on it, is suicidal. She sinks in the grave she prepares for her victim. The strongest church order, then, coheres with the largest liberty.

Even if a perfectly wise and beneficent despotism were the ideal of a strong order, in the first place, we know not where to look for the perfectly wise and beneficent despot below God's throne; and his despotism is, we know, perfect freedom. In the second place, we know that despotism, in this world of ours, tends of its very nature to weakness by corrupting and enfeebling the hand that wields it, and by paralysing, stupifying, and emasculating the minds over which it is exerted.

This principle holds even in kingdoms of this world; order destructive to liberty, enfeebles. Absolutism and autocracy, which at first seem governments strongest of all, are found ultimately the feeblest. They mechanize, and finally kill the life of nations. Such an order is a coat of mail, so rigid, so stringent, so all-covering, that it forbids all growth, and finally all living breath. It stifles what it guards. It may be strong to prevent the excesses of liberty, but at the expense of life and of power. Slavery may cure the license of freedom. But slavery is not power. Death effectually ends all spasm. But death is not power; the man chained hand and foot, shall commit no robbery, excite no mobs, jump off no precipice. Neither shall he build cities, subdue the wilderness, or fight the battles of his country. If you would have the power of life, it is an eternal law you must have its hazards. So it is with liberty, it brings life, but associated with peril. Would you have its blessings, you must accept them with their incidents. Devise never so cunningly, and you shall not escape this necessity, more than you can fly your shadow. God himself has not escaped it in the constitution of man; nor may we expect to do it in the constitution of the church. Seek we for power? we must have life. Seek we for order? we must have truth. Seek we for life and truth? we must have liberty.

Such are the relations of order to liberty in the Christian system, and the relations of both to genuine church power. That polity, that exhibits an order reliant on the truth and

the spirit, and sacredly guards liberty as the medium through which the spirit and the truth are to operate, presents that perfect and harmonious combination and co-operation of order and liberty, that I have predicated as the ideal of the highest strength. That such a polity finds a counterpart in our own, if in any church organism, and that consequently liberty so complete in our system has the requisite bands of order, I will not stop further to argue.

But I will subjoin, that such an order as that I have described—which I will term the *order of liberty*—is the strongest of all, in that very interest where it is most feared and accused, viz. that of organic unity. Liberty is the great elaborator of that unity; for that unity arises from the unity of the truth manifested to different minds, bringing them under the control of common convictions, affections, and purposes. It is a reflection of the aspect of the same gospel, the same Saviour, the same God, in the mind of the brotherhood. The band of true unity is in *oneness of vision*; and this no authority, or force, or dogmatism can produce any more than they can alter the laws of optics. It is by removing lets and hindrances to unobstructed sight (truth being one and the same), that we are most likely to see her as one and the same. Even this means may not immediately and perfectly secure the end; for the visual organ in different men may differ in clearness and power—and there are endless varieties of stand-points, producing endless varieties of aspect of that which is unchangeably the same. But unobstructed sight will secure unity of view, or it will not be secured at all. In order then to produce an organic unity, strong and vital with the truth and the spirit, I would say—Away with all curtains and colored mediums. Place the millions not afar off, with veils of partition and ranks of hierophants between them and the outshining of the divine glory; but let the way to the holy of holies, wrought out by Christ, be open for the approach of all. In the open and direct vision of the same Bible, the same God and Saviour, and the same Holy

Spirit, they shall, with time, become one, even as prayed our Lord in their behalf.

To many minds that prayer strangely starts a world-wide organism, with a vast array of governmental authority and machinery. They forget that the world has already made trial of that type of union in its most consummate and universal form. Hildebrand's idea was its logical and complete development. The result—the world well remembers it—was the union of prisoners denned up in the same dungeon, or of vipers writhing and hissing in the same knot. By its terrible failure, the trial of authority, despotism, and vast organism to effect Christian union, has been fully determined. Freedom alone remains for experiment. She must be our architect of union, or we have none.

On the basis, then, of perfect spiritual liberty alone, I believe, can arise a strong, vital, and durable church order. By liberty I mean individual responsibility, individual inquiry, judgment, and will; individual duty, worship, and prayer. Such liberty brings the human soul immediately before God, surrounds it with the glory of his majesty, the awe and beauty of his truth, and the sweet bands of his love. It places it under the church order of the New Jerusalem, and makes it one with the brotherhood on earth, because it is one with God and the "general assembly of the church of the first born." Liberty, therefore, instead of being the antagonist of order, is its chief creator and conservator. Liberty is a means to truth, and truth is the strength of order. Thus in the kingdom of Christ, liberty, truth, and order appear a glorious trinity in unity, joint elaborators to the church of the mightiest power for the attainment of its great end.

To sum up this branch of our argument, then—The great aim of a church being to save souls, the proper order of a church is that rule and arrangement of it best securing this end. And truth being the great instrument used by the spirit to that end, true church order is that which gives truth the greatest power. But the natural appliances and enforce-



ments of truth are all of influence, none of command or force. They are such as argument, instruction, persuasion, counsel, reproof, rebuke, example, inquiry, thought, prayer.

The order therefore that gives these means and appliances the freest natural play, is strongest for the proposed end. But they have their free scope and full power only in the elements of individual freedom and responsibility, and of equality and fraternity.

Now, various ecclesiastic systems may claim for themselves conformity to the above named conditions of the highest evangelizing power. Nor are we here this day to contest or disparage their claims. We wish simply to present our own system, and inquire into her duties and capacities for the western field. Does not her polity, judged by the principles we have endeavored to establish, give assurance of a peculiar power for diffusing, illustrating, and enforcing Christian truth in that forming world? Does not her completeness of liberty—her rule of authority limited to the primary local organization, or to brief elective and responsible delegations, and blending with the unembarrassed play of intellectual and moral influences between individual disciples, churches, places, and times? Does not her vitality and strength of order? order, all in furtherance and direction of liberty, not in infraction or destruction of it? which is powerful with the immortal forces of reason, conscience, and the spirit of God? which lives by vitalizing the Christian brotherhood, and grows mightier by making it freer?—whose absolutism is the breaking of all chains, whose bands are truth and love, whose architect is freedom, and which alone grows stronger in the light of that presence in which all other authority dissolves, more awful the more the soul comes under the consciousness of the majesty of God? Does not our ecclesiastic system then exhibit that *perfect blending of Order with Liberty*, which I have predicated as the condition of the highest power? And is not power duty? Does it not create a mission?

Our convictions of the power of our system as an evangelizer of heterogeneous and morally chaotic societies, are confirmed by the fact, that it seems to us the one selected by the Divine spirit for a similar office in the primitive ages, and that in a field presenting in greater force the difficulties supposed now to exclude Congregationalism from the West, viz. that melange of nations and civilizations then constituting the Roman as well as the Barbaric world. The polity which accompanied the gospel in its first spread through the diverse races from Hispania to Ethiopia and the Indus, seems to us to have in the main accorded with ours. Below the Holy Spirit and its inspired organs, there was no central board or chain of authority. There was the same liberty and equality of each individual church and individual Christian as with us; the same reliance for order, unity, and purity, on the word and the spirit, and on influence and intercourse personal or epistolary, eleemosynary and advisory. With no pontifical or provincial court for legislation or judicature, no hierarchical succession or self-perpetuated orders, no class prerogatives of discipline, doctrine, and the sacraments, the trust of the church for conservative power was in an ever vitalizing gospel, a living Christian fidelity of argument, persuasion, instruction, and rebuke; in the immortality of reason, conscience, and truth—in a living holy spirit, promised to be with the church, not in the age of Apostles, martyrs, and reformers only, but always; and in a living God that ever watched over his cause and over the human mind.

The order of liberty and equality, established in the primitive Church, seems to have peculiar aptitudes for power in our own age. The Congregational polity, in its rule by the voice of the “many,” and in its reliance on the silent inorganic forces of influence, reason, and truth, rather than on visible and formal authority, eminently harmonizes with not only our democratic genius and institutions, but with what is fast becoming the supreme order of modern

society—rule of Public Opinion, or, in other words, of the thought and feeling of the millions. That authority is not strongest in our age which sits on thrones regal or pontific, or wears the livery of caste or rank, or utters its edicts through permanent judicatures of a class or a few, but that which invokes most promptly and wields most potently the opinion of the great brotherhood. Majorities sit sovereign everywhere. The genius of the age enthrones them. Fearful dangers, I distinctly see pressing on their rule. Despotisms the most hideous and deadly, I am aware, may spring from the very bosom of democratic freedom. “I looked,” says Bunyan, “and lo! a way to hell opened by the very gate of heaven.” These dangers we have to meet. They evidently lie in the future pathway of society. And we can meet them only with systems which shall enlighten and purify the masses. But I am not now discussing the expediency or legitimacy of this monarchy of the future. I simply note the fact, that the rule of the majority is the evident destiny of modern society, and that church order, to be most effective, must accord with it. It must hold not of the one or the few above, but of the brotherhood below. Antæus-like, to retain vigor, it must touch the common earth. It must spring from the great conscious bosom of humanity. It must be kept vital by the heart-beat of the million. The judgment of the Autocrat of all the Russias would not in our times weigh against the verdict of a common, honest Anglo-Saxon jury. Power of long tenure holding from above, tends not only to corruption, but to decay of moral authority also, because of its divorce from the common mind. The decision of a class, or order, or of any body of men not freely and freshly chosen by the brotherhood, on few questions will have more force, and on most, less than that of the same number of common men; in almost all cases, far less than that voice of the “*many*” which Paul relied on to bring the obdurate and incestuous Corinthian to repentance. No rule can be strong in our age that does not arm itself

with this voice of the "many"—the prerogative of public opinion. But no government can wield that prerogative, in which there is not the freest play of intellectual and moral influence, and which is not immediately or with few media, representative of popular sentiment and will. Our church polity, as eminently corresponding to these requisites, must carry with it, in this age, in its internal discipline, and in its general action and influence on society, a peculiar moral power—such power especially, as is now requisite to master the Western mind.

Why then, it may be asked, with all these presumptions in her favor, from analyses of herself and of the West, from the example of inspired periods, the experience of the past, and the genius of the present—why, in view of all these, shall Congregationalism be forbidden to extend herself like other denominations Westward? Is experience at the West against her? No denominations there have prospered more than those with principles and forms of polity corresponding in the main with hers; the Baptist for instance, at this time with its various divisions the most numerous sect in the Mississippi Valley. "But why," it may be urged, "has not Congregationalism itself spread more rapidly there?" The wonder is that, in the circumstances of its history, it has spread at all. Till within a few years since, her own policy for half a century had been not unreasonably regarded as a confession of judgment against herself—a self-exclusion from that region. A sort of compromise seems to have been supposed to forbid the assertion of her distinctive individuality beyond certain lines of longitude. She became in consequence a mere local arrangement, a glebe polity, an accident of time, place, and a certain phase of civilization; not a matter of essential and enduring principle at all. This relation of compromise or union with a body she justly loved and admired, but with organic principles widely variant, reacted on the churches and theological schools in the land already peculiarly her own. It neutralized her denominational spirit, took away

her self-appreciation, and silenced her pulpit and her lecture-room on the subject of church polity. Her seminaries were careful of offending against the "compromise," by teaching any distinctive ecclesiastical order; her advocates were often pursued by herself with disfavor as pragmatical and narrow sectarists. Thus she became first silent, then indifferent, and gradually even ignorant, in regard to her own principles of polity. Her emigrant sons of course were taught nothing on the subject. And why should they be, since they were, as a fixed rule, to abandon her for another system immediately on passing certain lines of longitude? And with such preparation, knowing as little why they had been Congregationalists yesterday as why they were to be Presbyterians to-morrow, they moved westward. Is it wonderful that Congregationalism did not thrive vigorously under the auspices of such a policy? Does it not show great vitality in it, that it lived at all? And if any of her emigrant children, from some remaining knowledge and preference of her system, wished to establish a church distinctively of her order in the wilderness, we well remember with how little favor such an enterprise was regarded, East or West. It became at once obnoxious to suspicion as factious, agitatory, disorganizing, or as unsound, heretical, ultraist. "For why otherwise," it was urged, "should they disturb the peace of the churches? Why intrude another denomination to divide the Christian body? Why not do as their brethren have done, and enter into ecclesiastical systems prepared and open to secure them, unless fenced out by the consciousness of heresy or of an intolerance of healthful religious order?" Their fellow emigrants from Congregational churches, conscious to themselves of no logical preference for the order they had left behind them, and of no difficulties of principle or of expediency in entering into another assuming to stand in its stead, having themselves yielded to the supposed necessity of their position, could not appreciate the preferences or principles of those not thus yielding. The course of such



seemed to them captious, aggressive, factious, and as implying censure on themselves. It was thus not strange, nor evincive, perhaps, of conscious uncharitableness, but a natural consequence, that those from Congregational churches in the East became often severest in denunciation of the assertion of a distinctive Congregationalism at the West. It was the natural ultimate fruit of an ecclesiastical compromise, framed by great and good men, and with important resulting benefits, but which wrought evil because it overlooked essential diversities in principles of church order. Churches distinctively Congregational were, in consequence of the above-named causes, for the most part isolated and weak, with no press and no organ, girt round and overlaid by vast and powerful systems with well furnished appliances for self-advocacy and self-extension. Is it any wonder they were misunderstood and misrepresented, first at the West, and then, of consequence, at the East? that the ear of the mother land was pre-occupied, and her affections and confidence foreclosed against them? And was it wonderful that such churches, feeling misconceived by their neighbors and excluded from the sympathies of their mother land because of adherence to her own principles, without kindly counsel or strengthening fellowship, should have often withered away? or surviving, should have had their life disastrously perturbed and enfeebled by the sore trial through which they were passing? It certainly were not strange if, under such influences, they had actually fallen into the fanaticisms, ultraisms, and disorders of which they were accused; especially when it is borne in mind, that, in addition to the above trials, Congregationalism, because of the very fact making strongly in its favor—the fact of its being the most natural form of church order, the one most agreeable to man's instinctive sense of spiritual liberty and equality, and to the genius of our age and country—was the system into which the wrecks and débris and insurgent elements of other systems would naturally fall and thus she was compelled to bear the strain of explo-

sive forces she never bred, and the reproach of disorders for which she herself was in no wise responsible. Now add to all the other difficulties of these isolated churches, that they were in a land where everything is chaotic, and all that men revere elsewhere is most irreverently tumbled into the general pell-mell, and all the four winds of thought and passion, political, ecclesiastical, sectional, national, philosophical, are battling for mastery on the great deep, and we shall hardly be surprised that Congregationalism has not spread faster or shone purer. Still with all the above trials of position and history, Congregationalism at the West needs no deprecatory plea. In intelligence, zeal, energy, and influence, in purity of doctrine and life, in charities and good works, and success in saving men, the Congregational churches as a body, with all drawbacks and defects, need shrink from comparison with no other in the West. They have wrought there already a truly great and noble Christian work. The trial of Congregationalism there, even amid such discouragements, is a triumphant vindication of her claim as an evangelizing and organizing power. Slowness of spread would in the circumstances prove no unmeetness for the West. But recently, since the partial removal of some of the impediments above named, her extension has been signally rapid—the most rapid of any denomination in the North West.

Can we discover, then, brethren, any good reason why our church system should not, with others, extend itself Westward? Why it should stop with the Hudson, the Alleghanies, or the Mississippi? Anything in her constitution or that of the West? Nothing. Anything in her history? In her results in that land where she has wrought alone or pre-eminently from the first—that first pressed by the feet of the Pilgrims? That land is its own witness and monument. Its testimony has gone far as the sun shines. It needs my argument no more than its Manadnock or Mount Washington. There it stands; behold it!

But it is urged, "the West is not New England; it is a

melange of nations." But is not New England also in that melange of nations? And may not her church at least follow her children? But the West is so heterogeneous and chaotic, Congregationalism cannot work there. That is eminently a reason calling her to work there. She is a mighty fuser of diversities, a mighty worker of homogeneity. She is among the most powerful of educators, illuminators, and vitalizers of the millions. Heterogeneity! It is the very reason for distinct, independent, local organizations, capable of individual, local, and specific application; but rendering a vast one, with its inflexible and inapt rigor, impracticable or inoperative, unless through force. It was the manifold adaptiveness of a system like ours, that fitted it to work at first in the heterogeneous mass of the Roman Empire.

But it is urged "other denominations are there before us." True. We are thankful in believing that the various members of the Protestant sisterhood—Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian, &c.—are doing an efficient work there in behalf of the great truths of the Gospel. God grant it may be manifold more abundant than it is. But that were no reason which should ostracize us from all that vast world, that stretches from the base of the New England Peninsula to the Pacific Seas. There is room and demand for us all. If they have been more prompt than we in responding to this demand, let their Christian earnestness stimulate our flagging zeal. If they think it duty to follow their children Westward, it were the more opprobrious we should abandon ours. But it is objected, "the field is preoccupied." Nay, the field is yet, in a great measure, to be created. The "*West*" is yet being born. The wilderness, the waste—is *that* the field, or is the field rather the millions whose earth-shaking tramp hastens thither? Does the organization of a few feeble churches on the borders of the illimitable wild convey a title ecclesiastical to all the nations that are swarming to its occupancy? No. There is to us no quittance of duty.

but rather its more imperious urgency, through our past dilatoriness. Our mission unsatisfied, summons us more loudly to its fulfilment.

Even should our organic extension be small we may accomplish vast benefits, by throwing our principles into the general circulation—benefits even to churches not of our form or name. A church that truly holds up the Pilgrim banner, though it stands alone, shines afar. It stands as a constant representative and suggester of vast and potent truths. Could it simply deposit these truths in the germ of nascent communities and then die, it would be a mighty benefactor. It will have infused a leaven destined to work in coming times, through all the economy of the social and religious world. Much more will it be a power for good, if, as it may be hoped, as a living light it shall pour its perpetual beams on all the future.

“But,” it is insisted, “Congregationalism is not *strong* enough for the West. It may answer well enough in old, organized, methodized, tranquil, and cultivated communities like New England; but the West, with its turbulence and its barbarism, is a leviathan not thus tamed. It requires stronger systems.” Now herein, it strikes us, is something passing strange. Congregationalism was strong enough for the turbulence, the heterogeneousness, the violent and the voluptuous sin, the ruffian and the courtly vice of the ancient world; for Jew, Gentile, Barbarian, Scythian, bond or free; strong enough for dissolute Corinth, volatile Athens, for tumultuary Ephesus, for many-tongued Alexandria, and that vortex of nations, Rome; strong enough for churches gathered from fanatic Judaism and bestial heathenism; strong enough for the sensual Cretan, the passionate Iberian, the versatile Ionian, the haughty Italian, the Syrian sybarite, the migratory borderers of the African and Arabian desert, and the motley millions that fermented around the world’s centres of commerce, luxury, and empire—strong enough for all these, and yet not strong enough for our

American West! Surely our West is a historic marvel! But again, Congregationalism urges her claims on the very ground of the peculiar strength and power of her system; as being pre-eminently strong with the forces of liberty and truth, and a living order? and with sympathy with the spirit of the Age and the genius of the West. Amid other fatal defects of hierarchical churches, is their feebleness for the true ends of a church. *They are not strong enough for the West.*

It evidently then is the mission of Congregationalism—*i. e.* its duty indicated by adaptation and power—to follow fast and far as it can, with its institutions, that zone of new-born empires that forms our constantly westering frontier, till in its movement it joins on the Sierra Nevada, another zone already rising from the Pacific. It is her mission to do this, not in a spirit of sectarian emulation, but as her own best adapted and most effective mode of laboring in furtherance of Christian truth and life. Polity is to be to her simply a means of advancing the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, to be valued merely as subservient to that end, be jealously kept ever in subordination to it, and to be pursued in a spirit of Christian generosity, forbearance, and love. Pursued with measures violative of that spirit or that end, or in any manner destructive of the geniality or charity of Christian life and feeling, any architecture of church polity, though with art and logic never so perfect, even though imported by the hands of angels from the New Jerusalem, were a deformity and a curse—a temple of Baal and not of Jehovah. Thus perverted, the instrument of life brings death. It is another Nehushtan, the Brazen Serpent become an idol. Away with it; dash it to pieces; grind it to powder; trample it under foot; scatter it to the winds. I love liberty much, love her as the angel of truth. I love truth, love her as the bringer of life. Liberty, truth, life—they are a glorious sisterhood. But the beauty of life excelleth. She is ultimate and supreme of the three; yet she may not long abide alone, apart from the inferior twain. And they,



separate from her, like a body, a body without a soul, soon turn to foulness and corruption. While therefore we may never dream long to disjoin them, be life ever uppermost and ultimate in our regard. Let polity be cherished ever solely as a means to life. In all questions that may rise, let it have that place only in our affection and effort, which such a relation to that end requires. Let it ever be contemplated and estimated as before the cross, in the presence of Christ, and in the light of the judgment day. Study and labor for it simply as an instrumentality for converting lost men, and presenting them at last spotless before the Eternal Throne; and to take rank among instrumentalities solely in degree as it is promotive of that supreme aim. Our denominational spirit should ever be like the wisdom that cometh from above, "first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy." It should be warm with fraternal sympathy toward all who wear Christ's image, zealous to co-operate wherever it may with all good men and good works, showing forth the excellency of our system, and silencing evil tongues less by controversy than by life. *Let it trust in the Lord and do good.* And while it has no right to neglect great truths and principles, committed to it of the Lord, as we believe, for the glory of his kingdom, it should ever be jealous of itself, of the color and exaggeration of the selfish principle, lest ecclesiasticism should overtop Christianity. In fine, let it enter on the great moral battle-fields of the West, emblazoning on its banner not "*union first and then liberty*," nor "*truth first and love afterward*," but, "LIBERTY AND UNION, TRUTH WITH LOVE," ever of one essence and one life, blending in glorious unity—the fourfold cherubim of God.

Nor is it the mission of Congregationalism at the West to enter upon a scheme of denominational propagandism in fields already occupied, *i. e.* already covered and worked by other evangelical sects. Such fields have already the vital

and saving truth, and whatever excellences may attach to our ecclesiastical system, its propagation in such districts by aggressive measures, and by movements from without, would probably be at such an expense of Christian charity as would hardly be compensated by the gain to Christian liberty. Moreover, if suddenly introduced by external influence and obtruded on those unwonted to it, it would be likely to be misapprehended and disastrously worked. If it is ever beneficently to enter such communities, it must be by development and demand from within, wrought by the gradual and silent influence of great and diffusive principles that must ever go with our civilization and our Christianity in all its forms. Moreover the genius of our system recognises the prerogative of original action as residing in the brotherhood itself; and experience at the West abundantly testifies the manifold mischiefs of clerical intermeddling with the spontaneous action and natural rights of a people in adopting their own form of ecclesiastic self-government.

Fields that are occupied, then, pass we by for the wastes. But by "occupied" I mean actually so, and in the present tense; not prospectively or pretensively, merely in hope, design, ambition, or arrogation. I do not believe in the ecclesiastical tenure of vast territories, by mere prior church organization in some nook or angle of it; as the self-constituted lords of the world formerly assumed to parcel out and appropriate new continents, by hoisting a flag-staff on some lone headland or some desolate strand. I admit no such *right of discovery* applied to the ecclesiastic world, nor do I admit the binding authority of ordinances and arrangements decreed by some first sectarian colony claiming by a sort of *squatter sovereignty* to legislate for vast and vacant regions and the nations that are to fill them, through all coming time. I do not believe in the right or the power of ecclesiastical compromises or arrangements to stipulate and trade off such territories and their future millions, to certain church polities. People in our day will not be likely to submit to

be thus negotiated and bargained over, but to feel that in the matter of their own church government, they belong to no masters.

Nor can we acknowledge in any case the validity of any such exclusive preemption claims on our great commercial cities. They are cosmopolitan in civilization and population, countries or continents condensed in miniature. Their relations of interest and influence too are national. They are the eye, the ear, and tongue of vast sections. They are also the gateways between the East and West, capable, as sad experience testifies, of being converted into the ivory portals of ancient fable, through which wicked and lying phantoms went forth to abuse mankind. Such cities belong to all denominations. Their ecclesiastical representation should be commensurate with that of their commerce and population. No principle of comity or fraternity requires us to respect exclusive claims on such emporiums.

Nor again does the subordination of polity to the interests of Christian life and charity demand that Congregationalists should renounce or veil or compromise their church principles on going Westward, even if co-operating for a time with Christians of a different polity. Nor does it forbid their forming a church of their own choice as soon as they are able to do it. A free, open, manly avowal of their principles, and of their ultimate purpose during the interim, would be best for all parties, and most conducive, in the end, to fraternal union and mutual esteem. The West peculiarly honors frankness. The man who wears his soul in his face, if so be it is in any wise a decent soul, will be more respected and trusted than any trimmer, trim he never so adroitly. But if the Congregationalist shall not be permitted to co-operate with other denominations except on renunciation of his principles, it is clearly his duty to stand aloof. God is served with no falsehood.

The Mission of Congregationalism to the West requires she should indoctrinate her churches in the East in her own

distinctive principles, and instruct her emigrant children to carry them with them in their migration Westward, and in moderation and manliness be ever ready to avow and defend them. She should enjoin on them that they teach them to their children, and incorporate them with the primordial thought of new communities, and that, as far as practicable, they take with them her peculiar institutions, and that always they should bear with them her newspapers and periodicals that may keep up their acquaintance and sympathy with their own denomination. Nor let them despair of fruit, though few, feeble, and isolated. Principles extend more widely than their visible organisms. They will penetrate into organisms not their own, and progressively, though silently, modify and shape them to their own spirit. No system, however sealed and despotic, not even Romanism itself, can entirely withstand the influence of free church principles silently blending and conspiring with the democratic genius of American institutions and the American mind. Let the sons of Congregational churches therefore carry with them the church principles, so dear and costly to their fathers, to the forming world of the West, and cherish them as a beneficent formative element, which shall surely work into the religious and social life of that world ; and whether or not finding visible embodiment in their day, destined to work on for blessing, ages after they shall have gone to their reward.

But while instructing her children against forgetfulness or abandonment of her principles, Congregationalism should equally guard them against impatience and aggression in their propagation. Revolutions of principle are ever silent and slow. And not aggression but self-assertion, tranquil, intelligent, consistent, manly self-assertion, gentle though firm, frank though peaceful, is the true duty and policy of Congregationalism at the West. This, with the maintenance of an earnest and self-sacrificing piety, a pure doctrine, a genial charity, and a genuine fraternity, are the essential

elements of a Congregational scheme of church extension at the West. We need not be in haste or fear. The spirit of the age and the general instincts of humanity work with us; as also especially the genius of American civilization and institutions. These all co-operate with us in furtherance of those principles it is our mission as a denomination to assert and diffuse. Above all, we believe we have co-operators in the letter and spirit of Christianity, and in the Holy Ghost. If these latter are for us we need not fear; if not, we ought to rejoice in our failure. Self-manifestation and attraction, not attack, is our true wisdom as well as duty and happiness. Our system is not adapted to sectarian aggression. I hope it never may be. It wants the centralization of power, the unity of policy and administration, requisite to it. Like our civil government it is feeble for offence, strong only by self-assertion and self-culture. It triumphs by fraternity. Its policy is peace.

This union I hail as a measure accordant with this policy, not as a consolidation or concentration of administrative or aggressive power. I hail it as a *union*; as a means of widening the communion of saints; of extending acquaintance, counsel, and succor among ourselves, and of enheartening with conscious fellowship those feeble and isolated, and girt round by vast and alien systems; as a means of comparing the ideas and results of widely scattered and diversified experiences, concerting Christian enterprises, and conferring together on the general interests of Christ's kingdom and their demands on us as a denomination. As a means to these ends, as well as keeping alive an earnest and intelligent interest in the great and beneficent principles that unite us, I welcome this anniversary occasion. It is such an one as any extensive denomination is entitled to in this age of rapid and universal communion in all interests; when thought over continents readily crystallizes into systematic and concerted action; and when the press of vast organisms all around us, threatens to smother everything that has not a degree of, at



least, intellectual and moral centralization. In our wise avoidance of vast representative bodies with powers of legislation and judicature, we have perhaps been too neglectful of the advantages of a wide communion of sympathies and ideas, and of intellectual and moral concert. A union for the above purposes seems conducive to our intelligent and co-operative efficiency, and to our increased beneficence as a denomination; while at the same time it can infringe no church franchise, for it is in no wise an ecclesiastical organization. Such has been its aim and idea. To use it as a force of sectarian agitation or aggression were an abuse as alien from its design, as from the spirit of the system it represents.

From this time and place, memory, running over some twenty years of residence in the West, recurs to many scenes and facts of observation and experience, illustrative of the relations of Congregationalism to the West, and of the principles regulative of its mission there; and also of the need of that sense of fraternal sympathy and encouragement, which the very fact of your meeting and deliberation this day in recognition of the importance of your distinctive principles, is adapted to give. Vividly does there rise before me a little band, that some score of years since used to meet as a Congregational church, in what was then the "far West," farther than California is now—hardly a church of their name within a hundred leagues of them, hardly half a dozen within a quarter's breadth of the continent; and those as isolated from us as if planted in another hemisphere. It seemed as if that feeble and solitary little church must be smothered under the pressure of great organizations, that swathed it round and round with wide and numerous infoldings, and divided it fifteen degrees of longitude from the parent stock. Weak, single, misconceived, misreported, its own feeble utterance drowned in a tumult of rumors against Western Congregationalism, that through the correspondence and organs of other and vast ecclesiastic systems spread to the

Eastern Seas and pre-occupied the ears of our fathers—the mother land, the while looking on it, if at all, with coldness and distrust, as indeed generally on all who, for the love they bore to her principles, dared assert them in institutions beyond certain lines of longitude. Oh, how did that little band long for power to lift its voice above those barriers ecclesiastical, that, higher than the Alleghanies, walled them in from the land of their fathers! What longing was there for a word of sympathy and encouragement from the churches they loved so well! a word assuring them that those churches, for whose order they were asserting the right of distinctive organization in the far West, did not for that act cast out their names as factionists and vexers of Israel. For a long time there was for them no such utterance; there came to them no such voice except singly and in whispers. The ear and the press of the East seemed shut against them, and the little scion seemed cast upon a strange shore to die. But that little band, though feeble, was true. And now scarcely twenty years have elapsed, and though growing slowly and hardily and in the face of manifold discouragements, amid which some of its founders passed to their rest without sight of results, still that little church has lived long enough to see its principles and their visible organisms spread a thousand miles to the Northwest, over magnificent empires many times larger than New England. It may behold this, too, with the consciousness, that to that rich fruitage it has been to no small extent a seminal element. Nor do I believe that in any case a patient, persistent, practical assertion and manifestation of our principles, manly and intrepid though inoffensive and kindly, will be without ultimate beneficent results.

Thus have I spoken as I have been able, brethren, of the relations of Congregationalism to the West. I have aimed to do it as for the glory of Christ, and as in the presence of a higher and vaster congregation; and I am sure I have done it in a spirit of kindness to the entire Christian brother-

hood. Our theme presents us with duty and hope, trials to patience and faith, to our trust in principle and trust in God. In canvassing it, you must bear in mind, as requisite to its right apprehension, that Congregationalism at the West is to a great extent still in the trials of its birth-period and immaturity—a birth period and immaturity amid struggle, irritation, and attack. You must remember that in relation to the previously fixed order of church policy there, the Congregational movement appears almost as a reform, and must encounter the trials of all reforms. Be not surprised if together with genuine and noble spirits, there should, in some instances, be gathered around it the insurgent, intemperate, and revolutionary elements that are prone to hang on the skirts of all change, however beneficent. Their presence need not much discourage or distress us. It is not indicative of intrinsic tendency and ultimate consequence so much as of an infant period. It is incident to the best as well as the worst and wildest schemes of change, and we have to bear the crudities of liberty always if we hope to enjoy its mature and glorious fruitage.

Of you, brethren, who dwell in the old land, the mission of Congregationalism at the West demands, that you follow your exiles there, with your interest and affections, your letters, your newspapers, your counsels, your prayers, and as far as practicable and requisite with material aid to those who are compelled at the same time to build the church, the school-house, and the cabin, in the wilderness; certainly, not to withdraw trust and sympathy because fidelity to your principles of church order may have brought on them the strife of tongues. Believe not all rumors. Try them. Respect your own principles and those who respect them; teach them to your children, your churches, your theological seminaries, and send them with your sons to the West. Especially—and this I say in reference to all classes and interests, and not those ecclesiastical only—cease lionizing renegades, political, moral, or ecclesiastical. Cease worshipping

mere success, irrespective of the question of its mode of attainment. Let New England have done for ever with wandering after all demagogues in church or state, that bring back to the old mother as trophies of success, what are only wages of shame, the bribes for which they have sold her principles.

Use well and wisely, brethren, your influence of metropolitan position. It is mighty, we feel your power—the power of your thought, opinion, and affection. Strong still are the ties that bind us to you. Your exiled sons bear ever a lengthened chain. We wear it by the pictured rocks of Superior, the distant falls of the Missouri, and to the Pacific Seas. We feel your heart beat across a continent. We are of you still, your land of rock and glen, of grim grey cliff and crystal lake, your melancholy pines and lofty solitudes, your glorious mountains and free old solemn sea, oh! they come to us in our dreams! they come with the faces of memory, living brows on which still beats life's storm, and with the mighty spell of many graves—the graves of honored fathers; of brothers that have fallen in their strength, and gentle sisters who sleep in silent beauty on the distant hill-side, and mothers whose holy love still looks out on us, from the green mound in the shadows of the old church or in dells over which the awful mountains keep guard like angels of the resurrection. Oh! from all that magnificent and boundless realm where your wandering brethren and children seek a home, from the mystic springs of the Mississippi and the tropical magnificence of the Southern Gulf to the Dalles of the Oregon and the Alps of Gold—from lone prairie, and forest, and desert, and the roar of mighty streams, and from chambers in cities of the plague—thick as beams of the setting sun, the West rays on you her thought; from hearts and homes past number, weaving the million-threaded web that binds still our lives together. Through these threads, as strings electric, we are acted on and react.

The East, too, is our classic land. Here are our glorious

memories of history. Here the shadows of the sainted, gifted, and heroic dead still linger and still walk. Here are Plymouth Rock, and Bunker's Hill, and the shades of Vernon. The nation's soul comes here on constant pilgrimage. From the solemn and gorgeous savannahs that stretch beyond the "outgoings of evening" and from the margin of seas that lave spicy Cathay, it ever wanders back to the "waves of the bay where the Mayflower lay" and the ocean that murmurs the requiem of heroes, and purpled of old under the battles of liberty to a richer stain than seas that flame with occidental pearl and gold. And who can tell "but he whose heart hath tried," how leaps that heart at looking again, after years of absence, on the stern old mountain land with all its blazonry of history, and memory, and love, scutcheoned on each peak, and strand, and hillside! As, on my return after such years of absence, I have pillowed my head in the thunder couch on its awful mountain pinnacles, where they pierce highest towards heaven, I could not sleep for that I felt the heart of the glorious old mother beating up all night through the granite.

Brothren, the empire of the West—a magnificent Titanic broad—still grows within your shadow. Still the thunder of Faneuil Hall echoes to St. Peter's. Every surge of opinion that dashes upon your shores, rolls on till it winds through the sinuosities of the Nebraska and breaks on the out-flankers of the Rocky Mountains. Yours is still the power of the mother land: use it well, use it promptly. We are fast growing out of your shadow. The new world is fast emerging into light, solemnly and almost as rapidly, as the mountains rose from the primal deep. The structures of that world, whether they are to be a Pandemonium rising like an exhalation from hell-seal, or a foreshadow of the city of God whose beauty shall be seen in the latter day descending from God out of heaven, will soon claim the sky as their own. Be instant, earnest, patient in using well the opportunity of the plastic era. But look not on us with coldness and distrust,



if we grow not exactly in your likeness, if our prairies produce not Adirondacks, or our Mississippi picture not again your Hudsons and Connecticuts. Accord to us somewhat of the freedom of your own great founders. Remember, though principles be the same, the mould of popular mind, the impress of environment, the plastic pressure of circumstance, and the ethnic material are not the same. Wonder not if forms vary, though principles be unchanged.

But, if principles transplanted to other lands shall ever seem to partake somewhat of the softening influences of a more Ionian clime, be it yours to keep up the granite manhood of the old mountain stock. Above all, keep up the old metropolitan heart in strong, healthful, tonic heat. While your sons and brothers are wandering afar to build in new worlds, new empires and civilizations, do you of the homestead keep the ancient family hearthstones bright; and let the wanderers, as they ever and anon look back from their battle with the wilderness and the waste—let them ever behold the old beacon-lights of the race, still blazing on and blazing on, clear, strong, and jubilant along the Eastern skies.



THE VALIDITY OF NEW ENGLAND ORDINATIONS.

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AN

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED MAY 10, 1854, IN BROOKLYN, N. Y., BEFORE THE

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION,

BY

LEONARD BACON.



## PREFATORY NOTE.

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[THE substance of the following discourse was also delivered on the 17th of May, in the Chapel of Harvard College, as the Dudleian Lecture for 1854. The exordium of the lecture is here subjoined, as explaining the purpose of that foundation, and as describing an example of Christian liberality and forethought worthy to be remembered, and not less worthy to be imitated.]

More than a hundred years ago, a good man, whose hope was in Christ, and who was expecting to depart and be with Christ, desired, as every man with Christian sentiments and aspirations must needs desire, that his usefulness in this world might survive him. His spiritual sense, divinely quickened, had learned to recognise in the outward universe and in his own inward and higher nature, the manifestation of the eternal Power and Godhead. From his childhood he had known the Holy Scriptures; and in those immortal records, glowing from age to age with inextinguishable inspiration, he had found light, strength, and the consciousness of fellowship with God. Searching the Scriptures as the oracles of God, he loved their spiritual Gospel, their doctrine of one Mediator; and his hereditary protest against the superstition and spiritual despotism with which Christianity has been overlaid in so large a portion of the nominally Christian world, became a deep and most religious conviction. Born and nurtured in that iconoclastic New England of other days, he loved the ecclesiastical system for which New England had been planted; and those churches, with the democratic equality of their brotherhood, with the rigorous simplicity of their arrangements, and with the Puritan nakedness of their ritual, were to his filial affection the fairest portion of that catholic visible commonwealth in which Christ is King. With such views as these, desiring to do good to other ages, he made provision for a perpetual series of annual discourses here, revolving in a quadrennial cycle through these four topics: The revelation which God has made of himself to man in nature: The evidence that the same God has made himself known to men by a supernatural revelation recorded in the Scriptures: The errors with which Roman tradition and usurpation have corrupted the knowledge and worship of God: and the vital connexion of the New England churches with that true Catholic church of the living God, in which Christ is present always, even to the end of the world. According to the arrangements instituted by the will of that good man so long ago, I stand in this honored presence to-day "for the maintaining, explaining, and proving the validity of the ordination of ministers or pastors of the churches, and so their administration of the sacraments or ordinances of religion, as the same hath been practised in New England from the first beginning of it, and so continued at this day.



## THE VALIDITY OF NEW ENGLAND ORDINATIONS.

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### ADDRESS.

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WE are now assembled in the annual meeting of the American Congregational Union. Those on whom it was incumbent to make arrangements for the succession of meetings connected with the occasion have thought it proper to provide that this meeting shall be opened with a discourse from the presiding officer of the year.

In the choice of a subject, I have been guided in part by considerations of personal convenience. By a special engagement, which I need not explain, my thoughts have been directed of late to an inquiry respecting the vital connexion between the Congregational or New England churches in the United States, and that true Catholic Church of the living God in which Christ is present always to the end of the world. Such a subject has seemed to me to be not unworthy of a serious and careful discussion at the first annual convention of a society which has for its object, in the most comprehensive statement, "the promotion of evangelical knowledge and piety in connexion with Congregational principles of church government." And conscious as I am that the discussion will lack the profound philosophic insight and the classical eloquence which so instructed and delighted us in one of the discourses yesterday, and the affluent beauty of thought and illustration which so charmed us in the other, it relieves me to find that the theme which I have chosen for discussion may be regarded as following in some sort of logical sequence the subjects which have occupied our thoughts in the preceding meetings of the present Convocation.

None will be offended at the synonym, when I speak of

“the New England *or* Congregational Churches.” What is known as Congregationalism in the United States, is the system, religious and ecclesiastical, of the churches which were planted by the Puritan fathers of New England. It is distinguished from the various systems of hierarchical and synodical or classical church-government, by its great principle that every local society of believers for communion in Christian ordinances is, under Christ, a complete and independent church. Precisely the same principle is held, with exemplary tenacity and consistency, by the most numerous body of churches in the United States; yet the Baptists are not called Congregationalists, and the only reason is that they insist upon immersion as the only mode of baptism, and do not recognise the children of believers as having a birthright in the kingdom of Christ. There are others “who profess and call themselves Christians,” with various distinctive titles, and who hold as firmly as we do the independence and self-government of local churches, but who are not spoken of as Congregationalists, except with some additional word of explanation; inasmuch as Congregationalism, in the common use of the word, includes also the idea of that theology which has descended from the fathers of New England—a theology freely and boldly argumentative, with no servile deference to any authority but that of the Bible, and yet essentially accordant with the symbolical books of the Reformation and of the Puritan age. The New England Churches, in New England and out of it, are as much agreed in holding what is commonly called “the Evangelical system of theological doctrine, and in baptizing the infant children of believing parents, as they are in asserting their own independent completeness and self-government under Him who is head over all things to the church.

The subject then of this discourse is sufficiently intelligible. Taking for my text the words of an ancient thesis, I propose to examine “the validity of the ordination of ministers or pastors of the churches, and so their administration of

the sacraments or ordinances of religion, as the same hath been practised in New England from the first beginning of it, and so continued at this day."

"The ordination of ministers or pastors of the churches as the same hath been practised in New England from the first beginning of it," is "nothing else but the solemn putting a man into his place and office in the church—being like the installing of a magistrate in the Commonwealth." It is performed by the laying on of hands and prayer, in the full assembly of the church, by whose choice, not without prayer and fasting, the candidate has been called to office. It is accompanied with a formal charge given in the name of Christ, and as from the mouth of God; and with the symbolic right-hand of fellowship given and received as expressing the unity of the Christian Commonwealth, by expressing a recognition of the church and of its new pastor and overseer on the part of other churches present by their officers and representatives, to co-operate in the proceedings. Thousands can testify that "the ordination of ministers or pastors of the churches," with all this primitive simplicity of ritual, is, to an intelligent and religiously thoughtful mind, one of the most impressive of all ecclesiastical solemnities, beautiful in holiness—

"Beyond the pomp that charms the eye,  
And rites adorned with gold."

"The administration of the sacraments or ordinances of religion" by pastors and ministers thus ordained, is equally void of liturgical pomp. With pure water only, not with profane salt or spittle, nor with any superstitious charm, these pastors baptize "into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,"—following in their formula the letter of the New Testament record. At the table where Christ has appointed to meet his disciples, they preside in his name; breaking the bread with blessing, and offering the cup with thanksgiving, in exactest imitation of the Master's own ceremonial as set down in the story of that

night in which he was betrayed. Yet the ministration of these ordinances, as touching in their simplicity as they are sublime in their significance, is not to them their highest function. If this were the chief thing in their ministry they might be mistaken for priests, and might mistake themselves accordingly. But this administration of sacraments is only one of the *incidents* of their office in the Church. Successors of the apostles, so far as any apostolic function could be perpetual, they have learned to say with the Chief of the Apostles, "Christ sent us not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel." Pastors and teachers, bishops or overseers of the flock of God, their office is prophetic rather than priestly, and their chief work is that of dealing directly with the moral and spiritual faculties of men by the ministration of the word of God publicly and from house to house. This is what gives to their office its highest dignity and sanctity, and its hold on the affections and reverence of a free and thoughtful people. The administration of sacraments is not their office, but only an incident of their office; as in the State the function of administering oaths is incidental to the office of a judge.

In regard to the ordination of these pastors there is raised the question of its validity; involving as is supposed the validity of all their consequent administration, and in particular the validity of their administration of the sacraments or ordinances of the religion instituted by Christ. What is meant by those who deny the validity of these ordinations and consequent administrations, when they happen to know their own meaning, is, that the churches of New England, as we call them, are not churches at all—are not a portion of the one visible catholic church of Christ, and have no share in that promise—"Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." When they deny the validity of these ordinations, they either mean nothing, or they mean that the pastors thus ordained are not Christian pastors. When they deny the validity of the administration of sacrament by these pastors, they either

mean nothing, or they mean that baptism thus administered is not Christian baptism; and that the table at which the Lord's Supper is thus administered is not the table of the Lord.

How then is such a question as this to be decided? The question is, in effect, though not in form, whether these pastors are Christian ministers—whether the flocks they guide and feed, are Christian churches—whether the religion administered by them is the Christian religion—whether Christ is with them—whether the Holy Spirit is with them—whether that word of the world's Redeemer, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them," belongs to them. To what tribunal can a question of this nature, concerning so large a portion of those "who profess and call themselves Christians," be carried for a decision? Where is the arbiter? What sort of evidence is pertinent? What are the rules and principles by which we may come to a safe conclusion?

We must not forget that this question, in the view of those who hold the negative—for it is from them that the question originally comes—is by no means a question of mere speculation, interesting only to theologians and to scholars curious in the abstrusities of ecclesiastical lore. On the contrary, it is with them, and from their point of view, an eminently practical question; a question of intense personal interest to every man who desires to be a partaker in the grace and friendship of God. With them it is a question which touches Christianity at a most vital point. On a question like this, when we have to do with those who hold the negative, we cannot reason conclusively from the nature of Christianity; for the fact that they have raised the question, and that it is in their view a question of such moment, is evidence that their conception of the nature of Christianity is too widely different from ours to afford the common premises from which we and they can reach a common conclusion. We cannot refer it to the arbitrament of pope or prelate,



living or dead, or of any council, ancient or modern, national or œcumenical ; for whatever veneration they may have for such authorities in relation to such a question, we have none. There is, however, a common arbiter whose authority is acknowledged by them and by us alike. There are common premises from which they and we can set forth in argument together. In the nature of the case, the question is one on which there is no appeal but to the authentic and original records of the Christian religion.

Turning then to those records, we inquire what test they give by which we can determine the validity of ordination. In what circumstances, and under what conditions, does the induction of a pastor into his office in the church, the formal setting apart of a minister to his work, acquire the attribute of validity, and communicate that quality to his subsequent administrations? If the question is so important now, it must have been equally important in the first century. How did the Apostles treat this question of validity? What principles did they announce—what rules and cautions did they give, by which the churches under their personal care might be enabled, in their absence, and after they had gone from among the living, to distinguish validity of ordination from invalidity?

At first sight, it is somewhat suspicious in regard to the nature of the question we have taken in hand—that the New Testament contains no such word as *validity* in connexion with the ordination of ministers or the administration of sacraments—no parallel word or phrase—no hint to show that the idea which that word stands for in these later centuries, had ever occurred to the apostles, or to those whom they personally instructed. But we will not at present insist on this strange silence of the Apostles and their seeming ignorance. I advert to it here, not as giving us any direct argument for the validity of our ordinations, but only for the sake of showing that if we would carry this question to the tribunal of the New Testament, with any hope of ob-

taining a clear decision, we must get it translated, as it were, into some form in which the Apostles and Evangelists—if we could summon them, as Saul at Endor summoned the prophet—would be able to understand it. In other words we must take the question in that more generic form of it which has already been suggested; and then we shall find the Scriptures ready to give us light.

When the validity of our New England ordinations, and consequently the validity of the administration of sacraments in our churches, is denied, the denial means that the pastors thus ordained are not ministers of Christ, or of the Christian religion, but are mere pretenders to that ministry. Here then we have the question in a form in which we can bring it directly within the range of the light that shines from the pages of the New Testament. In the teaching of the Apostles, and of the Christ himself, it is made the duty not of apostles only, or of ministers; not of the learned only, or of the wise and gifted; not of synods only, and ecclesiastical assemblies, but of all Christians alike and individually; nay of all men to whom Christianity is offered, to exercise their judgment in regard to those who profess to be the ministers of God. If we take the Christian Scriptures for our guide, we find that it is the duty of all Christians—nay of all men—to acknowledge Christ's true ministers, and to reject all mere pretenders. On this point at least, our friends who hold forth on every side the invalidity of our ordinations and our sacraments, are in agreement with the Scriptures. Averse as they are to the exercise of private judgment on other points, they are compelled to acknowledge the orderliness and the necessity of those acts of private judgment by which the individual, unfortunately educated in the habit of reading the Scriptures for himself, is to arrive at the conclusion that he has no right of private judgment on religious questions, but is to surrender his conscience to the keeping of the church and of its divinely instituted hierarchy. Their appeal, therefore, against what we regard as the administra-

tion of Christianity in our churches—their argument to show that these pastors are not ministers of Christ, but only pretenders and conscious or unconscious impostors—is not a *concio ad clerum* only, but a *concio ad populum*, level as they suppose to the meanest capacity. They expect that individual hearers and readers—the unlearned as well as the learned—men, women, and children—will understand the argument, and, in the exercise of their judgment on a matter which concerns their salvation, will acknowledge the true ministers of God and reject the pretenders. So far at least, they and the New Testament are agreed. Thus the Apostle John says, “Beloved, believe not every spirit; but try the spirits whether they are of God; for many false prophets are gone out into the world.” Thus the Saviour himself had said before him, “Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.” Thus the church at Ephesus is commended by Him who holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, “I know thy works”—“thou hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars.”

What rules then do Christ and his Apostles give us—what principles do they propound, by which we may safely try the Spirits when many false prophets are abroad? By what tests, within the reach and comprehension of ordinary Christians, may a true minister of the Christian religion be distinguished from a mere pretender? [By the same tests, undoubtedly, may the question be decided, whether great religious unions and organizations, bearing the Christian name, and making in some sort a Christian profession, and so calling themselves churches, are to be recognised as belonging to the one holy catholic church, and as having a right to the promise of Christ’s perpetual presence.] The same tests, undoubtedly, by which an individual pretender is detected and exposed, may be applied to bodies of clergy—national, provincial, or sectarian. If the pastors of the New England churches, taken as a body and in their succession and history from

the first settlement of New England to this time, are not Christian ministers—which is implied in the alleged invalidity of their ordination—and if, therefore, all their ministrations are spiritually worthless, and the great religious commonwealth in which they serve is without the pale of the true Christendom, the fact will certainly be made to appear by the application of the tests prescribed in the New Testament. What these tests are, it is not difficult for any reader of the Scriptures to see.

Opening the New Testament at the passage already alluded to, where the Apostle John [1 John iv. 1] warns his readers that many false prophets had gone out into the world—"many antichrists," as he describes them elsewhere in a still more energetic phrase—we see in what way he expects that the true minister of Christianity will be identified, and in what way the mere pretender will be detected. "Believe not every spirit"—every pretender to spiritual gifts or spiritual authority—"but try the spirits whether they are of God." But how can they venture to judge in so difficult a matter? He immediately proceeds to tell them, "Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God." "They," he says [5]—meaning the false prophets or the spiritual pretenders who are not of God—"are of the world, therefore speak they of the world and the world heareth them. We are of God; he that knoweth God heareth us; he that is not of God, heareth not us. Hereby know we the spirit of truth and the spirit of error." What kind of a test is this, by which Christians are to distinguish the true spiritual gifts in the church from the spurious and deceitful? Manifestly, it is not the test of a dead dogmatic formula, but the very different test—at once more rigorous and more liberal—of spiritual sympathies and antipathies. The Apostles and their churches were united in one great spiritual fellowship, by the bond of a common affectionate faith in a

personal and living Saviour. The distinctive and central fact of what they called the Gospel—the great historic reality on which their faith rested; which had moved the depths of their interior being; which had wakened their reverent, earnest, grateful affection; which had kindled within them a new sense of invisible and divine realities, and a new consciousness of spiritual life,—was this, Jesus is the Christ come in human nature, the anointed Redeemer, the Prince and Saviour, the Creative Word, the Eternal Life. I need not stop to explain the reach and grandeur of this fact, to trace out its relations, or to unfold its effects, in the consciousness of the believer quickened by the Holy Spirit. It is enough to say that in this apostle's theory, Christian men whose religious faith and affections centre on the person of Jesus Christ, are competent to know what Christianity is when they hear it uttered from living lips; and he bids them try the spirits by this test: Do they utter themselves as if they had any just notion of the great fact that Jesus is the Christ come in human nature? The quality of the teacher is ascertained by the quality of his teaching—the spirit is known by his utterance—the prophet by his prophecy. John's test for the trial of the spirits is this: Look to the matter of their teaching. The teacher of true Christianity, whose utterances commend him as such to the conscience and to the Christian consciousness, is of God. And on the other hand, the pretender to whatever spiritual gifts or spiritual authority, who does not hold forth a living and loving Christianity, all radiant from the central fact that Jesus is the Messiah, come in human nature,—is not of God.

In the same way, the Apostle Peter defines "false teachers" (2 Pet. ii. 6) by their teaching; they "deny the Lord who redeemed them." He evidently knew no better way of showing that a man is not a Christian minister than by showing that what the man administers is not Christianity. So the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. xii. 3) refers to the



same test for the trial of spiritual gifts and pretensions. Alluding to the ignorance and heathenism from which some of the Corinthian Christians had been converted, he says, "I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed; and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord but by the Holy Ghost." Due honor put upon Jesus as the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, and as the author and finisher of our faith, is the characteristic feature of all truly Christian ministrations.

The first test then of a Christian minister, and of his ministrations, is the question whether that which he administers is Christianity. The teacher of true Christianity—of that Christianity which is not mere dogma and tradition, but life and love with Christ for its centre—is a true Christian teacher. The minister whose administration in public worship and ordinances, and in the preaching of the word, is the administration of true and spiritual Christianity, is a Christian minister. And surely the test which, when applied to an individual minister, determines his character as Christian or unchristian, may be applied with equal confidence to a body and succession of ministers. The Scriptures teach us that the question whether they are a body and succession of Christian ministers, is a question of fact, to be determined by inspection—by observing and so ascertaining whether that which they administer is in reality the Christian religion.

But there is another test—or rather another form and application of the test. The Saviour himself, when he warns his disciples to beware of false prophets, who come with fair appearances and pretensions, but who are in reality destroyers, says (Matt. vii. 15–20), "ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" The rich, ripe clusters, pendent from the vine, demonstrate that the living growth which produces them is a genuine vine. You need not ask who planted it. You need not ask whence came the seed or the cutting, from which that

growth began. You are not to doubt whether it is really a vine or only a thorn-bush uncommonly elongated and flourishing, till you have explored the records and traced its pedigree backward some four thousand years to the vineyard which Noah planted after the deluge. "By their fruits ye shall know them." This is substantially the same test with that proposed by the Apostles. The quality of the minister is to be determined by the quality of his administration; the quality of the teacher by the quality of his teaching; the quality of the prophet, by the quality of the message which he brings as from God. What kind of fruit does he bring forth? Try all prophets—all religious teachers—all who profess to administer the word and grace of God—by the tendency and moral effects of their ministry. The genuineness of a ministry is known by its fruits. What better test can there be than this? We know what is the moral tendency of true Christianity, and what are its legitimate effects on individual character and on society. It is the tree of life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. It is the stream which the prophet saw in his vision, when the waters of Siloe, bursting from their hidden channels, swelled into a river; and flowing along the dreary *wady* toward the sea of Sodom, they changed the desert into beauty, and its scorched barrenness into waving verdure. That which does not produce the effects of Christianity—that which does not work the moral and spiritual changes in which Christianity manifests its nature and its power, is not Christianity; and those who administer it are not Christian ministers.

Briefly then, Christianity, according to its own authentic words, is something which can be identified by the instructed moral sense. If thine eye be single—if the light that is in thee be not darkness—you can know the legitimate fruit of Christian doctrine and Christian institutions, when you see it, as certainly as you know the difference between a thistle and a fig. No doubt there may be individual instances, in

which the application of the test is not absolutely conclusive, because the fruit is not sufficiently developed in the individual. Here and there a convert may be better than the teaching under which he was converted; and even the teacher may not illustrate in his own character the moral effect of his own doctrine. There may be a Judas among the Apostles; and on the other hand, Satan himself may be transformed into an angel of light. But taken on the large scale, the effects and fruits of any religious system are an intelligible and indisputable demonstration of the nature and character of the system itself. That religious system which produces upon individuals and upon society, in a fair field and from age to age, the manifest effects of Christianity—is Christianity, valid and true; and those who administer that system, in its doctrines and in its ritual, are Christian ministers.

Such is the rule given us by the Apostles, and by Christ himself, for the decision of the question now before us. We are to ascertain who are Christian ministers, by ascertaining whether they are in reality ministers of Christ's Gospel; and if there be a question whether the system which they administer is in reality the Christian religion, that question may be answered by ascertaining its results as they lie open to inspection, and as the moral sense, enlightened by the Scriptures, and quickened by the inward grace of God, pronounces them good or evil. Another rule has been proposed, as we all well know—a rule which is thought by some to be not only more convenient but far more safe for general use. Instead of judging the minister by the quality of his ministration, and the ministration by its tendencies as ascertained in its historical results, it is proposed to judge the ministration by the minister, and then to judge the minister by inquiring whether there are adequate external evidences to show that he is in the right line of succession from the Apostles. According to this method, the first question is, Who ordained him?—and the next, Who ordained

his ordainers?—and, Can his outward vocation and commission to administer the Christian religion be thus traced back through a succession of ordinations to the original promulgators of Christianity? To such a theory of the matter, aside from its intrinsic preposterousness and the contradiction which it offers to the whole nature and genius of Christianity, there are these grave objections.

1. Neither Christ nor any one of his Apostles has in any instance directed churches or individual Christians to inquire after any man's pedigree as a minister of the word of God and of Christian ordinances. Our Lord and his Apostles never tell us that we are to detect a false teacher by inquiring where he got his ordination. No Apostle has ever told us, "ye shall know the false teacher by this, that we have not ordained him or made him a minister." He who is head over all things to the church, has never said, "ye shall know them by their ordination; ye shall know them by their lineage." His rule is—and it shall stand for ever—"ye shall know them by their fruits." And as if for the purpose of guarding us against a notion so mischievous and so unchristian, we have it distinctly upon record, that when his best beloved disciple said to him (Mark ix. 38), "Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us; and we forbade him because he followeth not us,"—his answer was, "Forbid him not, for there is no man who shall do a miracle in my name, that can lightly speak evil of me; for he that is not against us is on our part." That is to say—Whomsoever you find doing my work in the world, or attempting to do it, you need not disclaim him—you need not demand his commission or authority for daring to serve me; inquire only whether he is indeed my friend; see whether he speaks evil of me; see whether he derogates from my authority before you derogate from his; "for he that is not against us," in our great conflict with the world's wickedness and with the powers of darkness, "is for us." Paul too, warning the churches of Galatia (Gal. i. 7, 8) against

those irregular itinerants of the concision—those sectarian and uncatholic teachers—who troubled them, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ, says, not that those teachers have not been properly ordained, nor that they are out of the right line of succession (the very imputation, by the way, which they made against him, and which he did not stoop to deny), but he says, with all the emphasis of his great and earnest soul, “though we, or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be anathema.”

2. But it is another objection to this theory of the subject, that the New Testament does not contain at all that doctrine of ordination on which the theory rests, and which it assumes as a first principle. The doctrine of ordination as it underlies the theory in question, is that a man can be authorized to administer the Gospel, and especially its symbolical ordinances, only by a certain form to which the imposition of the hands of a certain properly qualified functionary is essential; and that in this particular way—by this precise manipulation—there is effected a transmission of powers which were originally given by Christ in that way to the Apostles, and which have thus been *handed down* from the Apostles to certain functionaries at this day. This doctrine of ordination our fathers renounced, and “prayed to be delivered from the snare thereof.” We too renounce it, blessing God for our liberty from that “covenant of works,” and resolving not to be entangled again with that yoke of bondage. We find indeed in the New Testament a custom, a habit, an institute if you please, of the ordination of ministers, whether missionaries or officers in churches, by the *χειροτονία* of the brotherhood and the *χειροθεσία* of the elders; and we accept that institute with all readiness as our fathers did, because it is an authorized as well as a devout and decorous method of inauguration. But the idea that the being of Christianity—the stability, nay, the existence of that church against which the gates of Hades shall never prevail



—is suspended on the attenuated thread of a tactual succession stretching backwards over vast chasms of darkness to the fingers of Peter—still more that our faith in the continued grace of God must fail unless we can trace that thread—is an idea of which the New Testament gives us not even the faintest intimation.

Do we then admit that the churches of New England, and of the same faith and order elsewhere, stand in no vital succession from the Apostles and the churches of the primitive age? Do we admit that our churches, with their administration of Christianity, are not historically identified with that universal church which Jesus of Nazareth began to build upon a rock, taking Simon whose surname was Peter for the first stone in the building? Do we hold, as even some Protestants charge us with holding—that Christ's original church failed, and that the gates of hell prevailed against it through the middle ages, till our fathers founded it again at the Reformation? God forbid! We hold that Christianity has existed in the world without interruption of its historic continuity, ever since its glorious author came to seek and to save the lost. We hold that it has existed not merely in written documents, nor merely as a philosophy or system of propositions, but as a living force in living human hearts—a force propagating itself by vital influences from heart to heart, and from age to age. We hold that it has existed not as a mere sentiment, or feeling of the Divine, in here and there a gifted and meditative mind, nor as a thing unknown and hidden from the search of history, but as a grand historic reality—a subduing, creative, organizing power—a principle of association and fellowship among men as well as of communion between God and human souls. We hold that the history of Christianity in the world is the history of an organizing force and of its effects, and is therefore the history of the church in the true meaning of that word; and that the history of the world from the era of Christ's coming derives its highest significance from its rela-

tion and real subordination to the history of the church. At the Reformation there commenced indeed what we call a new epoch. There was collision and conflict of forces, there was expansion and development, there was a partial separation of mutually repellent elements; but there was not a new church, nor was there any break of historic succession in the administration of the Gospel. As there was a living Christianity before the Reformation, identical in its being with the living Christianity which followed; so there was before the Reformation a true ministry, with which the ministry that followed was connected in a natural succession. Luther and Zuingle, those twin stars of the Reformation, were members of Christ's visible and true Catholic church, and ministers of the word and of Christ's ordinances—known and widely honored as such, before God put them to the work of reforming; nor did they forfeit, by their obedience to his high vocation, their title to be thus known and honored. The Reformation did not make the reformers members of the church Catholic or ministers of Christ, but they began the work, and led in it, because they were already Christ's consecrated ministers, and because the performance of their ministry, while it gave them continually clearer and larger views of the Gospel which they preached, brought them into conflict with superstition, and false doctrine, and spiritual oppression.

So when Christianity was planted on these New England shores, it came hither to strike its roots into the virgin soil, not as a new thing just created and sent down from God, but as the old imperishable Christianity of the Apostles and of Christ himself—a branch or offshoot of the vine which in the old world had already had the growth of sixteen centuries. Often have our hearts swelled as we have been made to think how much of the future—what a freight of destiny—was in the *Mayflower*, when laden with human households and human loves and hopes and griefs, and resonant with prayer and psalm, she slowly floated on her wintry voyage.

But there is equal sublimity in the thought of all the foregoing history that was living in the Christian life of the Pilgrim church, when the brethren in that narrow and crowded cabin formed their political compact "in the name of God." The mingled life of all the Christian centuries was in those lowly and believing hearts. There was the result not only of their personal experiences from the day when first they covenanted with each other that they would walk together as a church in conformity with the principles of the New Testament, "whatever it might cost them"—not only of the studies and teaching, the faith, the devotion, the affection of their beloved and honored pastor—not only of the intellectual and spiritual culture which he and they had received from their own Christian fellowship in the word and the instituted worship and service of God—but of all in the past that had concurred to make them what they were in their religious life and aspirations. The conflicts of the Reformation, the scholastic theology of the middle ages, all the great labors and agonies by which Christianity had lived amid its perils, all the life and growth of the universal church, had contributed to shape their intellectual and spiritual being; and the conjoined effect of all was incorporated with their life as a Christian brotherhood. The sternness of Calvin, the homely heroism of Latimer, the audacity of Luther, the rugged vigor of Wycliffe, had to do with the thinking, the feeling, the praying, the acting, the being of that Pilgrim church; and of each of them, as of a spiritual ancestor, it might be said that something of his life was there. Others of earlier centuries, Anselm, Beda, Augustin, Athanasius, were there. The struggles of great souls from age to age, longing for light and freedom—the unfailing prayer of all the saints,—“thy kingdom come”—the groans of martyrs whose ashes had been cast upon the winds,—all were there, incorporated with the life and beating in the pulses of those living hearts, so humble, so heroic, so full of devotion and of love. The Apostles were there, and those

who died for Christ in Nero's gardens and in the Roman amphitheatre. And more than all, and in a far sublimer sense, Christ was there. His presence was with them as truly as with the disciples of old when he came to them walking on the waves of Galilee. His life that lives in his Church through all the ages of its progress, was in their life. Who will tell us that the one holy Catholic church in 1620 did not include the church of the Mayflower? Who will tell us that Christ was at that moment with James of England and with Buckingham, because Laud was with them, and that Christ was not with Carver, Bradford, and Brewster, and their company, because there was no mitred head among them?

The Christianity, then, which planted itself here in the form of Congregational churches, was in a vital connexion with the Christianity of England, and through that with the Christianity of Europe and of all foregoing ages. Or, to put the fact into the simplest statement of it, the first pastors and teachers of our New England churches—the Wilson and Cotton of Massachusetts, the Hooker and Davenport of Connecticut—had been, before their coming hither, able and faithful ministers of the word of God in England. That they had exercised their ministry in the national church-establishment, and had been canonically ordained by English prelates, is a small matter to insist on here or anywhere. What is more to the point, is, that they were in a historic succession from ministers who went before them, and who had taught and trained them, and had led them to the ministry; that the things which they had heard among many witnesses, the same committed they by special training and instruction to faithful men who were able to teach others also; and that thus the churches of New England, taken as one great religious community, have enjoyed for more than two centuries—and let us hope in God shall still enjoy through untold ages—a true administration of Christ's word and ordinances.

It is not, however, from any outward succession that we deduce our confidence in the validity and genuineness of the administration of Christianity in our churches. On the contrary, from the validity of the administration of the Gospel in our churches, we infer with assurance the reality of the inward and vital connexion between our own New England church history, and the history of the universal church of Christ. To vindicate the validity of these administrations, we appeal not to musty records or doubtful traditions of prelatical consecrations; but to those unquestionable phenomena in which vital and spiritual forces make themselves visible. That these churches are Christian congregations—that the ministers ordained in them, by the lifting up of the hands of the brotherhood, and by the laying on of the hands of the elders, do really administer the Christian religion, is not a matter of doubtful disputation to the intelligence or to the moral sense of men enlightened by the word and spirit of God. “Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus is the Messiah come in human nature, is of God.” “He that abideth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son.” “No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Spirit.” Where, this side of heaven, is Jesus the Anointed known and honored as the “Son of God, the Saviour of the world,” if not in the Congregational churches of New England, and in the ministration at their altars? Where, if not in these churches, do sermon and prayer, song and sacrament, continually hold forth, that to the Christ crucified “God hath given a name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow of those in heaven, and those in earth, and those under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus the Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father?” Where, if not in these churches, does spiritual worship utter itself in devout accordance with the doxology of the Apocalypse. “Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, be unto Him



that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for ever and ever." And if our church history shows here and there an instance of defection from the Christian truth, let the accusers of our churches tell us, if they can, where Christianity has more effectually demonstrated its own recuperative power, than under our free system, and under what outward form it is more manifest that the church, the body of Christ,

"Vital in every part,  
Cannot but by annihilating die."

"By their fruits ye shall know them." If that religion which has been administered in the churches of New England, "from the first beginning of it," is not a genuine and valid Christianity, then may men gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles. Where, upon earth—where, in all the history of the universal church of Christ, are the legitimate effects of Christianity to be found, if not in the religious history and the present aspect of New England? You may circumnavigate the globe to find a field which the Lord hath blessed above all other lands—a land where the grace of a redeeming God is at this moment exhibiting most impressively its power to renew the face of the earth—and you shall find it not where the apostles toiled and suffered in the ages long ago, but here, among those monumental hills, those smiling villages, those frequent spires, those domestic sanctuaries of love and purity and of Christian faith and worship, those graves—the ancient and the recent—made in immortal hope. If we look back along the line of buried generations, how attractive are the examples of holiness that shine upon us!—the seraphic Edwards, the saintly Brainard, the apostolic Eliot—how many are the treasured names of those who have walked with God, and have followed their Saviour into the unseen glory! Are they to be excluded from the pale of the church catholic in the name of catholicity? The institutions of Congregational New

England—its schools and various arrangements for the universal distribution of knowledge—its seats of science and of theological learning—its provision for the relief of every form of human affliction, so that the deaf hear, the dumb man speaks, the blind see and read, and the unbalanced reason finds its equipoise under the skilful touch of Christ-like gentleness—is there no Christianity in these? The theology which our New England divines are ever hammering into a more rigorous shape of orthodoxy—impute to it what eccentricities and provincialisms you please—the distinctive theology of New England, with its strenuous and unyielding grasp on the Gospel as the revelation of God in Christ reconciling the world to himself—is there no Christianity in this? The developed moral sense of New England, with its abhorrence of oppression and injustice, its impatience of whatever degrades humanity, and its constant aspiration and struggle towards the complete reformation of society—is there in this, whatever of occasional error or excess you may ascribe to it, no yearning and working of a Christian sentiment? The religious sensibility of New England, with its cheerful yet tranquil and holy Sabbaths, with its still reverence in the house of God, with its movements of parochial sympathy—its awakenings and conversions—its experiences so often vindicated as the work of God, by a holy living and a victorious death—is there no Christianity in this? The evangelism of New England, with the grandeur of its enterprises and the affluence of its free contributions from rich and poor, with its pioneers fixing the centres of illumination on the prairies of the Mississippi, and where the mountains slope to the Pacific, with its hallowed graves on many a distant shore, and its living messengers under every temperate or torrid sky, and with its glorious trophies in Asia and the isles—is there no Christianity in this? In the dark, faint hour, when heart and flesh are failing, give me, rather than any formal absolution spoken by priestly lips, or any

*viaticum* administered by priestly hands, the living faith in Christ that burned in the Pilgrim exiles struggling with want, and winter, and disease, and dying to lie down in hidden graves, and that burns to-day with kindred flame in the Pilgrim missionary, dying amid his swarthy converts under the tropical sunlight, on some lonely isle where the billows break in murmuring music on the coral shore.

## PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNIVERSARY.

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THE first anniversary of the *American Congregational Union* was held at the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, on Wednesday and Thursday, May 10th and 11th, 1854. On the morning of Wednesday, the Union was addressed by Rev. E. A. Park, D.D., of Andover Theological Seminary; and on the afternoon of the same day by Rev. T. M. Post, D.D., of St. Louis, Missouri. On Thursday afternoon the annual meeting for business was held. After an address from Rev. L. Bacon, D.D., the President, the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer were read and adopted. The following persons were elected officers of the Union for the ensuing year.

### OFFICERS.

*President*:—REV. LEONARD BACON, D.D., of New Haven.

*Vice Presidents*:—HON. BRADFORD R. WOOD, Albany, N. Y.; REV. GEORGE SHEPPARD, D.D., Bangor, Me.; REV. MARK HOPKINS, D.D., Williamstown, Mass.; HON. EMORY WASHBURN, Worcester, Mass.; REV. CHARLES WALKER, D.D., Pittsford, Vt.; HON. ARISTARCHUS CHAMPION, Rochester, N. Y.; REV. H. D. KITCHELL, Detroit, Michigan; REV. T. M. POST, St. Louis, Mo.; REV. EDWARDS A. PARK, D.D., Andover, Mass.; HON. A. M. COLLINS, Hartford, Conn.; REV. O. E. DAGGETT, D.D., Canandaigua, N. Y.; REV. JONA. LEAVITT, D.D., Providence, R. I.; REV. J. M. STURTEVANT, D.D., Jacksonville, Ill.; REV. WILLIAM PATTON, D.D., New York; REV. J. H. LINSLEY, D.D., Greenwich, Conn.; HON. H. B. SPELLMAN, Cleveland, Ohio; REV. SAMUEL C. BARTLETT, Manchester, N. H.; S. B. GOOKINS, ESQ., Terre Haute, Ind.; REV. T. DWIGHT HUNT, San Francisco, Cal.; REV. THOMAS WICKES, Marietta, Ohio; EDWARD D. HOLTON, ESQ., Milwaukee, Wis.; REV. JULIUS A. REED, Davenport, Iowa; REV. CHARLES BEECHER, Newark, N. J.

*Trustees*:—REV. T. ATKINSON, REV. H. W. BEECHER, MR. H. C. BOWEN, REV. G. B. CHEEVER, D.D., MR. S. B. CHITTENDEN, MR. JAMES FREELAND, MR. W. C. GILMAN, MR. W. A. HALL, MR. ISRAEL MINOR, REV. R. S. STORRS, JR., REV. J. P. THOMPSON, MR. GEORGE WALKER, MR. O. E. WOOD.

*Secretary*:—REV. T. ATKINSON.

*Treasurer*:—MR. ISRAEL MINOR.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Union be tendered to Rev. Drs. PARK, POST, and BACON, for the addresses delivered by them severally before the Union at this its first annual gathering, and that copies of the same be requested with a view to their publication under the direction of the Board of Trustees. [In accordance with this resolution the present volume is issued.]

Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., in behalf of the Trustees, submitted the following plan for the establishment of Pastoral Libraries.

That the TRUSTEES of this Union be instructed to make immediate effort to raise a fund of at least TWELVE THOUSAND DOLLARS (\$12,000), to aid Congregational Churches, especially those which are comparatively feeble, to form Pastoral Libraries; said Fund to be administered in accordance with the following rules:—

I. The interest of it may be annually distributed in promotion of this object; and to this interest may be added, at the discretion of the Trustees, such other sums as shall be annually contributed by churches or individuals, for the same special purpose; but no portion of the original Fund of Twelve Thousand Dollars shall be ever expended, the same being always retained as a basis of operations.

II. Appropriations under this plan may be made to any Congregational Church, evangelical in its faith, within the United States; but the Trustees shall always have the right to select, from the applications made to them, such as seem to them at once most needy and most promising.

III. No sum exceeding FIFTY DOLLARS (\$50), shall be appropriated to any one church in one year.

IV. No sum shall be appropriated to any church until at least an equal amount has been raised by the church itself, to be expended at the same time, for the same purpose.

V. The appropriation made by the Trustees may be paid by them in money, or, at their discretion, in standard biblical, theological, and historical works, to be purchased by them at wholesale and distributed at cost; and they shall always have power, in making an appropriation, to require that the total list of works to be purchased be submitted to them, and approved or amended by them.

VI. Every congregation receiving such an appropriation shall enter into covenant with the Trustees that the Library thus founded shall remain in perpetuity a "Pastoral Library," for the special use of the minister or ministers of that church; that no division of it shall be made among the members of said church, but that it shall be kept by itself, in a secure place, insured against loss by fire; and that, in the event of the extinction or dissolution of the church, it shall revert to the disposal of the Trustees.

VII. No moneys accruing from this fund shall be applied to any other use than the formation of Pastoral Libraries, as specified above.

VIII. These Rules for the administration of the Fund shall not be altered, except by a majority of two-thirds of those present and voting at an annual meeting of this Union.

In the course of some remarks, setting forth the need of this scheme, Mr. Storrs said that he knew of one Congregational clergyman whose whole library had consisted of two volumes of Barnes' Notes. He also stated that, by an arrangement with booksellers, the Trustees would be able to purchase works for these libraries at cost, thus securing to the churches a larger supply of books than they could otherwise procure for the same investment.

The Trustees were authorized to take immediate measures to carry out the foregoing plan.



## THE COLLATION.

On Thursday evening the members of the Union, with a large company of ladies and gentlemen, assembled in the dining-hall of the Mansion House, Brooklyn, to partake of an elegant collation, provided under the direction of the Committee of Arrangements. As there was no reporter present on behalf of the Trustees, we are dependent upon the brief reports of the newspapers and our own recollections, for a sketch of the speeches on this occasion. It will be noticed that several of the "sentiments" were drawn directly or indirectly from the address of Prof. Park, which gave them a point not at first obvious to the general reader. The following brief outline may serve to convey the spirit of the occasion to those not present, and to revive its interest in the minds of those who were.

CHANDLER STARR, Esq., of Brooklyn, was called to the chair, and acknowledged the honor in a few appropriate remarks.

Rev. Lyman Beecher, D.D., asked a blessing upon the feast.

After the company had partaken of the viands prepared, Rev. R. S. Storrs, Jr., said it was his purpose simply to welcome his brethren from other parts of the country to Brooklyn, of which he felt warranted to say, in the language of the apostle, that his "was no mean city." It was a city of residences, not of stores. If they wanted to find traffic, they would have to go to the noisy and dirty suburb on the other side of the water. Brooklyn was a moral city. It had many churches, but no theatres. In New York they had many churches, also, but many theatres and other places of temptation. The East and the West were now met together on the Brooklyn Heights, in cordial fellowship; and we could feel the pulses of the two beating harmoniously. Congregationalism had left its sea of Galilee, New England, and gone out on its Mediterranean, the great belt of States from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

He closed by a brief statement of the plan for promoting the establishment of Pastoral Libraries, and said he was authorized to announce that a member of the Church of the Pilgrims had pledged the sum of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS towards the proposed permanent fund of Twelve thousand dollars, provided the remainder be made up by the 1st of January next.

The chairman then commenced giving out the sentiments that had been prepared by the committee, calling for a response to each from some gentleman present.

1. *Fraternity the Bond of our Union.*

Rev. Mr. Budington, of Charlestown, Mass., after expressing his warm acknowledgments for the kind reception extended to the ministers of the East by their Brooklyn brethren, and promising a hearty return in old Faneuil Hall at Boston, feelingly referred to the history of Congregationalism, and the services it had rendered in the old and new world to the cause of constitutional liberty. This speech was one of rare eloquence and beauty—illustrating the strength, the purity, and the charity of the early Congregationalists of New England.

2. *The Fathers of New England—"the old men who are always old."*

The chairman called upon his venerable friend, Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, to respond to the sentiment, which was a quotation from Dr. Park's address.

On presenting his venerable form, he was received with rapturous applause. He objected to the sentiment which called him out—"The Fathers of New England." When he got old he could speak with more experience, perhaps, than now. He indulged in a strain of humorous remark, which kept the company in a high state of exhilaration. He followed this with a brief outline of his earlier career as a preacher, which he cut suddenly short, promising to finish it on some future occasion of the same nature, if he should become an old man.

### 3. *The Memory of the New Haven Colony.*

Rev. Mr. Dutton, of New Haven, in referring to the earliest days of the old colony, would suggest three pictures for an artist. The first of these would represent the first Sabbath after the landing of the original colonists, their ship anchored near the shore, their company gathered around and under an old oak tree, listening to the words of John Davenport. The second, the New Haven colonists assembled some fourteen months afterwards in Mr. Carleton's barn, to prepare for the organization of the first church. The third, a cave of huge, rough stones, and standing at its entrance, two men of marked features—men who had pronounced the doom of royal traitors in England; children in the distance, bringing them food. Mr. Dutton alluded, with much pertinence and force, to the refusal of the New Haven colonists to surrender these illustrious "fugitives," and to the preaching of Davenport against such surrendering. "Hide the outcast; bewray not him that wandereth." Modesty forbade him to speak of the person who now occupied the pulpit of the younger Edwards, but he was free to say that the man who now stands in the pulpit of John Davenport [Rev. Dr. Bacon] can be depended on to sustain his principles of the love of liberty, civil and religious.

### 4. *Greetings to Down East.*

Rev. Dr. Tappan, of Augusta, was called up, and gave a very interesting account of the growth of Congregationalism throughout that section of the United States, and spoke with enthusiastic hope of the great future yet reserved for his denomination in New England. He also spoke of the highly beneficial effects of the Maine Law, which was in no small degree the fruit of Congregationalism.

### 5. *The Far West, the farthest outpost of freedom, order, union, and truth on the banks of the Mississippi, linked by golden bands to our metropolitan heart and granite history.*

Rev. Dr. Post, of St. Louis, said he did not come from the "far West" at all, but from the "centre." The last they saw of the "far West" was a glimpse of his garments as he flitted across the Rocky Mountains, and they had heard of him as sojourning for a time on the shores of the Pacific. He did not even occupy the outposts of Congregationalism, for there were many churches beyond him, although he was willing to be considered an "out-Post," as he stood alone in St. Louis, and was himself both pastor and association, conference, and general association, in his own person. He compared the condition of the churches in the West ten years ago, with their flourishing condition now, and concluded his remarks by some very eloquent allusions to the unity and harmony of the Congre-

gational body in America. "We are and shall be one," he said, "one in Christ our Lord, and, as the shadows fall upon these faces, young and old, around me, and they pass into the night and are known on earth, in life, no more, the good deeds done in their generation shall have built a glorious church over the land where their ashes will repose. From old Faneuil Hall, the voice of the truth, stronger even than of yore, shall have crossed the great waters, and aroused in the distant parent-land the spirit of other years, and a new pilgrim emigration shall again unfurl the tattered banner of the 'Mayflower' to the breeze, and bear it westward to the slopes of Nebraska, and hang it on the summits of Oregon, where the mountain airs will play through its folds as gallantly and freshly as they did when it waved in peace over the bay, whose billows rocked the earliest keels that bore our Pilgrim Fathers to the wild shores of New England."

#### 6. *The Fraternity of our Denominational Organizations.*

Rev. Dr. Bacon said he had been called up, as he supposed, by virtue of his office as president of the Congregational Union. After stating very briefly the design of the organization, and of the kindred society at Boston, he said his principal purpose was to introduce the distinguished President of the Congregational Library Association [Rev. Dr. W. T. Dwight]; and preparatory to this, he would relate an anecdote of the parentage of his friend. He then told the story of a very black man who came to New Haven from North Carolina, to obtain money for the redemption of his family. He had excellent credentials, and he got his money. Dr. B. found, on conversing with him, that he was quite intelligent, using better language and more correct grammar than half the members of Congress who support the Nebraska bill. He also learned that he was a preacher of the gospel, and that he could read pretty well, and that he had not only read the Bible, but another book which he owned, and which contained, he said, the life of a man that used to live in New Haven. By further questioning, it came out that this preaching slave owned Dwight's Theology, complete in five volumes; and it was by his diligent study of this noble and standard specimen of Congregational literature, that his soul had been comforted and his mind expanded and cultivated.

Rev. Wm. T. Dwight, D.D., of Portland, followed; and after responding to the fraternal sentiments of the occasion, spoke with enthusiasm of the meeting in Brooklyn, and of the satisfaction enjoyed by the "old folks" in coming here from New England "to look after the boys." He thought they appeared "well to do in the world," and able to take care of themselves," and if they should require an occasional admonition from "home," it would do them good. He said they of New England were not easily discouraged. Nebraska bills and dough-faces could not frighten them. He hoped "the boys" of New York would prove equally unfaltering; but they must not set up to teach their fathers. He invited the Union to exchange salutations with the Library Association at Faneuil Hall.

Mr. Simeon B. Chittenden made a few remarks in this connexion on the importance of having the Congregational Union effectively sustained by ministers and churches in all parts of the country; that it should not be

left to the support of those in New York and Brooklyn. It would not live in this way, as a national institution.

7. *The man who "means well" and is "about right;" the people must have his strong pamphlet.*

This was another sentiment drawn from Prof. Park's address, and he was called up to respond to it. He made many palpable hits. Those who are familiar with Professor Park only as a writer on theological subjects, were both surprised and delighted by the playfulness of his wit and the fluency and force of his extemporaneous speech.

Alluding to the commercial strength and energy of New York, and to the animation of the scene around him, he said that Andover had little to contribute to such an occasion. "We," said he, "are all made of theology. It was said of one of our students as his recommendation to a parish, that he could look half an hour at the edge of a razor without winking. Professor Stuart was once asked by a lady concerning the qualifications of a young man who had sought the hand of her daughter. 'That man,' said he,—'why he reads German like *that*,' snapping his fingers. Sometimes we have theological spectres; Pelagianism, and *Semi*-Pelagianism—a ghost that comes flitting up the Connecticut, across Massachusetts, and down the Merrimac, where it hovers around Andover. We discuss such questions as, whether men are sinners at birth, or before birth, or were sinners in Adam six thousand years ago, which is the true "Conflict of Ages." Prof. P. insisted in eloquent terms upon the unity of Congregationalists.

8. *Andover Theological Seminary.*

Prof. Stowe responded, earnestly pledging the seminary to as firm a course in support of freedom, as it had held of old in favor of sound theology and of missions. He spoke with particular reference to firm and decided action on the part of the Congregational churches, in the tremendous struggle before us. The days of Compromise, he said, were past; the time for determined resistance to the advance of absolutism, in all its forms, had come! No more cowardice, corruption, and compromise! He said, by the help of God, no slavery, mental or physical, should ever pollute the soil of New England.

9. *Congregationalism in the Capital of New York.*

This was responded to by Hon. Bradford R. Wood, of Albany, who said he came from a place which used to be described in Morse's Geography as having such a number of houses, and such a number of inhabitants, "all standing with their gable-ends to the street." He made a hit at Gov. Seymour's veto of the Maine Law, and closed with some remarks upon the conflicting elements of society—war reigning in Europe; slavery seeking to rule in America. He denounced Senator Douglas, for his course with reference to Nebraska; and called upon his Congregational brethren to be faithful to their mission, on which so much depended of progress and happiness to the nations. He terminated his remarks by denouncing any further fellowship with political men who are coquetting with absolutism.

10. *"Young men, who are always young, young by nature, and more young by practice."*

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was called for, and came forward amid loud cheers, but declined to speak, assigning as a reason that he had been taught when a boy, in New England, to go to bed at nine o'clock, and it was now almost eleven.

11. *The bishops of Commerce, who sell goods to further their principles: may the church have ten thousand more.*

This was responded to at some length by Mr. Bowen, of the firm of Bowen, McNamee & Co., in a very sensible address, urging the pastors of churches and others, who were in search of funds for the purposes of the denomination, to appeal to the laymen, and leave the clergymen undisturbed. Thus their object would be best attained: and he felt confident that the laymen would be found willing at all times. He added a number of plain and faithful suggestions as to what laymen had a right to expect of their pastors, as he said it was not often that he got an opportunity to preach to so many clergymen.

A humorous response to Mr. Bowen, by Rev. H. W. Beecher (his pastor), followed.

An announcement that the Horticultural Society of Brooklyn had extended an invitation to the gentlemen of the Congregational Union, to visit their superb collection of flowers, concluded this extremely agreeable and satisfactory entertainment.





# ADDRESSES

OF

REV. DRS. STURTEVANT AND STEARNS,

AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE

AMERICAN

CONGREGATIONAL UNION,

MAY, 1855.

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PUBLISHED FOR THE AM. CONG. UNION.

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ANDOVER:

WARREN F. DRAPER.

NEW YORK: CLARK, AUSTIN & SMITH.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION, 448, BROADWAY.

BOSTON: JOHN P. JEWETT & CO.

1855.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1855, by  
WARREN F. DRAPER,  
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

THE ANTI-SECTARIAN TENDENCY OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH POLITY.

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AN

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED MAY 9, 1855, IN BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, BEFORE THE

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

BY

J. M. STURTEVANT,

PRESIDENT OF ILLINOIS COLLEGE, JACKSONVILLE.





THE ANTI-SECTARIAN TENDENCY OF CONGREGATIONAL  
CHURCH POLITY.

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A D D R E S S .

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BRETHREN OF THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION:—

THE theme which would most naturally be suggested to a western man, meditating an address on this occasion, was presented to your consideration last year, by our excellent brother from St. Louis, through many years of toil and conflict, my beloved associate. It is not necessary or becoming again to prove the right and the duty of the adherents of that church polity, which our fathers planted amid the primeval forests of New England; to carry it with them in their migrations, and plant it wherever they make their home in the wilderness. Many a western Congregationalist recognizes in that performance the truthful portraiture of a conflict, already of more than twenty years' duration, and of the successive struggles of which he may truly say, "*quorum pars magni fui.*"

The question may well be asked, to what other religious denomination in this or in any other country would the proposition ever have been made, to confine herself forever within certain degrees of longitude? To train her sons, confessedly among the most enterprising and energetic men on earth, and crossing that prescribed line of longitude by thousands every year, and seeking a new home in the regions of the setting sun, to leave the ecclesiastical system of their fathers

behind them, and to enter, by an arrangement already provided to their hands into another ecclesiastical connection? By what other religious denomination on earth would such a proposition be entertained for a moment, or not spurned as an insult? And yet it is matter of history, that Congregationalists acted for the most part for near half a century, as if bound by such a solemn league and covenant. I complain not of this: our fathers acted in this matter in a spirit of the noblest and most expansive charity. I stand not here even to deny that they acted wisely. But the fact is certainly striking and characteristic, and proves, if facts undoubted can prove anything, that our system of church order sustains some very peculiar relation to the spirit of sect. This single fact brings to your mind more clearly than any definition of mine can do, the theme to which I ask your attention at this time: — *The Anti-sectarian Tendency of Congregational Church Polity.*

In presenting this topic, I seem to myself to be complying with an expectation, which would naturally be entertained in your minds, that I should draw my theme from the storehouse of experience, derived from the field of labor to which in my youth Divine Providence seemed to direct me. For I am deeply sensible that my fitness to address you to-day is geographical rather than personal. When a young man, educated amid the religious influences of New England, is called to the labors of the ministry in the new states of the west, there is nothing which he meets in his new field of labor, so shocking to his moral feelings as the intense spirit of sect, which he finds prevailing all around him, and modifying all religious arrangements. It is this a thousand fold more than the inconveniences of frontier

life, or the monotony of prairie scenery which makes him sigh for his native hills and feel in his heart of hearts,

“How blessings brighten as they take their flight.”

It is this that invests the question of church polity with all the interest he can feel in it. He studies it under the promptings of his heart rather than his head. The aim of his enquiries in this department of thought is comprehensiveness. His heart sickens at the suggestion, that in coming generations as well as in the present, the progress of Christianity over these vast plains must chiefly be manifested to a looker on by antagonisms of rival sects. The hope of relief from these evils in the future is a condition, not only of his present happiness, but of his efficiency in his work. It is a necessity of his moral nature, to be looking for a platform which shall be simply and distinctively Christian — Christian in life — Christian in doctrine, where he and all his brethren may stand in the unity of the spirit, where Ephraim shall not envy Judah and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.

This I may at least say was the great problem, which the moral landscapes of the west presented to my youthful mind and heart, and around which I doubt not will cluster many of the deepest and tenderest emotions of my closing hours. Life in the west has incorporated the conditions of this problem with the most interior elements of my being. I am free to confess that if congregationalism really sustains no particular relation to the solution of this problem, if its introduction into the west is only adding another to the religious denominations, which already *swarm* over all that region, and which clearly evince an indefinite power of future increase by the same processes

of division by which they have themselves been created, then have I no heart to be concerned in importing another sect from the land of Boston notions, and wooden nutmegs. I would as soon engage in an effort to increase the supply of granite rocks in New Hampshire, or of mosquitoes along the banks of the Mississippi.

In order to guard myself against misapprehension on the part of any, it may not be out of place to state in brief, what is to be understood by the Unity of the Church of Christ.

Let it then be denied that it is any unity of organism, requiring the submission of all its members to a system of laws, judicatures, precedents, administrations radiating from a visible centre, and controlled by a human head. The idea of such a church structure could never have been suggested by the word of God ; it is not there laid down ; it is no offshoot or development, of anything which is laid down. It is not even a Jewish idea. It is purely Roman in its origin, borrowed from Roman law, administered by Roman imperial power. It is Rome governing the world by her bishops, when she no longer could govern it by her emperors. Whether Daniel's fourth beast was intended for Rome or not, that interpretation which applies it to Rome, leads to a view of history, which is founded in undeniable philosophic truth. There was a Roman beast, whether Daniel's prophetic vision was permitted to see it or not ; and it survived the fall of the empire ; its spirit passed from the imperial to the papal throne, and has been as vigorous under the scarlet as it ever was under the purple. Modern Europe is to a large extent but the continuation of the life of that beast, which of old dwelt on the seven hills, and which, for

more than twelve hundred years, has been struggling, sometimes with fearful success, to realize that unity of organism over the whole earth, to which she never more than partially attained through her emperors and her legions.

Let us thank God, that in our efforts after the unity of the Church of Christ, we are not obliged to receive the mark of this great and terrible beast in our foreheads. We have not so learned Christ. If this is what men mean by unity, let us understand them, and let us rather have sects and factions without number, and patiently bear all the din and turmoil of their conflicts. And let us tenderly compassionate those men of weak nerves, and timid hearts, who, unable to bear the conflicts through which the Church militant must necessarily pass on her way to the promised land of Christian freedom and truth, are seeking the protection of this old decaying despotism. For ourselves, we have had enough of the leeks and onions of Egypt, yes, and of her flesh-pots too. In the strength of the Lord we will go forward, knowing that even if we die here in the wilderness, our children will enjoy the milk and honey of Canaan.

Discarding, then, this unity of organism under a visible human head, as belonging to the scarlet-colored beast of the Apocalypse and not the Church of Christ, what is the conception of the unity of the church, which is found in the inspired word, and constitutes the true social expression and embodiment of the principles of the gospel? It is the conception of the true disciples of Christ wherever found, intelligently receiving the same faith, bound to the same Master by the same sanctified affections, giving to each other the right hand of a hearty fellowship, whenever and where-



ever in the providence of God, they are brought together, and uniting with each other in all the communities among which they are dispersed, for the observance of those simple ordinances which Christ hath enjoined, and for propagating this gospel everywhere. One Lord — our Lord Jesus Christ. One faith — the simple faith of the gospel. One baptism — the baptism in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost. This is the unity for which Jesus prayed. This is the unity which will satisfy the deepest longings of every devout and pious mind.

It has nothing to do with questions of uniformity in conventional and unessential forms and modes of worship. These may vary in different localities, or in the same locality at different times, through all the possible varieties not inconsistent with the spirit and laws of Christ. That some congregations should stand in prayer, while others sit or kneel, that some ministers should wear in their ministrations the dress of private citizens, while others set off their persons with the flowing robe, that in some congregations, those who minister at the altar should confine themselves to a printed form of prayers, while in others they are allowed the free movement of their own spirits, in leading the supplications of the great congregations, these and a multitude of other possible varieties of form and manner, will never shock the sentiment of love for the oneness of Christ, in any well-informed and devout mind.

Where then, it will be asked, does innocent and admissible variety end, and where do the wrongs and evils of sect begin? This is a grave question, and I deeply feel the difficulty of answering it in a satisfactory manner. And yet, admitting all the difficulties which

exist in the way of carrying our principles into practice, it seems to me, that theoretically at least, the answer is easy. One principle has already been stated, which must secure universal assent; that variety in modes and forms is admissible only in so far as neither the laws nor the spirit of the master is violated. Another is perhaps equally obvious; that we must enforce our own modes and forms, by the exercise of no authority which Christ hath not conferred. And perhaps our third and only remaining criterion will command an assent not less universal; that a truly Christian spirit will ever be ready to sacrifice an uncommanded and unessential form or mode, a mere matter of taste and custom, for the sake of promoting the unity and edification of the visible body of Christ.

If these three principles, every one of which must command the unanimous consent of Protestants, were faithfully and logically applied to all those varieties of form and mode and government, which now divide Christendom into almost innumerable contending factions, all real violations of the oneness of the church could not fail to be detected and exposed. Such an application of the principles of the gospel to the question of sect under all its aspects, every enlightened Christian will seek for with as much earnestness as he seeks for truth, and pray for it with as much fervor as he prays "Thy kingdom come." It is our failure thus to apply these principles, which is shocking and sickening the hearts of truly pious persons in every corner of Christendom. It is this which is disgusting thousands of sober-minded, but undevout and worldly men with Christianity itself. It is this which is filling the mouths of scoffing infidels with bitter sarcasms against

the gospel, and driving many a man, who otherwise would have been faithful to the church and very zealous in her cause, into the wildest fanaticism of the disorganizing comeouter. However plausibly men may apologize for the present factious aspect of Protestant Christendom, over these and a thousand other resulting evils, must men of a truly Christ-like spirit weep in their secret places, and cry how long, O Lord, how long, till the gospel, as expressed in the three criteria I have just stated, is faithfully and logically applied to all the organic relations in which Christians stand to one another.

Does any one say you cannot reasonably hope for any sudden instantaneous cure of these old and chronic diseases of the Christian body? That is very true and very important; so important, that he who sees these evils and yet forgets it, is sure to be a fanatic if not a madman. But it is not, therefore, the less important, that every Christian man should well understand the true principles of the subject, and place himself conscientiously right in practice in view of them. It holds of the progress of all true principles, especially those which relate to social organisms, that they must long work in the hearts of individuals and in limited communities, before they can acquire their own proper controlling power over society as a whole, and work out to the full their benignant consequences.

This is precisely what I claim for the system of church polity called Congregational, in its relations to the present grievously schismatic aspect of Christendom. Not that it has any monopoly of sacramental virtues, of ministerial or ecclesiastical powers or authorities. I claim not that it is *the* church. *The* church is the whole glorious company of the redeemed in Christ

Jesus on earth and in heaven. *The visible church* is the whole number of those on earth, who adhere to Christ in faith and practice, and observe those simple external rites which Christ hath instituted, baptism and the Lord's supper. As a Congregational minister I only lay a humble claim to a true spiritual relationship with all of every name and within whatever church polity embraced, who preach the faith once delivered to the saints. But I do hold that the Congregational polity recognizes those organic principles, which are the true social development of the Christian spirit, towards which Protestantism is ever drifted by the steady current of its own logic, and where it is destined in the brighter days of the promised future to rest, in the full enjoyment of truth, freedom and unity.

In order to substantiate this claim it is needful that I next exhibit as briefly as I can, the *natural history of sect as it exists in Protestant Christendom*, or if the language is preferred, of denominationalism. The subject matter about which all our religious divisions are concerned is capable of a threefold division — *doctrine, ceremonies, government*. More commonly all three of these elements are combined, in making up the peculiarities of each particular denomination. But it will serve our purpose best, first to exhibit them in their simplest forms, and to make allowance as we proceed for the effect of their combination.

In respect to doctrine we meet, on the very threshold, the great generic division, into evangelical and latitudinarian sects. The former adhere to the gospel system as taught in the word of God. The latter reject that doctrinal system which has been in all ages the basis of Christian experience, and yet retain to a considerable extent the names and forms of Christianity.

The last of these classes, the latitudinarian, admits of indefinite subdivision. The sects embraced in it are composed of persons who have either practically renounced the Bible as an authoritative rule of faith and practice, or else are too indifferent to religious truth to give any earnest heed to the instructions of the inspired Word. They are ever ready at the bidding of fancy or passion, to follow a favorite leader into new and hitherto unknown combinations. There is no limit to the multiplication of this family of denominations, except from the fact that they are for the most part composed of persons destitute of the fervor of religious conviction, and for that reason rather backward in furnishing the material aid for bringing new sects into being and sustaining them.

The other branch of this generic division, the evangelical, (considered it will be borne in mind as a denominational division on a doctrinal basis only,) admits of no subdivision. It is like the genus homo in the natural history of animals, a genus with only one species. It may require a little amplification to sustain this position; but if sustained it will be admitted to be one of great importance. Let it be observed then, that it is only asserting that the teachings of the Bible are definite, intelligible and consistent; that the book does make a common impression upon all devout, earnest, humble, truth-loving minds, and that when its influence is uncounteracted by that of governments demanding allegiance, or ceremonies to be submitted to, it will draw all such minds into such a moral unity around itself, as constitutes the beauty and the glory of the church of Christ. Conflicting beliefs in respect to matters doubtful or unessential may arise, and produce temporary debate and even alienation, but so



great will be the influence of a controlling reverence for the common standard, and so strong the attraction of all such persons towards one another, as receiving those great truths which they are seen to hold in common, that conflicting opinions about doubtfuls and nonessentials will sink into deserved insignificance, and unity in essentials will remain unimpaired.

This is what the nature of the case would lead us to expect, and so far as known to me there are no facts at variance with it. I know not that there is in history a single example of two denominations both substantially evangelical, and yet kept in a state of separation from each other purely on doctrinal grounds. Evangelical sects are often divided about creeds, but the division is occasioned and perpetuated not by the creed simply, but by rival governments, enforcing the creeds. This is a division to be spoken of hereafter, not about doctrine purely, but about doctrine and government combined.

If this is so, then it may be observed, that the anathemas hurled at creeds in this age of ours, by a radical and disorganizing infidelity are greatly misplaced. Sectarianism is denounced with a severity perhaps not unmerited. It is then assumed that our creeds are the cause of all the evil, and there are not wanting men who are in no small danger of going into spasms, (a good deal of the hysterical sort,) at the very mention of the word creed. If such men would only apply a little candid analysis to the subject, they might discover, not only that among sincere Christians creeds are not the cause of the evils, and the bigotries and the despotisms of sect, but that in the nature of the case they never can be. I cannot help thinking that we have here a rather striking exemplification of the

undiscriminating blindness which infidelity always exhibits in her hostile judgments of Christianity.

But to resume our classification, my plan would require me next to present ceremonies, including modes of worship, as a basis of denominational divisions. A moment's consideration, however, will satisfy us that a ceremony alone cannot be a basis of a distinct denomination. The question, for example, of the mode of baptism can never be a basis of a denominational division, without the organization of churches enforcing one method or the other as a condition of membership. I must, therefore, defer the consideration of sects on a ceremonial basis, till I am prepared to present a mixed basis of ceremonies and governments.

The only remaining family of denominations, considered with reference to the subject matter of divisions, consists of those which have government for a basis. And here we meet a genus dividing itself into subordinate genera, and these again into species. There are, first, the local governments. To this class belong the Congregational, the Unitarian, the Baptist. Next we have the central governments, as the Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Catholic. Then of the last genus, (in which I include all which exercise jurisdiction over many local assemblies,) we have, first, the exclusive sects; those which claim, each for itself to be the only true church, and to possess an entire monopoly of all divine gifts and graces. I must call these sects, discordant as the language may seem to some ears refined. For sects they are, the most ancient indeed of all our sects, and the prolific parents of all the sectarianism of modern times. They agree in affirming that all the powers and privileges of Christ's church are derived through some one human

head ; but differ utterly as to where and what that head is. One finds it at Rome, another at St. Petersburg, and another at London. One in an old Italian priest, another in the autocrat of all the Russias, and another still in that very estimable lady the Queen of England. There are some branches of this family that recognize no visible head of the whole church. According to their theory, the members of the church in any given diocese, derive their Christian privileges through their own bishop, and each bishop traces his ecclesiastical powers through an assumed line of official succession to the apostles. The centralization or nationality of the church is maintained by a deliberative assembly, composed of the bishops of the several dioceses, and a body of lay delegates.

To form new divisions of this family is difficult, and when it does happen makes quite a stir in the world. But history testifies that it is after all not impossible. Such a schism took place in the olden time, between Rome and Byzantium, which has turned out quite a serious sectarian quarrel, and in the progress of more than a thousand years, Christendom has been able to find no tribunal before which it could be adjudicated. Another somewhat notable case occurred when King Henry the Eighth, moved by the scruples of a tender conscience, wished a divorce from his wife, and finding the head of the church not willing to grant what his nice moral sensibility required, he all at once discovered that he, that same Henry, was himself the head of the church ; and ever since that time the church of England and the church of Rome have been two rival sects. And there may be more events of the same sort yet to be born, though I would not dare assert it, for the mother herself is

already well stricken in years, and some physicians of no mean skill, who have carefully examined the old lady's symptoms, are of the opinion that she has not long to live.

Next of this family of central governments we have the non-exclusive denominations; those claiming each for itself, not that it is *the* church, but that it is in its provincial or national jurisdiction *a* church, and conceding to all other denominations holding the essentials of Christianity, that they are churches too. The denominations embraced in this species do at the present time comprise, and since the Lutheran reformation ever have comprised, a large share of the earnest piety, the sound orthodoxy, and the available aggressive power of Christendom. The churches of Calvin, of Knox and of Wesley belong here. I should deem it both a misfortune and a sin, should I fail to do honor on every suitable occasion, certainly on an occasion like this, to the men, who in these several denominations, have served the cause of God and his truth.

Still the plan of my discourse requires that I should assign them their proper place according to the law of classification which I have adopted. They recognize no head of the church but Christ, and no authoritative rule of faith and practice but the word of God. Still they aim at and maintain a central organic unity. The local church is not complete in itself, but only in its organic connection with a central or national body. It is dependent on that body for the recognition and due induction of its officers, and accountable to it for all its acts. In some of them, as the Methodist Episcopal, the administration is entirely centralized. Every circuit preacher is a travelling representative of con-

ference to his circuit. In other denominations of this family, as the Presbyterian, the administration is largely local; but the central power always asserts its right to interfere in all the details of the local administration, both by appellate jurisdiction and by review and control.

What then is the relation of their organic principles to the topic before us? It is in the first place evident, that with such a constitution, any schism in the assembly which represent the central organic unity, must necessarily propagate itself to all parts of the body politic. The body is divided in twain without being killed, and you have as the result two complete denominations on the same territory where before you had but one. In laws, in principles, in systems of administration, they may be exactly alike, and yet they are permanently divided into two denominations by the single circumstance that the assemblies representing their organic unity are not the same. And it is not a little remarkable, that during the pendency of the controversy about the right of Congregationalism to emigrate to the westward of New England, what was the Presbyterian Church in the United States, has by this very process, divided itself over all the region in question into two wholly distinct denominations, thus producing by the action of its own system, the very evil which was deprecated as the consequence of the coming in of the polity of New England, the adding of another to our already far too numerous sects.

It is also to be observed in relation to this family of denominations, that in consequence of the central unity being represented by an assembly composed of many individuals, (which in respect to freedom, by the way, and the efficiency of the system for good is



a very great advantage,) there is a liability to schism in the representative of organic unity which would not exist if it were represented by a single individual. All free deliberative assemblies are liable to be agitated by parties, and in a case like the one before us there is a great liability, that parties will be carried to the extreme of disruption. This consideration greatly enhances the tendencies towards new divisions, in all this family of denominations.

It should also be remembered, that as these governments are exercised over a wide extent of territory, the winds of passion have often a vast sweep; and acquire great momentum. A body of delegates representing the different districts of the nation, may always be expected to exhibit the passions of our nature, operating with no ordinary power. Men acting on a stage so elevated and conspicuous, are swayed by hopes and fears and ambitions far more intense and exalted than are possible in the ordinary conditions of humanity. And hence an almost proportionate increase of the danger of disruption. Who of us has not noticed more than one practical demonstration of the truth of this remark?

Nor is division in the body representing their organic unity, the only method, by which new denominations of this family are separated from those already existing. It is easy for a minority too insignificant in point of numbers to make any show of division in the central assembly to organize a new government after the same pattern as the old, and to persuade such members of the denomination as in common with themselves are in any way disaffected and alienated, to leave the old denominational dwelling, and take up their abode in a new one, which has been built after

the same model, and in which they imagine they have reason to think, things will be better managed. They may begin small, but are apt to think, sometimes not without good reason, that they have ample promise of growth in the future. At all events another sect is created and its existence is likely to be prolonged to an indefinite period in the future.

Against these divisive tendencies, this class of church governments are protected by no arrogant dogma of exclusiveness. I say this to their honor, but it increases the danger of schism. The divisive tendencies I have enumerated are always at work. If they could conscientiously teach their members that theirs was the only true church, and that out of it there is no covenant with God, such teaching, however impious it may be, would tend powerfully to counteract them and preserve their denominational integrity. It is such teaching which renders schism so difficult in the *exclusive* central church governments. The want of it, though in the highest degree honorable to these we are speaking of, greatly increases their liability to suffer by divisions. The exclusive dogma is the principal weapon by which Rome preserves her boasted unity, notwithstanding the vast structure of her central government.

But one effectual method is possible, of counteracting this tendency to division in a central government; and that is one from which every Christian man revolts with abhorrence. It is to invest the representative of central unity with the control of sufficient physical force to coerce submission to its decisions. By this method, and by this alone is the result accomplished in the state. In what national government on earth would not divisions and secessions be incessant, if the

central power were without physical force. Rome has constantly employed this weapon also for the preservation of her unity. In a few of the freer countries of the world, it is now wrested from her hands, and she is forced to depend on the dogma of exclusiveness alone. How she will succeed in preserving her unity, when deprived of so principal a weapon, remains to be determined by time.

As to the other branch of this generic division, *local government*, it scarcely admits of subdivision on the basis of pure government. Its essential idea is that of an independent local society of equal brethren. And a number of such local societies, separated for the most part by geographical boundaries, will fraternize or antagonize, according as they are similar or unlike in their spirit, and in the objects they are designed to promote. Considered, therefore, with respect to government only, the local genus must be regarded as having but one species.

I have thus far confined my remarks to denominations on a simple basis. It remains to notice the effect of combining variously the three elements of doctrine, ceremonies, and government.

It is in the first place obvious that a centralized government may be, and in point of fact always is employed in a greater or less extent in enforcing the acceptance of doctrines, or submission to ceremonies. And when a dogma of great or small importance, or a ceremony the most trivial becomes incorporated with the laws of a central church government, either of them will acquire an efficacy in perpetuating and aggravating sectarian divisions, which it never could possess without such combination. The surplice could never have performed any such part as it has in the

denominational conflicts of England, but for its being enforced as an article of uniformity by the government of the church.

When once a creed has been adopted and enforced, as a condition of membership or of holding office in such a centralized church, nothing on earth is more inflexible and unchangeable. Not only its essential doctrines but its minutest details, and very modes of expression, become consecrated, as the sacred emblems of a church, exercising its jurisdiction over a whole national domain, and embracing within its bosom tens of thousands of admiring and almost adoring members. In such circumstances a creed is but too apt to become virtually infallible in its minutest details, a sort of quintessence of the Bible. Even the proposition (still adhered to in form) that the Bible is the only infallible rule of faith and practice becomes modified so as to mean only the Bible as interpreted by the creed. Men often learn to speak of their recognized formularies in terms of reverence hardly appropriate to anything but the Inspired Word. No phrases are so frequently on their tongues, as "our excellent liturgy," "our excellent standards."

It cannot be denied that such sects have great power of keeping up denominational differences, and of increasing indefinitely the number of sects on the same field by their own divisions. I am not discussing the question whether these central governments are good or bad, authorized by the scriptures or unauthorized. With that question I have now nothing at all to do. My proposition is, that they tend to perpetuate sectarian divisions, even about non-essentials, and that they have within themselves provisions for an indefinite increase of the number of sects substantially

agreeing in evangelical doctrine, by those internal commotions to which they constantly tend. It may indeed be concluded without liability to mistake, that if these central systems of church government are to occupy in all the future, their present place of prominence and influence in Christendom, then may we dismiss all hope of any considerable mitigation of these evils, and reconcile ourselves as well as we can, to the sorrowful conclusion, that the present factious aspect of the church shall endure to the end of time.

And such, so far as my acquaintance has extended, is the view taken of the subject, by most men, who are from principle attached to any one of these central church governments. They regard it as a mark of an unsound and visionary mind, to expect in the future any important organic reforms in the condition of Protestant Christendom, or any mitigation of the evils of sect, except what will result from the increase of individual piety. This is virtually conceding the very proposition for which I am arguing, and if their premises are true, their conclusion is inevitable. I must also sorrowfully add, that even that mitigation must be very small; for under all the unfavorable influences of our present sectarian rivalries, it is to be feared, that there is little reason to expect any considerable improvement of individual piety, as compared with the present standard.

I regret that want of time forbids my verifying this analysis by appeal to historic fact. I am compelled, however, to leave this, for the most part, to the suggestions of your own minds. But I cannot forbear appealing at this point to the state of denomination-ism in Scotland, in confirmation of what I have said of the divisive tendencies of centralized church governments.



What was originally the church of Scotland, is now divided into five different denominations, all holding the Westminster confession of faith; all adhering tenaciously to the Presbyterian form of church government; and all retaining the same system of church courts, so far as they go, though some of them have no General Assembly. With the exception of the establishment, (which differs from the others chiefly in the simple fact that it is the establishment,) they are so much alike, that it is difficult to give them any names expressive of characteristic differences. Thus the Free church is no freer than the Secession, and the Secession is no more a secession from the establishment, than the Free church. They really have no question either of doctrine or practice to contend about. There are, among their members, many longings for a more comprehensive fellowship, and many regrets at the barriers which separate them. And if the centralized governments, which severally represent the unity of these bodies, were abolished, and the independency of the local churches recognized, the denominational lines would rapidly disappear, and a universal visible fellowship would spontaneously spring up, to gladden the hearts of all good men.

But in present circumstances nothing of the sort can take place. The Christian people in these several denominations, however strong the attractions of brotherly love by which they would otherwise be drawn together, are like those chemical substances, which though having a strong affinity for one another, still cannot unite because bound up in separate masses by cohesive attraction. You must first break down that cohesion, disintegrate those masses, and then only will permanent combinations be formed by the action of

the great law of chemical affinity. The members of those Scottish churches are kept in a state of separation by no mutual repulsion of their members, but in spite of a strong mutual attraction. They are simply forbidden to coalesce, by the obstinate cohesion of the centralized masses, into which they are aggregated.

And yet the progress of men's minds in that country is not toward union, but in the very opposite direction. The sectarian spirit, much allayed and mitigated by the great revival of pure religion in the end of the last and the beginning of the present century, is of late greatly increasing in prevalence and bitterness. It has either swept away, or reduced to insignificance, all associations for home and foreign evangelization, in which men co-operated simply as Christians in doing the Master's work ; it has so crippled the Bible Associations themselves, that little is now done for the distribution of the Scriptures among the destitute ; it has placed nearly every department of education, from the chair of divinity, to the infant school, under strictly sectarian control ; it has deeply and disastrously affected the entire structure of society ; and even penetrated into the relations of landlord and tenant, and instigated the former to refuse the renewal of his lease to the latter, however faultless and estimable in character, except on the condition of the tenant attending the church of the landlord's choice.

Such is historic fact in respect to one of the most religious nations on earth. Will a wise man despair of ever finding a remedy for such evils ? And is any remedy possible, while centralized church government continues to exert the influence it now does, over the religious condition of that people ?

To complete my analysis of sects, it now only re-

mains to notice the effect of combining local government with doctrines and ceremonies. The latitudinarian sects do not generally employ government in connection with doctrine. They enforce no creed. Their denominational divisions are the result of taste, passion, fancy, and of the want of any fixed and authoritative standard. In some instances they do apply the force of a local government with great vigor, in exacting compliance with their own notions of ceremonies. This is the case with the followers of Alex. Campbell, one of the most numerous denominations in the Mississippi valley. But this sect insists on no doctrinal creed.

How then does the combination of local government with doctrine operate among the evangelical? The fact here meets us at the first glance, that evangelical churches having a local government, always do combine it with doctrine in constructing their denominational basis. They always do require the reception of the substantial features of the evangelical system, as a condition of membership in the local church, and of general Christian fellowship. The reason of this fact is obvious. The essential idea of an evangelical church is that of a society of persons holding that faith, and professing to have an experience corresponding with it. To receive members into such a church, without enquiring into their faith and experience, is a downright absurdity, and the claim that we ought to receive members thus is a direct denial of the right of an evangelical church to be.

How then does such a combination of local government with doctrine affect the interests of unity? Does it introduce an element which threatens schism among evangelical Christians? Without hesitation I

answer no. Experience shows that when each local evangelical church is left free to modify its creed at pleasure, without the interference of any central authority, that creed will always represent to the minds of pious people, not denominational differences, but essential truth; that it will be a catholic, not a denominational document; that Christian people will much rather modify their creed, so as to exclude from it matters doubtful or purely speculative or nonessential than debar from membership true disciples of Christ.

It is plain then that as both an evangelical church on a purely doctrinal basis, and a church government on a purely local basis, are genera with but one species, so if you compose a denominational basis by combining evangelical doctrine with local government, you have still a genus with but one species. Such a denomination admits of no division except in regard to the very subject matter of the gospel, and the division would be, not into two evangelical denominations, but a mere separation of latitudinarian from evangelical elements. I shall speak of this point more at large in my remarks on the Congregational system.

Local government employed to enforce ceremonies, other than those obviously required in the Inspired Volume, may produce schism among evangelical Christians. Let local churches assume the right to decide for each candidate for admission to the church, in what manner worship shall be conducted, by what precise action the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper shall be administered, especially let them withhold fellowship from all who do not comply with the modes which they prescribe, and denominational divisions must and will follow. They have followed, and may be indefinitely multiplied.

Such is our classification of denominations with reference to the subject matter of their divisions. I have not attempted to follow out this classification in its details, but only to sketch those outlines of the natural history of denominations, which are necessary to my present purpose. I now come to the main question I propose to discuss. How is the Congregational polity related to the subject? Where is its place in the classification? I answer in respect to doctrine it is simply evangelical, recognizing the Bible as the only authoritative rule of faith and practice, and receiving that system of doctrine, which honest, simple-hearted piety has in every age deduced from the Inspired Word. In respect to ceremonies it holds none, except the rites of baptism and the Lord's supper, in their simplest forms as required in the Word of God. In respect to government it is purely local. It discards the central element entirely. It recognizes neither executive, judicial nor legislative functions, other than those of the local church. It has methods of promoting provincial, national and even oecumenical fellowship, correspondence and cooperation; but the assemblies by which these are maintained claim and exercise no governmental function. They leave the government of the local church complete within itself.

We have now attained a point of observation, from which it is perfectly easy to discern the true relation of this system to denominationalism whether in practice or spirit. In respect to doctrine it tends directly, and I may say without exaggeration irresistibly, to the two-fold division already defined; the evangelical and the latitudinarian, the scriptural and the anti-scriptural, the substantially true and the fundamentally



false. There are always those who seek to find a guarantee of their own future well-being in the belief that they are on the side of the gospel, who have yet no just conception of its nature, and no true sympathy with its doctrines and its spirit. Such persons must be expected to frame to themselves a church and a ministry, accordant with their own taste and principles, and it is reasonable to suppose that these will be fundamentally at variance with those which satisfy the cravings of a devout and scriptural piety. In all such cases you must expect under our system division. Both parties will frequently retain the Congregational polity, but they will be totally removed from fellowship with each other. Like faith, like experience, like affections no longer unite the parties; they are bound by no ecclesiastical or governmental ties; there are no constitutions, no church courts to hold them together, and so soon as they cease to feel the attraction of a common Christianity, they fall apart by a law of nature, uncounteracted by any artificial arrangement. And I assert with no fear of successful contradiction, that this most desirable and necessary separation takes place with more ease and certainty than under any centralized system. It is accomplished by the operation of nature's great law of attraction and repulsion.

Let such a question be brought before a church court, or a great popular and ecclesiastical assembly representing the organic unity of the church, and its decision is most uncertain. Timid spirits dread convulsion, and most men are timid. Men shrink from tearing asunder time-honored sacred religious ties; they dread to see their beloved church weakened by division; and the matter is much more likely to end

in a time-serving compromise, than in the triumph of a principle. And besides, constitutional difficulties are liable to arise, parties are formed over the length and breadth of the land, and excite their usual passions, and a thousand individual, local and collateral interests become mingled in the conflict, and to obtain a decision on the pure and simple grounds of Christian principle is nearly impossible. But when, as in the Congregational system, the question of separation is left to the free action of moral affinities in each local community, the process is simple and the result certain. When division is desirable and necessary, no system is so certain to produce it.

Again, even in this case, it will not perpetuate the division beyond necessity. This is a very important point. If any churches, which in our judgment have departed from the Christian faith, shall at any time return to it in substance and spirit, they will be separated from us by no organic barrier, obstructing the restoration of complete unity. They are bound up in no organic bond, which forbids the reunion. On the contrary such reunion is rendered certain by the same law of affinity, which produced the separation.

It is not, therefore, matter of regret but of rejoicing, that so many of those churches, which have departed from the faith of the pilgrims, have returned and still cherish the Congregational polity. It is not beyond hope, that the fires of angelic faith shall yet be rekindled and shine with a pure and holy light on those altars. If that ever takes place, the healing of the great New England schism is ensured, by the action of the very same law that produced it. It was produced by the repulsion of a contradictory faith. It will be healed by the attraction of a common faith.

In both cases the action of the polity is not only right, but in the highest degree desirable.

But again, not only does the Congregational polity insure division when necessary, but it insures the two fold division only. When the generic division already defined into evangelical and latitudinarian takes place, though the latter may divide indefinitely, and it is of little consequence to any Christian interest how minutely, the evangelical genus will not subdivide; it is a genus with but one species. It may seem to some that though this must in theory be admitted, on grounds already stated, in our system it will not hold in practice. But a careful consideration of the subject will show that it does hold in practice.

It is true that our system combines doctrine with local government. Each local church has its creed; and persons joining that church generally give their assent to that creed. But he who thinks that this usage threatens to introduce a sectarian element into the churches, has I think mistaken the spirit of the usage. That church creed does not, in the apprehension of the members of the churches, represent denominationalism, but catholicity. It is meant to express, not the peculiarities of a sect, but the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, as held in all Christian ages, and in all Christian churches. It is not the intent of a church creed to exclude one man holding fundamental Christian faith, and having a true Christian experience. And the tendency of opinion and feeling is, continually to modify our creeds, in order that we may make them conform as accurately as possible to this conception of their use, by excluding from them, whatever is of a merely theoretical character. The churches are impelled in making these

modifications, not by a want of attachment to evangelical doctrine, but by the very opposite motive, an increased attachment to the pure Word of God without any human mixtures, and by a desire to embrace in the arms of their fellowship all that belong to our common Lord. Such modifications are and always have been frequent in the churches, and take place in the natural course of things, without agitation or commotion. Nor has the custom been by any means universal, of requiring from candidates for admission, an assent to a form of words prescribed by the church. The venerable John Cotton, of blessed puritan memory, was received into the church at Boston, on a declaration in his own words; his wife, on her statement, that she substantially agreed with him.

No, brethren, a Congregational church creed is not, in its true spirit and intent, a sectarian but a catholic document, representing that faith and only that faith, which is common to every true church of Christ under heaven. It affectionately includes all that are Christ's; it as earnestly excludes all that are not his. So far then as doctrine is concerned, the system admits only the two-fold division of evangelical and anti-evangelical, and renders that division when necessary easy and certain.

As to ceremonies and modes of worship the case is thus. Over forms and modes of worship, we neither claim nor exercise any authoritative control whatever. The subject is left entirely to the taste and conscience of each congregation, and each individual. The standard of all fitness and propriety in regard to these things, is found in the direct teachings of the Word, in the facts and doctrines of the gospel, as responded to by an evangelical experience. If any individual

or any church, were to give evidence of having in its modes of worship, abandoned this standard, an act of disfellowship would certainly follow; but within these limits there is the most unrestrained freedom.

As a consequence, want of uniformity is sometimes complained of as an evil among us. And there is no impropriety in striving to produce so much uniformity, as can be secured by reasons drawn from the canons of a pure taste, and from the sacred oracles. But with that degree of uniformity we should always be content, remembering that it is much better that some should stand, some sit and some kneel in prayer, than that we should attempt to produce strict uniformity in these respects, by the exercise of a usurped authority over our brethren, tending to commotion and division. As long as we adhere to this rule, we shall never have any schisms about sacred vestments, attitudes in prayer or other forms of worship.

As to the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, the only religious ceremonies properly so called, which Congregationalists know anything of, I must sorrowfully acknowledge that evangelical Congregationalists have been and are divided into different denominations on the same territory. And it greatly concerns my purpose distinctly to point out the principles, from which this only schism of orthodox Congregationalism, the only one to which in all the future, while true to its organic principles, it is liable, has resulted.

They are two, and two only. Both may be comprehended in a single statement: That the local church has a right to decide for the candidate, in what manner the water shall be applied in baptism, and to exclude from the Lord's supper all persons, giving in other



respects whatever evidence of Christian character, to whom water has not been applied in the manner she prescribes. This schism could never have taken place but for the assumption of authority in one or both of these particulars by the local church. I am not going to discuss these assumptions. The great, the eloquent and the good Robert Hall has discussed them, and to my satisfaction settled them. And I venture the prediction that the principles of communion defended by that eminent servant of God, are yet to be recognized and practised by the whole body of evangelical Congregational churches on earth. When this takes place, the schism about sacraments will be effectually healed, and orthodox Congregational churches will be free from all danger of the occurrence of any new one in the future.

How stands the case then in respect to the only remaining matter of division — government? Simply thus: we have no central assemblies, so controlling local churches, and so representing their unity, that a division in them, would involve as a consequence, a division of the churches, or a distribution of them into rival denominations. And while we continue Congregationalists, we never can have any such assemblies. To organize them, would be to abandon the local government, and adopt the central in its stead. It would be to give up the fundamental principle of the Congregational polity.

I must here briefly remind my hearers of the results already arrived at, in reference to such central assemblies. While they exist and exercise such control over the local churches, periodical convulsions must as certainly result from them as earthquakes and volcanoes from confining the pent-up fires of the interior

of our earth, by the pressure of the solid masses of rock and mountain, which compose its surface; as certainly as the explosion of a steam boiler, by constantly urging the heat and loading the safety valve. Wherever such assemblies control local churches, we have no known methods of preventing perpetual schism. It must be ever recurring in those bright ages of the future to which we are accustomed to look forward with cheerful hope. It must disturb the holy tranquillity of the millennium. This truth admits of a variety of illustrations in respect to ceremonies, discipline, the minutest metaphysical subtleties, which have found or may find their way into the creeds of such centralized organizations, or the merest matters of passion and selfish ambition. But time fails, and to a thoughtful mind what I have said will suggest the rest. It is not inappropriate to add, that, if while calling ourselves Congregationalists, we deprive the local church of its independence, by subjecting it to the control of central assemblies, we shall be likely to experience the same consequences from the measure, which our brethren of other denominations have experienced before us.

But while Congregationalists are true to their own system they do escape these divisive tendencies. I know indeed that the clarion of alarm has been blown during the last year. It has been asserted that we have felt the need of a national assembly to represent our organic unity, and that we have provided such an assembly, in the Association whose anniversary has called us together. But let good men keep quiet; no such Pandora's box is here. Suppose a violent controversy, resulting in a disruption, should take place in this assembly to-day, and that to-morrow, there should be

two American Congregational Unions, one meeting in this sanctuary of the Pilgrims, and the other yonder in the Plymouth church. It would be a sad spectacle indeed. But how many churches would be divided in consequence of it, or change their denominational relations? Not one. From Portland to San Francisco not one. And if division should take place in here and there a local church, the result would be only local and temporary; it could not create a new denomination. And what is true of this is true of all Congregational provincial assemblies. We have Congregational Assemblies which convene at stated intervals and perform various functions. But they all sustain such a relation to the churches that a division in them would cause no division in the churches and no distribution of them in rival denominations. If we have in the whole land one provincial assembly calling itself Congregational, of which this is not true, let it be disowned, let it be dissolved. It is a departure, a fundamental departure from the polity of the pilgrims.

I come then to the conclusion which I think I am now entitled distinctly to announce and affirm, that with the single exception of the controversy about the mode, and the subjects of baptism, evangelical Congregationalism knows no schism in the past, and dreads none in the future. It has no part or lot with those schismatic tendencies which have made Christendom one great battle-field of contending sects. That phenomenon proceeds from principles which it disowns. And even the one exception, which we are compelled to make, is the result of assumptions of power, partially engrafted on the system indeed, but belonging not to it, assumptions which have already been assailed and condemned, by one of the noblest advocates of

divine truth, trained up in modern times, assumptions too, which are discarded by very many of the churches.

It is not then a matter of accident, but a logical result of principles, that there exist not on our national domain with the exception already made, such a spectacle as two evangelical denominations, both adhering to the Congregational polity. Such a phenomenon has not existed in the past; it cannot exist in the future. A body of churches adhering to that platform in its true principles, and to the evangelical faith, cannot be divided. It is easy to drive a wedge through water, but how soon it closes behind, and after a momentary ripple on the surface, leaves no wound and no trace. It is so with an orthodox Congregational community.

There have not been wanting seasons within the last thirty years, in which good men have been alarmed at the prospect of the coming in of such divisions of orthodox Congregational communities. But if they had reflected more carefully on the tendencies of their polity, their fears would for the most part have been dispelled. He who has undertaken to divide an orthodox Congregational population, has undertaken a very difficult task, probably without knowing the conditions of success or failure. Any one who feels impelled to such an undertaking, should remember, that in order to succeed in it, he must either revolutionize the government by depriving the local churches of their independence, or he must convince one portion of the churches, that another portion has apostatized from Christ, and adopted essentially another gospel. Accomplish either of these two things, and division is easy, nothing easier. But fail to accomplish one or

the other of them, and it is impossible, utterly impossible.

I am not unaware that this result will seem to some minds quite paradoxical. The world has been told, until some even wise and good men appear to believe it, that the farther you recede from the organic unity of Rome, the farther you are from all hope of ever realizing the visible unity of the church, that you may still preserve moral unity, but of the visible unity of the faithful in Christ Jesus you must resign all hope, when you break with Rome, or certainly when you abandon prelacy, and that the farther you recede from an organic and governmental unity the farther you necessarily are from visible unity, the farther out upon the boundless ocean of sectarian division. This is the faith of many excellent men on this whole subject. They reject Rome and even prelacy with all their hearts, and honestly think that they are then shut up to the conclusion, that the denominational divisions of Protestantism must be perpetual. They next make a virtue of necessity, and employ an amount of ingenuity worthy of a much better cause, to prove that denominational divisions are not evils, that they are desirable and beneficial, that they will exist in the millennium, and I have heard it maintained that they will be found in Heaven, before the throne of God and the Lamb.

Now if the principles I have argued for are true, the assumption on which all this rests is false, and all the consequences derived from it are false also. It is not true that Rome has a monopoly of visible unity, as perhaps in some sense she has and is quite welcome to have of organic unity. Visible unity, that is, exemption from denominational schism, is not found alone in



Egypt; it is found in the land of Canaan too. There are two unities, called Christian in the language of man, because found in what is called the church. One of them is the unity of Rome, the unity of despotism, the unity of Satan, the unity of hell. The other is the unity of simple faith in the gospel as taught in the Inspired Word, the unity of freedom, the unity of Christ, the unity of heaven. The church *was* shut up in that great and terrible prison-house of organic unity. God brought her out of that house of bondage centuries ago, and he has been conducting her ever since through the great and terrible wilderness, into the land of promise. Whenever she shall have learned fully to apply those doctrines of Christian freedom, which God hath been teaching her ever since the reformation, to every worshipping assembly, to every individual Christian, then indeed will she find the Jordan crossed, and the rich fruits of the promised land growing all around her. She will discover that without the slightest abatement of her attachment to gospel truth, nay with a vast increase of such attachment, she has attained, not an organic, but a visible unity of all her sons and daughters, infinitely more complete and imposing than that of Rome; and a unity too, which can only be broken by her apostasy from Christ. Then will she learn, as she reviews her wanderings in that wilderness, that those divisions which for centuries so weakened her strength, and sickened her heart with anguish, were not, as she then thought, the result of her deliverance from bondage, so that she was sometimes tempted, like Israel of old, to go back again into Egypt, but that they were the result of the bad lessons which had been taught her in her prison-house, and which she had not then un-

learned. Sectarianism, my brethren, is not the ultimate condition of the church in its millennial freedom, but the condition of its transition period, from the spiritual despotism of the great apostasy to the freedom of the Lord.

There is no mind deeply imbued with the spirit of Christ, that feels not a pressure of sorrow occasioned by this spectacle of religious disorder, in the midst of which we are, especially if the belief is entertained that this disorder and anarchy are the necessary result of earnest adhesion to the truth while in the enjoyment of freedom. From this pressure of sorrow, the mind experiences a relief scarcely to be expressed in words, from perceiving that it is possible to guard with the most untiring watchfulness, both the doctrinal and practical purity of the church, without in the least endangering its unity. I admit that, as in spite of such watchfulness unworthy members will sometimes find their way into the church, so in the exercise of it, brethren whom Christ has owned, may sometimes be excluded. This is always to be regarded as a calamity, and to be most carefully avoided. The bruised reed we would not break, the smoking flax we would not quench. But there is no danger that such watchfulness will impair the visible unity of the Christian brotherhood. How many seem to imagine that our sectarian divisions are the result of efforts to preserve the purity of the church! Brethren, let us thank God that it is not so. True, if we owe allegiance to a centralized church government, then may our best efforts for the purity of the church result in national convulsion and schism; not otherwise. I am under no necessity of being a latitudinarian, that I may not be a sectarian. Nay more, if I do be-

come a latitudinarian, I am sure to become a sectarian also.

This view of sects affords the mind great relief in another direction. I mean in the relation of the church to the state. My hearers are familiar with the assertion, that our security in this country against an established religion, and all its evil consequences, lies in the multiplicity of our sects, and their mutual jealousies. This position is distinctly taken in a number of the *Federalist*, I think by James Madison, for I refer from memory. We are all accustomed to hear this view urged, as sound and satisfactory, by the press, both secular and religious, and even from the pulpit. And yet what is really implied in it? Why that our religious denominations are one and all hungry beasts of prey, any one of which would gladly devour the religious liberties of mankind, but is prevented from doing so by the selfish jealousy of twenty other beasts, standing by, each equally hungry for the same precious morsel. In other words, that our religious liberty has just such a guaranty as the independence of Turkey, no other, — *the mutual jealousies of its enemies*. Is this true? If it is, it is certainly a sad truth. It seems to me the principles I have established, show precisely how far it is true, and wherein it is false. National church government always tends, by a process however slow, to slide into an alliance with the state, and perhaps always will do it, sooner or later, when it has in harmony with itself the great mass of a nation's population. Local church government tends by a similar process to break up the alliance with the state and to rely on the voluntary principle. If all our church governments were central, the statement of Madison would not perhaps be inaccurate. If they

were all local, there would be no occasion to apprehend an alliance between church and state, though the great bulk of the population, were embraced in churches of one denomination. There is certainly a very striking contrast, between the facility with which the Congregational churches of New England separated themselves from the state, and the tenacity with which the Presbyterian church in Scotland, and the Episcopal church in England adhere to the connection as to their very life.

Our argument thus far applies in form, to the external manifestations of unity. It proves that the tendency of our polity is to unite the great body of evangelical Christians in Churches of the same name and fundamental principles, and bound together by intimate ties of mutual fellowship. It however proves with equal conclusiveness, that it is anti-sectarian in spirit. It interferes, not by any central authority, with the organization of local churches, but leaves it to the attractions and repulsions of similar and dissimilar religious views and characters. Wherever it is so left, Christian men may be expected to unite on the basis of Christian character, as evinced by a sound faith and a right practice. This will come, in all such cases does come, to be regarded as the sole test of membership in the church. All other matters not embraced in these, are looked upon as trifles light as air, worthy of no regard in connection with such a subject as religion. In a body of Christians trained under such influences, you may expect to find, and as a very general rule you will find, a recognition of a substantially right faith and right practice, as composing the whole of Christianity, such as you will not find elsewhere on earth,

and a disposition to give or withhold fellowship from a regard to these considerations only.

It is precisely here that we see the true philosophy of the plan of union, and of all the arrangements which have resulted from it. Our fathers of New England were not tired of their polity. The ism was not in their thoughts. They had no schemes of denominational aggrandizement, no ambition to extend *their church* to the setting sun. They saw the vast and fertile regions of the west, becoming filled with human beings, and that their own sons and daughters were there finding homes in great numbers. The desire of their hearts was, that the gospel should be planted there. They deprecated denominational divisions among the disciples of our common Lord. They had confidence, as their descendants now have, that their Presbyterian brethren were substantially sound in the faith, and true to the sacred cause, and therefore without once raising the question of the influence to be exerted on the future, in reference to church polity, they very extensively united in planting churches in the wilderness, after the Presbyterian form. And Presbyterian churches composed of Congregational materials were organized by hundreds. In a multitude of other cases, where Congregational ideas were followed in the interior arrangement of the churches, they were placed in such relations with Presbyterian judicatories, as to render them to this day, integral parts of the Presbyterian church of the United States. This is certainly a considerable departure from the local independency of Congregationalism. But it is not in my heart to regret what was done. The church of Christ was planted in the wilderness, and for that good men will thank God forever.



But in process of time it was unavoidable that the antagonism of the opposite organic principles, thus brought together in the same body politic, should begin to be felt. We are told indeed in certain quarters, that no such antagonism exists. But he who says so is in great danger of being suspected of talking on a subject which he has not examined, and therefore does not understand. The manifestation of this antagonism must lead to an investigation and comparison of the two systems. The result of such enquiry was what might have been expected. While some embraced with a strong preference the central government of the Presbyterian church, others were equally firm in their attachment to the localism of the Congregational polity, and became unwilling to place themselves or the local churches under a central ecclesiastical authority. The case was now changed in an essential feature. While there was, on the part of men coming from Congregational communities, no consciousness of such antagonism, they could easily unite in organizing Presbyterian churches. But when this antagonism came to be felt, that was no longer practicable. The organization of Congregational churches became unavoidable, and hence the extension of the New England polity, in the regions lying west of Byram river, within the last quarter of a century.

Nor let it be said we are more sectarian than our fathers who made the plan of union. We have seen, what they did not see, the divisive tendencies inherent in all central church governments, and the tendency of the Congregational polity toward the perpetual unity of all the truly faithful in Christ Jesus. They could not see these things, as we see them, for the

great providential experiments, which have made them apparent to this age, were then incomplete. We see them because we have before us the providential lessons of the last half century. The very same unsectarian tendency of the system, which fifty years ago led Congregationalists to give up their own organic principles, and unite with other evangelical churches, especially the Presbyterian, now leads them to preserve, and if practicable to apply them, wherever they are called to the holy work of planting the church in the wilderness.

Our system is and ever has been co-operative in its character. Ecclesiastical polity embraces with us but a very limited range of interests, and we have no wish to make it in this respect more comprehensive. Indeed a local church government can, in the nature of the case, only embrace the local ecclesiastical interest of each particular church. In respect to all the general interests of the community at large, we are left free from ecclesiastical shackles, to join hands with our brethren of all other denominations. In efforts for the sound and thoroughly Christian education of the young in every department, in domestic and foreign missionary enterprises, in providing and circulating an evangelical literature in our own and in foreign lands, we are, and I may safely pledge that we ever will be ready to cooperate with Christians of sound evangelical views of whatever name. We ask in behalf of the church government to which we are attached, no other condition than that our right to adhere to it, and to live under it and no other, shall be fully recognized. And what we ask for ourselves as a right, we as freely concede to our brethren.

Nor is it to be regarded as an evil, that those cen-

tralized churches which are truly evangelical in doctrine and spirit, should extend their system wherever they find people to sympathize and unite with them. Our Methodist Episcopal brethren have done a great work for New England during the last fifty years. In just so far as a proselyting and sectarian spirit has been manifested, we disapprove it; but in so far as the gospel has been preached to the poor, we rejoice and thank God. And if there is any portion of the population of New England, that prefers the polity of the Presbyterian church, to that of the pilgrims, let them be organized accordingly. And if there are ministers in New England, who have like convictions, let them become the pastors of these rising Presbyterian churches, and satisfy to the full their aspirations, by connecting themselves with the judicatories of the Presbyterian church. We will not reproach such brethren; we will not disown them; they shall be *our* brethren still; their churches shall be sister churches. But we cannot promise them, that at the end of another half century, they will be found to have accomplished much, in the way of revolutionizing the church government of New England. The fathers are dead, but their spirit is there, and it pervadeth all things. However it may prove with these brethren themselves their successors will, like the pastors of the Presbyterian churches organized there a century ago, sit side by side with our successors, in Congregational councils and associations, and the government of their churches will be nearly as local, as though they had always been Congregational. Nor are our Methodist Episcopal brethren likely to be less affected by that same pervading spirit of New England. That spirit is a wonderful assimilater, whether at home or abroad. Of

the Protestant Episcopal church I say nothing in this connection, as her dogma of exclusiveness removes her to an immeasurable distance from the denominations on which I have been remarking.

Congregationalism can afford to bide her time. After what I have now said, no brother will suspect me of undervaluing her. But I thank God she has no monopoly of saving gifts and graces. God is making use of many other influences besides Congregational ministers and churches, in extending his kingdom over the world. He is raising up, I trust, vast sections of the sacramental host of his elect, who have never heard the name by which as a denomination we are called. To Him be all the praise. Nor does he call on us to propagate our principles of church polity, by any heated and feverish zeal, by any of the intrigues of the ecclesiastical politician, or to exhibit in its behalf any of the nervous restlessness of the partisan. We must endeavor to understand the organic principles which God's Word and providence have taught us, and to be true to them in practice. And one of the most important things implied in being true to them, is that we repose sufficient confidence in them, to believe they will live and abide, when we are not watching them. A man of sectarian spirit always betrays great want of confidence in those very principles he is always asserting. He is like a man afraid to go to sleep, lest his heart should cease beating. He dare not preach the simple gospel without regard to denomination. He is afraid to lie down at night, and sleep quietly, lest somebody should do his sect some harm. Many men wear out their souls in a life of such feverish anxieties.

If the principles of this discourse are true, Congre-

gationalists can afford to enjoy their necessary sleep, undisturbed by denominational solicitudes. They can afford to preach the gospel, and to labor for the conversion of the world, and bestow very little thought upon their peculiar denominational interests. Indeed one of the principal advantages of the system is, that it is so simple as to require but very little effort to be expended in keeping the machinery in good repair, thus leaving good men at liberty, to expend almost their whole energies in the great spiritual labors of Christian life. If as Congregational ministers, we really are true to our principles, we shall in all our various fields of labor, be distinguished for such a mode of life. We have no apology for acting the politician. We shall be tranquil in spirit, guileless, frank and magnanimous in our intercourse with our brethren of all Christian denominations, disposed to confide in them, and slow to distrust them, ready to cooperate with them at all times for the promotion of all good words and works, and even forbearing towards them, in respect to many acts seemingly unbrotherly into which they may be betrayed by their denominational necessities.

The time for the full development of Congregational church polity is probably not yet. The idea of a centralized church government, borrowed from imperial Rome, had its first embodiment in the Papacy. In that form it has already been judged and condemned by ages of experiment. After the Lutheran reformation, it assumed a wholly new form, in the state churches of Protestant Europe. In this form too, the experiment is completed, and the sentence of condemnation has gone forth. Another, and perhaps the last form of the experiment, is now being tried on a



magnificent scale, on both sides of the Atlantic. It is that of centralized national churches, independent of the state, and relying for support on the voluntary principle. For the result of this experiment we must patiently wait. God is superintending it, and will see that it is tried fairly. If as its result the principle of centralized churches shall in this form receive the approving suffrages of a large portion of the true disciples of Christ, then will Congregationalism have no very important destiny in the future. But if the result shall be, as may be predicted without prophetic ken, that the whole idea of a central church government shall receive a final sentence of condemnation, then will the principles of Congregational church polity receive their full development. Then may the whole church of God under heaven anticipate as near the visible answer of our Saviour's prayer for the oneness of his disciples, and look forward with exultant hope, to that glorious future, when she shall enjoy through the long cycles of the millennium, the peaceful reign of truth, freedom and charity.

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THE NATURE AND PRINCIPLES OF CONGREGATIONALISM.

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AN

ADDRESS,

DELIVERED MAY 9, 1855, IN BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, BEFORE THE

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.

BY

WILLIAM A. STEARNS, D. D.

PRESIDENT OF AMHERST COLLEGE.



## THE NATURE AND PRINCIPLES OF CONGREGATIONALISM.

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### A D D R E S S .

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GENTLEMEN OF THE AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION:—

I AM invited by the Trustees of the American Congregational Union “to propound my views of any theme connected with the interior constitution and spirit, or the outward working and onward movement, or the historical development of Evangelical Congregationalism in the country.” I accept the invitation in the precise terms of it, which are, “to *propound my views*” on some one of the leading subjects of Congregationalism. For though *the views* of an individual may be of little importance to anybody, yet by attempting to give only my own opinions, I shall be sure not to compromise those of my brethren, and should the presentation about to be made appear in any respect incorrect, no friend or foe of the Congregational order will have a right to hold our entire communion responsible for what may be offered by a single member of it.

The general subject proposed is one in which I confess myself deeply interested. Born and nurtured in the bosom of a Congregational church, after more than twenty years’ experience as a pastor in the workings of this system, and cherishing, as I hope, a catholic spirit towards other denominations, I am fully convinced that evangelical Congregationalism is not only

scriptural in its origin but the best possible system of church polity for a free, intelligent and truly Christian community. It allows such freedom to individual development of mind and heart, while by its creeds and confessions, its principles, prestige, spirit, it so strongly curbs erratic tendencies; it maintains such equality among Christ's disciples, making so much of a man, the humblest, while it gives room for high respect to experience and moral worth; it brings the soul so near to the Mediator without the intervention of human officiousness or any but the simplest forms; it unites so naturally the benevolent activities of individuals, permitting so much voluntariness, while by the wisdom and piety of the body, it guides these activities for the most part into appropriate channels; it furnishes such checks to theological hatreds and the ambition of those who can distinguish themselves only by hunting out heresies and accusing the brethren, and circumscribes difficulties generally within so narrow a compass instead of setting whole denominations in a blaze; and withal it unites catholicism so harmoniously with self-respect and independence, and is so efficient in its workings, that it ever has secured and always will secure my highest admiration. At the same time its history, especially in the new world, where it is coeval with the first settlements, and the mother of our best institutions, and its present intense and ever-growing life, to say nothing of its recent forth-puttings and successes on our western soil, inspire me with confidence not only in its perpetuity and increase, but in its destiny as the most efficient agency of Christ in subduing the world.

My remarks, however, on this occasion, will be chiefly limited to the first of the topics suggested by



your Trustees, viz., "the interior constitution and spirit of the Congregational connection." In other words, I shall consider the question, what is Congregationalism in its distinguishing features and spirit? What is its nature, and what are its leading principles? I choose this topic not because I feel able to do it justice, but because it is to a great extent, and so far as many of its applications are concerned, unbroken ground; and an attempt on my part may serve as the beginnings of much abler presentations by others.

The question is often put to us with a sneer, what *is Congregationalism?* as though a full, clear answer was out of the question, and many of its friends, especially those who are least experienced in its usages, have hardly ventured to respond except with the echo, what *is Congregationalism?* The difficulty of the question arises from two sources; first, we have no accredited manual of church polity. The Cambridge Platform, which gives the best exhibition of our principles, contains several nonessentials which have fallen into disuse. As a scheme, it has not been reaffirmed, for several generations, and as a whole, is now strictly followed by no church. Subsequent collections of Congregational principles, though many of them highly valuable, come to us with the sanction of only individual names, or sections of our churches. They contain, moreover, for the most part, no clearly defined distinctions between those few principles which belong to the nature of the order and are inseparable from it, and those subordinate matters about which usage properly differs. The second difficulty in giving a full and direct answer to the question what is Congregationalism arises from the very nature of the system which includes as a fundamental idea, the idea of *liberty*. It is not a sys-

tem of *detail*, but of common sense applied (by intelligent Christian minds, according to circumstances) to great principles. It is not like an ice-covered oak, every limb and sprig of which stands out in bristling horror, moving only to break, but a graceful summer's elm with firm root and strong trunk, and inseparable boughs indeed, but yielding branches and twigs, living in every part and swaying naturally to the wind. Forgetful of this fact, Congregationalism is a puzzle to those orders which go by a book, or wait for the dictation of their spiritual guides, and many novices among ourselves are thrown into despair when they attempt to grasp our system, and detain it for inspection. They overlook the fact that our great principles are our only fixed principles, and for details we must trust, through the guidance of the Spirit, to a sound and sanctified judgment.

The scriptures, as Congregationalists admit, nowhere furnish a complete and invariable model of church government, so carried out and fixed in minute particulars, as to admit of no addition or modification, corresponding to the times, customs and civil institutions, among which it exists. A few leading and unchangeable principles, however, have been distinctly set forth by Christ and his apostles, and practically developed to a certain degree by the primitive church. These principles are the ground elements or constitution of our ecclesiastical polity. Whatever else may be necessary to the subsistence and well-being of a church is to be sought in the exercise of sound reason, under the guiding influences of the Holy Spirit, so that in any attempt to present ideal Congregationalism for any locality, this would be the problem to be solved, viz., certain dimensions being given, to complete the

proportions of the building, in doing which regard must be had also, to the peculiarities of the country and circumstances in which it is erected, though by no means such regard as to modify the fundamental ideas.

If I have stated the problem correctly, then it is obvious that in answering the question, what is Congregationalism? I am not bound to say, *in complete detail*, what was the Congregationalism of the apostolic churches. For if a metropolitan church at Ephesus, or that of ten thousand members at Jerusalem had numerous overseers or elders, from the necessities of the case, it does not follow that a church containing but a hundred persons should need more than one; or if *rule*, under an arbitrary civil government, and in a rude state of society conveyed even in the church an idea of arbitrary power, it does not follow that the same association is necessary among free republican institutions. Nor am I to say, in every particular what was the Congregationalism of our puritan Fathers; for supposing them correct or otherwise on the subject of ruling elders and all other rights and privileges, their church government was necessarily modified by that union of church and state which they considered so essential to the well-being of the church, but which has been long since utterly and I hope forever dissolved.

Nor in answering the question, am I to describe Congregationalism, exactly as it now exists in any particular locality. Some churches have departed in some respects from the original system. In Connecticut for example, there is a consociation of churches which holds the highest ecclesiastical power, and to which individual churches, and individuals, in the last

resort, may appeal, while in Massachusetts, the true idea of Congregationalism has been lost sight of in one notorious instance, in dealing with heretical churches, and also sometimes in refusing to an ecclesiastical council its proper influence. In other localities, independency approaching to Romanism has greatly trespassed on the original Congregational idea.

Nor must I attempt to form a system of church government, according to my own opinion of what Congregationalism *ought* to be, for I am bound by certain fixed principles which obviously make up the outlines of the system.

What then is the system as it was originated by the apostles, carried towards completion by the original churches, and necessarily modified by our own times and institutions?

In answering this inquiry we must be guided by the light of revelation, by the platform and usages of the New England Fathers, by the practice of our most approved churches and the nature of things.

I proceed then to the question, what are the features of Congregationalism; and these might be divided into essentials and nonessentials. And both may or may not be held in common with some other denominations. It is sufficient, however, for our purpose, that they belong to the true genus of our organization.

1. The church is a divine institution of which the Lord Jesus Christ is the invisible and only head. A Congregational church has no *human* head, without and above itself. It is subject to no pope, bishop, patriarch, priest, king or state. It is subject simply to Christ. The pastor is not strictly speaking the head of the church. He is a shepherd under Christ, the great

Shepherd, and in the visible organization the presiding officer of the church. He is a part of the church, not without and above it, but within and a part of it. It has no head but Christ. He instituted it, established its ordinances and rules. It is his body, and he is its head. It is not a head to itself, councils are not its head; synods are not its head; the fellowship of the churches is not the head of the individual church. Christ its *head*, and its only head.

2. The Bible, especially the New Testament, contains the constitution and rules by which the Lord Jesus Christ is pleased to govern his church. It has no man-made nor church-made book of authority. Its creeds are intended as mere expositions of biblical principles, not inspired, not authoritative, except so far as they are contained in the scriptures and are just interpretations of them, and so far as they express the consenting intelligence, on the points in question, of the cohering members. Our churches indeed delight in creeds and confessions. They joyfully consent and adhere to them. Composed as most of them have been by our holy dead, majestic in the high mysteries and truths they contain, they often seem to us like sublime symphonies from the spirit world chanted among us, but they are not accepted as the sources of ultimate appeal. Nor is *legislation*, except wherein it proceeds from the very nature of a church, and is necessary to its subsistence, or, in very subordinate matters, to its supposed well-being, to be reckoned among the prerogatives of a church. It can impose no burdens, establish no terms of communion, except those which have been imposed and established by Christ. Beyond the regime of Christ's enactments is Christian liberty. Pure Congregationalism has always acknowledged



these doctrines. It expounds existing principles, but cannot enact fundamental laws. It enforces Christ's statutes, but makes none of its own.

3. In the organization and government of the church, Congregationalism contemplates for it the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. As Christ is the head of the church, so in its normal condition, he is by his Spirit, an omnipresent agency, in the management of its affairs. This fact, so often lost sight of practically and with disastrous consequences, is yet clearly exhibited in the Bible, everywhere recognized by the Puritan fathers, and is received, and I trust acted upon, by our most intelligent and spiritual churches. The apostles designated them as the temples of God, the spirit of God dwelling in them. When formed into a spiritual building, by the coherence and arrangement of its holy members, the church was a habitation of God through the Spirit. In it, originally, the Holy Spirit seemed to exercise personal functions, separating disciples to special works, and as a leading influence controlling the affairs of the body. This indwelling of the Spirit was an original principle in the construction of the church. And such was the awfulness of his presence that when two of the first church members testified falsely before the body, charged with lying against the Holy Ghost, they were struck dead by him as with a bolt from heaven. It is this presence that lies at the foundation of the much perverted doctrine of church infallibility. If the body and the members were always in real fellowship with the Spirit, if they performed the conditions essential to the Spirit's aid, if with entire renunciation of the selfish will, by earnest, believing, importunate prayer they sought the Spirit's guidance, following carefully at the

same time the revealed directions, a fallible conclusion would be scarcely possible. In cases of church discipline, the voice of the church would be the voice of God; the binding and loosing on earth would be a binding and loosing in Heaven. Here, where that special presence is more needed than perhaps anywhere else, in cases where divinely appointed recuperative influences are to be used on offenders, or the awful act of excision is to be performed, that presence might be especially enjoyed. And it is remarkable that in just this connection, as the proper conclusion to Christ's laws of discipline, comes originally the much quoted passage, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name there am I in the midst of them." It is the office of the Spirit not only to convert and sanctify, but to enlighten the mind into the knowledge of revealed truth; to superintend the election and consecration of officers; and to guide in the right administration of the laws. This presence of the Spirit is to be sought by prayer, and may always be expected when the conditions of its realization are properly regarded. His converting, guiding agency in a church makes just the difference between a church acting in its associate capacity and a town meeting, or a popular political convention.

This is the place perhaps, in connection with the three principles just advanced, to correct an error respecting the nature of a church which seems to have been imbibed by certain ultra democratic and erratic spirits, greatly to the annoyance of more orderly men. As a church is an association of persons who voluntarily subscribe to its rules and connect themselves with it, there are some who seem to place it almost on a level with voluntary associations of a human origin,

and to suppose that the majority of a church may have the same control over all its affairs as the majority of a temperance society or missionary society has over its arrangements. It should be understood then that a church is an entirely different institution from any other which exists, and was organized on entirely different principles from any association of man's devising, that has been or can be established.

A church is an institution of the Lord Jesus Christ. He founded it, made all its fundamental laws, appointed its ordinances, established its offices, and gave minute directions as to the manner in which they should be filled, and the general affairs of the body should be conducted. Christ is its Lord, Head, Ruler; its supreme and sole Monarch and owner; and by his indwelling Spirit undertakes to bring it to perfection, and direct its movements. No individual, no majority, not even the whole body can make any change in the foundation principles of church polity, or in the ordinances, without bold presumption, and in a truly Christian community, without loss of standing as a church of Christ. In matters of less importance, however, in all those things which Christ has entrusted to the management of his disciples, the whole body or the major part of the body are considered competent to act. At the same time they must follow his directions wherever they are given, and proceed only in harmony with them and according to the leadings of the Spirit, on all points which properly come under human control. Hence it is that when we join a church, we join ourselves to Christ, become members of his institution, connect ourselves in a living organization through the spirit with his friends, and become subject to his laws forever.

4. We are now prepared for a definition. By a church or a Congregational church, we understand a company of orderly believers who having entered into covenant with God and each other, acknowledging Christ as their Head and the New Testament as their rule, and having chosen and consecrated certain officers according to Christ's direction, and having the Holy Spirit in the midst of them, (without which such a body is no more a church than a human corpse is a man,) congregate statedly, in one place, for religious ordinances, and the other great ends of a church. "Any competent number of such persons, when their consciences oblige them," says Prince, "have a right to embody into a church for their mutual edification.\* This embodying is by some certain contract express or implied. Being embodied, they have a right to choose their own officers,"—though we add that according to usage and from the nature of our fellowship, such organization is not properly completed, without the aid and sanction of other churches where such aid and sanction may be had.

Believers are associated in a church estate for fellowship, edification, and the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, by the maintenance of "the outward and ordinary means of grace, especially the preached word, sacraments and prayer." Being qualified for admission by giving credible evidence of faith and repentance, being received by confession of faith, by baptism and covenant, they become a *flock* of Christ, which flock includes both the sheep and the lambs. These *congregating* statedly, for purposes aforesaid, and acting in church affairs as a congregation, are therefore characterized as a Congregational church.

\* N. E. Chron. p. 9.

This church, I said, includes both the sheep and the lambs. For true Congregationalism, like Presbyterianism and indeed all the leading denominations of Christendom, with one exception, considers the children of the church when baptized as members of the church, though such children are not admitted to the higher mysteries of the church, till they give evidence of personal faith and repentance, and make public profession of the same, all which are necessary qualifications, not for infant baptism, but for the Lord's supper.

5. For the order and prosperity of his church, the Lord Jesus Christ has delegated a power of government, according to appointed and peculiar principles, to the body of believers represented by the adult male members in full communion ; though the opinion of the female members, many of whom are often among the wisest and best persons in the church, is not to be disregarded. Thus, under Christ, the acknowledged Head, a Congregational church is a truly republican, self-governing, but constitutional institution, having offices like all republics, which offices it is the prerogative of the church, by election, to fill, but the duties of which, the church is not authorized directly and except by its officers, to perform.

6. In the administration of church affairs, Congregationalism recognizes three and only three orders. 1st. Pastors, otherwise designated ministers, teachers, bishops, overseers, presbyters and elders. It does not limit the number of pastors for a church, or define their functions where there is more than one, but allows strictly speaking, no official preeminence among them. 2nd. Deacons. 3d. The brotherhood. These taken together being the representative body of



believers, are to act in harmony, and to exercise equal rule, each person as an individual, except in trusts committed to one or other of the orders, *exclusively*.

7. It is the prerogative of the church, which includes of course its deacons and pastors with the brotherhood to designate its own officers, to appoint its own delegates, to provide for the maintenance of its institutions, to decide on the admission or rejection of proposed members, and upon the exclusion, acquittal, or restoration on repentance, of such persons as after due investigation of the same are deemed worthy of it, and also to perform any duties, not herein specified, which may be necessary to the preservation and increase of the church and other great ends of its organization. Yet, however, with these qualifications: 1st. the *act* of excision, admission etc., is not by the brotherhood *directly*, but, in accordance with their decisions, through their presiding officer. 2d. As there is a fellowship of churches, ordination of candidates elect, is never to be attempted by the unordained except in those extreme cases where necessity transcends rule.

8. It is the office and work of a deacon, says the Cambridge Platform, "to receive the offerings of the church, gifts given to the church, and to keep the treasury of the church, and therewith to serve the tables which the church is to provide for; as the Lord's table, the table of the ministers, and of such as are in necessity, to whom they are to distribute in simplicity.

It is also highly appropriate to the office, for deacons to preside and preserve order at church meetings in the absence of the pastor, to take a prominent part among the brotherhood, in social prayer and exhortation, and in seeking the general interests of the church, being also, by stability, gravity and wisdom, by integrity,

benevolence and a devout spirit, examples and helpers of the flock.

It is incumbent on deacons, moreover, and the same might be said of ruling elders, should they ever again be introduced as distinct officers in the church, "to stay up the hands and encourage the heart" of their pastor; to favor and help forward his judicious efforts, and to promote the respect which is due to his office, being at all times his right hand men, and by sympathy and friendship and substantial aid, real assistants in his work; for all which, and on account of their station they are entitled to pastoral confidence and consultation, as well as to official respect from all the members of the church. Though sometimes jealousies arise between these officers, and the first order in the church where wisdom and piety between these orders bear sway, the relation is always most profitable and happy.

9. It has pleased the great Head of the church to lay the heaviest responsibilities on ministers, holding them greatly accountable for the souls committed to their care, insomuch that an apostle exclaims, "who is sufficient for these things?"

As the duties of a minister are not to be undertaken by any, unless they have been called thereto by the Holy Spirit; so the process of introduction to the sacred office is according to usage solemn and peculiar. "No man taketh this honor upon himself, but is called of God, as was Aaron."

For instance, a young professor of religion of good talents and aptness to teach, moved by a sense of duty or call of the Spirit, after much prayer and reflection and suitable consultation, dedicates himself to the work of the ministry. Having passed through a long course of trial and preparation, he presents himself,

with requisite credentials, before an association of ministers, who, after examination, bestow upon him, if found worthy of it, a license to preach the gospel as an approved minister. The church to which he belongs might have given him this power, but according to usage, and as the natural consequence of the fellowship of our churches, the prerogative of license is committed to associations. Indeed, the candidate would not otherwise be looked upon as an accredited minister, in any church except that with which he was connected. Thus authorized, being invited by some destitute congregation to labor among them in the Lord as a candidate for settlement, if his person and services are acceptable, they proceed to give him a call to become their pastor, making at the same time, provision for his temporal support, so that he can spend his time, not in providing for himself and family, but in fulfilling his ministry. If he accepts the invitation, the church has doubtless power to set him apart to his work ; but usage and the fellowship of the churches, and the obvious proprieties of the case, require for this purpose the aid of an ecclesiastical council, to consider the qualifications of the candidate, and if found worthy, to induct him into his office. If rejected by the council, ordination cannot orderly follow. If accepted, arrangements are immediately made for it. Among the services of ordination there are especially deserving of notice : 1st. The ordaining prayer, in which the candidate “ offering himself a living sacrifice to God ” — to serve him in the ministry, is solemnly consecrated to the work, and by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery, that is, the hands of several ordained ministers belonging to the council, is invested with the ministerial office. 2. The charge,

in which he is adjured by one of the fathers, in the name of the council, the church and its Head, to keep the *trusts* and perform the duties of his station, constantly, faithfully and to the end, even as he hopes for mercy at the great day. 3d. The Right Hand of Fellowship, by which he is now visibly received into ministerial confidence and the communion of other churches.

Perhaps this entire detail should not be set down as among the essential principles of our order, though usage seems to have fixed them as indispensable. One thing, however, in this connection is fundamental. The source of ecclesiastical power in all these cases is the church. From it the council derives its power to act. Self-constituted councils have no authority. Nor can any body of Christians, not even an association of ministers resolve itself into a council and proceed to ordination without being guilty of a dangerous innovation, subverting the foundation principles of Congregationalism.

Being regularly ordained, the minister, though elected by the church, over which no man can be placed without its consent, though introduced into office by a council which the church has called, is no longer directly accountable to the council or even to the church of which he is pastor, but to the Lord Jesus Christ by whose Spirit, through human agency, he has been called and consecrated, as it is written, "Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock over which the *Holy Ghost* has made you overseer to feed the church of God which he has purchased with his own blood." In case of unfaithfulness, however, the same body which elected him, viz., the church in connection with a body similar to that which invested him

with his office, are authorized and required in an orderly manner to take that office away.

It is the duty of the minister to preach the Word, administer the sacramental ordinances, conduct devotional services, preside over and regulate religious meetings, building up the church of which he is the overseer and a member, in the faith, purity and order of the gospel. For this purpose he is entrusted with the keys of the pulpit, and made responsible for the religious services performed in it, insomuch that neither by exchange, nor by invitation, nor by consent, not even by vote of the brethren, can he allow any one, even though an angel from heaven, to enforce error upon his people.

It is his duty also to designate the times, places and modes of public instruction and devotion according to the usages of the church, having no authority to introduce new and extraordinary measures, except with consent of the brotherhood; nor can he suffer innovations against his better judgment, though suggested or pressed by them, he being not the servant of the church but the servant of Christ.

It is of course his duty to oversee and look after all the spiritual interests of his flock, not only attending on the burial of the dead and the visitation of the sick, but applying the Word as occasion may require to families and to individuals.

It is his duty to pay special attention to the children of the church, according to the injunction "feed my lambs," nor can he throw off this responsibility upon the brotherhood however devoted they may be, though at the request, or by the advice or consent of the church, he may associate others with him in the discharge of this important trust, as is done in our



times in the case of Sabbath schools. These institutions, however, have no church power, nor are they independent organizations, but one of the modes of church and pastoral action, and the pastor of the church is the head of them.

10. A church organized, officered and maintained according to principles herein adduced, existing under one glorious but invisible Head to whom it is accountable, enjoying the indwelling of the Holy Spirit which is the principle of its organic life, is in itself a complete body politic, capable in the last resort of any lawful act, necessary to its preservation and welfare, though not, however, in some cases, without the council of other churches, where such council can be had. It is independent under Christ, sovereign, and yet confederate.

11. This brings me to a fellowship of the churches. Fellowship, confederation, is among the fundamental principles of Congregationalism, distinguishing it from strict independency. The difference between independency and Congregationalism is this: independency has many churches but no catholic church of its order; Congregationalism has many churches but confederated under the same Head, and for certain purposes they rest as it were in the bosom of one great church, which, however, is rather a communion than a church.

Each member of the confederacy, that is, each church belonging to the fellowship, is supposed to hold itself ready to give an account of its doings to all or either of the other churches when regularly called upon in meekness and love so to do. In the case of departure from the faith, or allowed immoralities in any church, it is the duty of some sister church or

churches to make inquiry into the alleged grievance, and by the persuasive power of truth seek the reformation of the backslidden. If no satisfaction can be obtained, these churches are expected to refer the subject of difference to an ecclesiastical council, mutually chosen, or if one of the bodies refuse to cooperate in such a proceeding, the other may convene a council without them, just as in the case of an individual where a mutual council is refused him, he has a right to call an *ex parte* council, to advise him in the premises. In either case, the council when assembled takes cognizance of the affair submitted to it, and its decision, though advisory, is expected to have paramount weight with the parties. In the case immediately under notice, that of two churches at variance, the result of a mutual council is so far binding that neither the one church nor the other can reject it, without justifying a withdrawal from its fellowship.

It is sometimes objected to us that we have no power to deal efficiently with an erring church. To the contrary of this we have fearful power. Having used all appropriate means to secure its restoration without success, we have the power of withdrawal from it. And this withdrawal, though it be that of individual churches, will be more or less general, according to the nature of the offence, and the behavior of the church in question. In this way, by the power of public sentiment, though I confess somewhat irregularly, one large section of the Congregational communion has been excised from the main body, within the last thirty years. It is equally true that we have power to deal efficiently with an erring member of a church. Such a church, by deliberate

steps of Christian discipline, earnestly seeks the recovery of the offender, but finding him past hope, cuts him off from its communion. The act of excision is, authoritatively final ; but if the excised member asks for a council, it is usually granted, and its decision regarded. But if the council decide against the offending member, the punishment of exclusion which follows is as effective as any punishment of a moral kind can be made ; for it is exclusion both from the individual church and the fellowship of the churches.

12. An ecclesiastical council, created only for a temporary and specific purpose, is composed of pastors and delegates, appointed by the churches from which they are sent, upon invitation from the body which they are called to aid. They are essential, according to the principles of our fellowship, when they can be had, for the regular founding of a new church, for the ordination, installation and dismissal of pastors, and for the investigation and settlement of difficulties between different churches, between a pastor and a church, and between members of the same church, whenever such settlement cannot be satisfactorily made among the parties more immediately concerned.

13. It is a remarkable and beautiful feature of Congregationalism, that among all its councils and assemblies, it acknowledges no standing judicatory, no permanent executive or legislative body, except what belongs to each individual church over itself. All other bodies exercising influence or power in the churches are created for temporary and specific purposes at the request of the parties needing their assistance, by and out of the churches whose assistance they need.

14. The last great principle of Congregationalism

which I shall mention is one which has already been often alluded to, but underlying as it does the human part of our whole system, deserves a more distinct notice. It is the great democratic principle of equality and liberty. No church assumes ecclesiastical superiority over other churches; no pastor over any other pastor; no lay-member over any of the brotherhood; but all stand on the same platform of rights and privileges before God and each other. Freedom reigns; freedom from civil interferences in spiritual matters; freedom from ecclesiastical courts and judicatures; freedom from all powers of government without; freedom of churches, and freedom of individuals in the church; each church one, no church more than one; each man one, no man more than one; all churches associated on equal terms, and all men brethren; having everywhere perfect liberty, except so far as it is restrained by the laws of Christ.

15. A few words will be sufficient for what I called the discretionary adjuncts of Congregationalism. They are the result of its liberty. Each church regulates its own affairs in all nonessentials, worships with a liturgy or without one, as it pleases; though the former alternative, I suppose, is rare among us, and not likely, while our simple forms are properly respected, to be extensively introduced. In the exercise of this liberty, Congregationalism has natural developments. Among these are, first, Conferences of churches. These are designed for mutual edification, but never for any judicial, legislative or executive function. Second, Ministerial associations. These are designed for the aid of Christ's ministers by furnishing opportunities for consultation, the interchange of views and sympathies, mutual counsel and improvement. They have,

however, no ecclesiastical power, except that, according to usage, the examining and licensing of candidates for the ministry is committed to them. When they resolve themselves into ecclesiastical Councils, for the ordination of a candidate or for any other purposes, they not only transcend the bounds of their legitimate influence, but strike a blow at the liberties of the churches and the foundations of our system. Associations, local or general, can if they please, introduce a representation of the brotherhood into their bodies, provided they remember that, however constituted, they have no right to *exercise power* over the churches. Other voluntary bodies of churches or Christians can be formed for the enterprises of benevolence or for edification, if the above proviso is sacredly regarded. Indeed this voluntariness is among the pleasing features of our system; as it allows differing tastes and talents to embody themselves in ways adapted to secure the highest possible efficiency, and consequent success. They may embody into Congregational library associations or large Congregational unions for the promotion of Christ's Kingdom by the advancement of the denomination; or they may unite as individual churches or collectively with other denominations for mutual edification and enlargement of the Redeemer's Empire, in any way not subversive of the great principles of our order.

16. Congregationalism has always acknowledged the propriety of *Synods* or general assemblies of all the churches in fellowship, represented by their pastors and messengers. They are esteemed of consequence, though not among the essentials of our order, as our churches have existed and flourished for generations together without them.



Synods were formerly convoked in New England by the civil magistrates, but have been of rare occurrence in the American Congregational connection. They might be called with propriety, by a number of churches agreeing together for that purpose, whenever the state of the times, or the desire of the churches generally demand them. Should they ever become regularly periodical, while much might be gained by mutual acquaintance, cooperation and the increase of Congregational strength, great vigilance would be required lest the independence of the churches should sometimes be overborne.

It is the proper business of a synod, so far as we can learn it from the scriptures and the practice of our fathers, to affirm or reaffirm the principles of church polity and doctrine, to bear testimony against heresies, errors and malpractices, giving council for the reformation of them in the words of the Platform, "to draw from the Word holy directions for the holy worship of God and good government of the church," to take measures not in the way of legislation but of recommendation, for the common good, and to express opinions important to the interests of the denomination and of Christ's Kingdom, giving to their united voice, uttered in remembrance of the true nature of a church and in reliance on the Holy Spirit, which is the principle of its organic life, the weight and influence of an august consistory thus composed of the selected wisdom and piety of the church.

Finally, Congregationalism in the United States, generally associates with each of its churches a religious society, distinct from the church, though including it.

These societies thus connected with the church, being constituted not only of church-members, but of

other persons who respect and attend upon the worship and assist in the pecuniary support, usually act with the church in all the financial interests which they hold in common, also especially in the settlement and dismissal of their ministers, in which cases the church acts first and the society concurs or dissents at its pleasure. Such societies of course establish their own conditions of membership, though they have no control over the affairs of the church. Nor have they any connection with other societies or with the fellowship of churches, except as in some cases they act with the church in the calling of ecclesiastical councils.

I have thus sketched, with more or less particularity, the leading features of our Congregational polity. On the divine side we have the church an institution of Christ, Christ its Head, Scripture its rule, the Holy Spirit its principle of organic life; on the human side, independence of the churches, equality of the churches, fellowship of the churches, independence and equality of the members, independence and equality of the ministers, — each and all regulated by the statutes and ordinances of Christ, whose government, to a willing mind, is liberty.

For the preservation and proper working of this system a few things must be remembered. 1st. The essential inwardness of the kingdom of God. It has been the prominent error of the great church organizations of Christendom that the outward has been allowed to overlay and crush out the inward. The worshippers have seemed to exist for the temple, not the temple for the worshippers, and the Spirit of God departing from it has in some instances left little remaining but the masonry and joinery of human in-

ventions. It was as a protest against this excessive outwardness that Congregationalism reappeared after the Reformation and reasserted its original apostolic simplicity. Let us never forget then the Scripture, "the kingdom of God is within you."

2. An opposite error is equally to be avoided. In throwing off the yokes of bondage there is danger of turning liberty into license. Decency and order in worship, a reverential observance of Christian ordinances is as important to the dignity and weight of our denomination as it is to the highest influence of the religion of Christ. The lawlessness of an ultra democracy, whatever may be said of it in civil relations, should never be allowed to shock the sensibilities of devout men in the church. Every thing in Christ's institutions should be done with sobriety, propriety, and decorum. Where these are observed, and our simple forms are maintained with solemnity, and those who minister them are filled with the Spirit, human additions, whether liturgical or ecclesiastical, will rarely be demanded. If any church, however, in peculiar localities, and with peculiar tastes, prefers for its own edification written forms of devotion, or other unimportant changes from the customary arrangement of services, let no Congregationalist forbid them; for why should the liberty of one church be judged by the preference of another church? Are we not free? And is it not one of the beauties of our system, that it can readily adapt itself, in unessentials, to the religious tastes of its members?

3. As Congregationalism allows liberty to its churches, it is eminently catholic in its general spirit. It can see the lineaments of Christ's countenance in other families of Christ's kingdom besides its own. It

is peculiarly unsectarian. It never has attempted to sustain itself by crusadings against other denominations. Generosity and charity characterize it. It has even sometimes been thought to love its neighbor better than itself. May it never become cramped, and intensely denominational. Towards its Presbyterian sister may it ever keep up the magnanimity which belongs to it. At the same time fully believing that its own is the more excellent way, if it should spend its principal strength on its own organizations, rather than in connection with less desirable systems, can any candid man object?

4. The nature of our system requires that while we are catholic towards others we preserve the spirit of good neighborhood among ourselves. We have no great organizations which bring us often together. In this, as in other things, voluntariness distinguishes us. But voluntariness should lead us in wise directions. Let the heart's blood, warm at the centre, be propelled in full heat to the most distant extremities. We mutually need for our best development, the action of other minds and sections of the country upon us. While the West may be benefited by something of the staidness and order of the old pilgrim dominions, the free and nourishing movement of the new church will impart fresh life to the old. Neither has anything to lose by intercourse,—both may gain much, and in many ways, by a hearty fellowship.

5. Let it not be, however, in the fifth place, a fellowship of doubtful disputations among ourselves. According to the spirit of Congregationalism each church will as far as possible settle its own difficulties, and dispose of its exciting questions. The great expense of time and labor which exhaust other denomina-

tions, in looking up offences and adjudicating thereon ; and the perplexities, agitations and evil passions engendered thereby, will be nearly avoided wherever our system is properly conducted. Individuals are expected to settle their quarrels, if they have any, among themselves. If they fail in such efforts, the aid of two or three of the wisest and best in the church is to be sought, and only in extreme cases is the body to be troubled by them. Many of our churches acting on this principle have flourished for generations, without asking or needing advice from abroad. In ordinary cases, all churches might do the same ; only let the members act prudently, and recollect that there is an indwelling of the Spirit among them. If, however, misunderstandings arise, which the church finds itself unable to correct, then let the provisions of our fellowship be looked to for a remedy, only remembering that the smallest number capable of settling them, is just the number to be employed for the purpose. Why should a whole communion be agitated by a private heresy or a personal offence. A fellowship of dissension is a fellowship of destruction.

I have but one more remark to offer. The successful working of our system depends much on the wisdom and piety of its members. As, in a republican government, liberty promotes true manhood, and true manhood is essential to liberty, so in our churches while Congregationalism signally develops the individual Christian, intelligence and a devout spirit are the indispensable supports of our system. As it gives much room for the exercise of judgment and, having few laws, must depend much on the spirituality and Christian fairness of its members, its friends will press



the cause of education, and seek to produce in all connected with us, a manly and generous piety. If we may not expect in every church men of the largest intellectual and spiritual stature, we may cultivate in all a breadth of view, a sense of Christian honor, a faith which always relies on the indwelling Spirit of the church to aid in the adjustment of its affairs, and a feeling that good men by candor, reflection, and prayer, can learn in all cases what is right. Thus, we may secure qualities among our church-members which will not only promote individual edification, but will give union and power to every church, and strength and beauty to our entire communion.

Congregationalists of America — you have a noble history — nothing can exceed it. Your platforms harmonize with the free constitutions of the land ; your doctrinal symbols have been sanctioned by the orthodoxy of ages ; you have intelligence and educational means and an energy of spirit never surpassed ; your benevolent enterprises are the admiration of mankind — the new growth recently put forth by you shows both your vigor and fitness for expansion in the forming sections of the country — the Head of the church has signally owned and blessed you as an organization well-pleasing in his sight. Be true to yourselves, and your future will be more glorious than your past — be true to yourselves, and posterity for ages will bless God that the old Puritan pilgrims came to these shores.

## PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

## GENERAL CONVENTION

OF

## Congregational Ministers and Delegates

IN THE UNITED STATES,

Held at Albany, N. Y., on the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th of October, 1852.

TOGETHER WITH THE

SERMON PREACHED ON THE OCCASION,

BY REV. JOEL HAWES, D.D.

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PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION.

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NEW YORK:

S. W. BENEDICT, 16 SPRUCE STREET.

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     D. O. Caulkins, do.  
 Rev. John T. Marsh, do.  
 Rev. O. E. Daggett, Canandaigua.  
 Rev. Edward G. Tyler, do.  
 Rev. A. Pryne, Cazenovia.  
     M. A. Kingsbury, do.  
 Rev. A. D. French, Center Lisle.  
     John H. Franklin, do.  
     Lemuel Jewell, Columbus.  
 Rev. A. O. Wightman, Copenhagen.  
 Rev. Jeremiah Butler, Clarkson.  
 Rev. R. G. Vermilye, D.D., Clinton.  
 Rev. William Bement, Elmira.  
 Rev. Charles O. Reynolds, Flushing.  
     David S. Williams, do.  
 Rev. L. S. Morgan, Gowanda.  
 Rev. C. Kidder, Groton.  
 Rev. H. N. Dunning, Gloversville.  
     Elisha Burton, do.  
     Charles Mills, do.  
     George Cripps, Greenport, L. I.  
     John Foot, Hamilton.  
 Rev. Joseph Davis, Harford.  
 Rev. Edward W. Gilman, Lockport.  
     Edward Simmons, do.

Rev. Felix Kyte, Lumberland.  
     Robert M. Mapes, do.  
 Rev. T. M. Benedict, Massena.  
     Daniel Wardwell, Mannsville,  
     L. D. Dana, Morrisville.  
 Rev. Guy C. Strong, Moira.  
 Rev. Thomas Harris, Mt. Sinai.  
     Joel Brown, do.  
 Rev. Samuel Y. Lum, Middletown.  
     Elijah Smith, do.  
 Rev. Geo. B. Cheever, D.D., N. Y. City.  
     O. E. Wood, do.  
 Rev. J. B. Grinnell, do.  
     Edwin Stewart, do.  
 Rev. Charles B. Ray, do.  
 Rev. H. O. Schermerhorn, do.  
     Samuel R. Miller, do.  
 Rev. John Marsh, D.D., do.  
     Thomas Ritter, M.D., do.  
 Rev. Joshua Leavitt, do.  
 Rev. Henry Belden, do.  
     Lewis Tappan, do.  
 Rev. William Patton, D.D., do.  
     Jonathan D. Horton, do.  
     William C. Gilman, do.  
     Fred'k. W. Everest, New Lebanon.  
 Rev. Pindar Field, North Pitcher.  
     Andrew H. Calhoun, Owego.  
 Rev. A. E. Everest, Peru.  
     Edward Simmons, do.  
 Rev. Tertius S. Clarke, D.D., Penn Yan.  
 Rev. L. F. Waldo, Poughkeepsie.  
     T. Gregory, do.  
 Rev. Clark Lockwood, Riverhead, L. I.  
 Rev. Philo C. Pettibone, Stockholm.  
 Rev. W. T. Reynolds, Sherman.  
 Rev. James H. Dill, Spencerport.  
 Rev. John A. Woodhull, Union Center.  
 Rev. L. C. Lockwood, U. Aquebogue, L. I.  
 Rev. Z. Eddy, Warsaw.  
 Hon. Seth M. Gates, do.  
 Rev. Caleb E. Fisher, West Bloomfield.  
 Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, Williamsburgh.  
     Fordyce Sylvester, do.

#### New Jersey.

Rev. David Abel, Burlington.  
 Rev. William Sutherland, Lodi.  
 Rev. Charles Beecher, Newark.

J. M. Ward, M.D., Newark.  
 Rev. Samuel D. Cochrane, Paterson.

### Pennsylvania.

A. B. Ross, Cambridge.

Rev. L. L. Radcliff, Randolph.

### Ohio.

Rev. S. P. Leeds, Cuyahoga Falls.

Rev. John T. Avery, Cleveland.

H. B. Spelman, do.

Rev. E. H. Nevin, do.

Rev. E. P. Salmon, Fairfield.

J. W. Stanley, Fearing.

Rev. Thos. Adams, Thompson, Geauga Co.

Rev. S. V. Blakeslee, Hampden, do.

Rev. John C. Hart, Hudson.

Rev. Joseph Hurlbut, Litchfield.

Rev. Thomas Wickes, Marietta.

Rev. J. B. Walker, Mansfield.

Rev. M. E. Strieby, Mount Vernon.

Rev. John Keep, Oberlin.

Rev. John Morgan, do.

Rev. S. C. Leonard, Richfield.

James W. Weld, do.

Rev. E. F. Dickinson.

### Indiana.

M. B. Miller, Michigan City.

Rev. M. A. Jewett, Terre Haute.

Rev. Thomas S. Goodwin, Terre Haute.

### Illinois.

Rev. E. E. Wells, Bloomington.

Rev. C. S. Cady, Barry.

Rev. R. M. Pearson, Byron.

Philo Carpenter, Chicago.

Rev. W. E. Holyoke, Farmington.

Rev. L. H. Parker, Galesburg.

Rev. J. W. North, Geneseo.

Nathaniel Coffin, Jacksonville.

Rev. J. Blanchard, Knox College.

Rev. Francis Leonard, Lyonsville.

Rev. David Todd, Providence.

Rev. G. S. F. Savage, St. Charles.

Rev. C. F. Hudson, Sycamore.

### Michigan.

Rev. L. Smith Hobart, Ann Arbor.

Edwin W. Shaw, do.

Rev. Hiram Elmer, Barry.

Rev. Harvey D. Kitchell, Detroit.

M. Israel Coe, Detroit.

Rev. Thos. Jones, Galesburgh.

Rev. H. L. Hammond, Grand Rapids.

Rev. A. S. Kedzie, Kalamazoo.

Rev. Elizur Andrews, Keelersville.

Rev. Wm. W. Atwater, Lima.

Rev. E. Colton, Niles.

Rev. Danforth L. Eaton, Oxford.

Rev. H. Root, Portland.

Rev. Philo R. Hurd, Romeo.

Rev. Harvey Hyde, White Lake.

### Wisconsin.

Rev. C. W. Camp, Genesee.

Lucius Field, Janesville.

Rev. Samuel D. Darling, Oakfield.

Rev. H. Freeman, Oshkosh.

Rev. Ira Tracy, Patch Grove.

Rev. John Lewis, Plattville.

Rev. E. G. Miner, Prairie du Sac.

### Iowa.

Rev. E. B. Turner, Colesburg.

Rev. Julius A. Reed, Davenport.

Rev. Asa Turner, Jr., Denmark.

Rev. John C. Holbrook, Dubuque.

Rev. O. Emerson, Jr., Sabula.

### Oregon.

Rev. Geo. H. Atkinson, Oregon City.

### District of Columbia.

Rev. H. E. Rockwell, Washington.

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

Rev. L. F. Beecher, D.D., Albany, N. Y.	Augustus Robbins, Brooklyn.
Rev. John Atkin, do.	Edward Davis, do.
Rev. John N. Campbell, D.D., do.	William Herrick, Cleveland, O.
Rev. J. R. Davenport, do.	Robt. B. Parsons, Flushing, L.I.
Rev. A. A. Farr, do.	Rev. T. K. Fessenden, Homer, N.Y.
Rev. W. W. Hathaway, do.	Rev. Samuel Griswold, Lebanon, N.Y.
Rev. E. A. Huntington, D.D., do.	Rev. Charles Little, Madura, India.
Rev. William James, do.	J. L. Woodward, Millbury, Mass.
Rev. R. Jeffrey, do.	Dr. Joseph Kittridge, Nashua, N.H.
Rev. Duncan Kennedy, D.D., do.	David Baldwin, do.
Rev. W. Ingraham Kip, D.D., do.	John Bradley, do.
Rev. Henry Mandeville, D.D., do.	Israel Miner, New York city.
Rev. W. W. Moore, do.	W. Nye Harvey, do.
Rev. S. F. Morrow, do.	Rev. Hiram Bingham, New Haven, Ct.
Rev. Henry N. Pohlman, do.	John Bradley, do.
Rev. Horatio Potter, D.D., do.	David Baldwin, do.
Rev. Sylvanus Reed, do.	Hon. Joseph Wood, do.
Rev. Samuel Salisbury, do.	Rev. Mason Grosvenor, do.
Rev. F. M. Schmidt, do.	Benj. Peabody, New Lebanon, N. Y.
Rev. Edward Selkirk, do.	John Kendall, do.
Rev. William B. Sprague, D.D., do.	Rev. T. S. Bradley, Pittsfield, Mass.
Rev. I. N. Wyckoff, D.D., do.	Rev. J. E. Blakesley, Poultney, Vt.
Rev. J. Leonard, do.	Anthony B. Arnold, Providence, R.I.
Rev. J. T. Arnold, do.	J. Stearns, Springfield, Mass.
Rev. Henry L. Starks, do.	B. P. Worcester, Washington, D.C.
Rev. E. S. Skinner, Andover, Mass.	F. N. Shaw, do.
Rev. William A. Benton, Aleppo, Syria.	Rev. Augustus Smith, Washington, Ct.

### Of the Welsh Association.

Rev. W. D. Williams, Deerfield.	Rev. Robert Everett, Remsen.
Rev. Morris Roberts, Remsen.	Rev. Evan Griffith, Utica.
G. O. Griffith, do.	L. D. Howell, do.

### From Canada.

Rev. R. Robinson, Hamilton.	Rev. F. H. Marling, Montreal.
Rev. J. McKilligan, Indian Lands.	Rev. H. Wilson, St. Catharines.
Rev. Henry Wilkes, D.D., Montreal.	



## Minutes.

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IN accordance with a Call issued by direction of the General Association of New York, a Convention of Ministers and Delegates of Congregational Churches in the United States, assembled at Albany, New York, on Tuesday, the 5th day of October, 1852, at four o'clock, P.M.

Rev. D. C. LANSING, D.D., as Chairman of the Committee appointed by the General Association of New York, called the Convention to order. A temporary organization was effected by the appointment of Rev. EMERSON DAVIS, D.D., of Mass., as Chairman, by whom prayer was offered.

Rev. Messrs. LEONARD BACON, D.D., PARSONS COOKE, D.D., JOHN TODD, D.D., NAHUM GALE, JOHN H. BISBEE, T. S. CLARKE, D.D., and GEORGE A. OVIATT, were appointed a Committee to nominate Permanent Officers of the Convention.

Messrs. THOMAS RITTER, S. W. S. DUTTON, and B. R. WOOD, were appointed a Committee to prepare a Roll of the Convention.

Rev. Messrs. RAY PALMER, D.D., W. PATTON, D.D., and H. B. HOOKER, were appointed a Committee on Devotional Exercises.

The Committee to nominate Permanent Officers of the Convention, made their report as follows, which was adopted:

Rev. WM. T. DWIGHT, D.D., of Maine, *President.*

Rev. NOAH PORTER, D.D., of Conn.,  
Rev. ASA TURNER, Iowa, } *Vice Presidents.*

Rev. R. S. STORRS, Jr., of New York,  
Rev. J. C. HOLBROOK, of Iowa,  
Rev. L. SMITH HOBART, of Michigan. } *Secretaries.*

Rev. Messrs. L. BACON, D.D., E. DAVIS, D.D., T. S. CLARKE, D.D., H. D. KITCHELL, J. A. REED, S. M. WORCESTER, D.D., IRA TRACY, J. P. CLEAVELAND, D.D., and Mr. T. DWIGHT, were appointed a Business Committee.

Rev. Drs. STORRS and PETERS, and Rev. Mr. STEELE, were appointed a Committee to examine the Rules of the General Association of Connecticut, and to report to-morrow morning such of said Rules as they shall judge suitable for the government of this Convention. The rules, as read, were adopted for the present session.

By vote, it was ordered that the sessions of the Convention be held as follows :—Commencing at 9 A.M., and closing at 1 P.M. ; re-commencing at 3 P.M., and closing at 6 P.M.

The Committee on Devotional Exercises reported, in part, that there would be public worship in the evening, at 7½ o'clock, the sermon to be preached by Rev. J. HAWES, D.D., of Hartford ; a prayer meeting, to continue one hour, commencing at 8 o'clock to-morrow morning, Rev. D. C. LANSING, D.D., to conduct the exercises ; and public worship, also, to-morrow evening, at 7½ o'clock.

The Convention then took a recess till evening.

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The Convention re-assembled at 7½ o'clock, P.M., for public worship. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. HAWES, from 1 Cor. 2 : 2. “For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.” Rev. J. H. LINSLEY D.D., aided in the opening exercises, and Rev. L. BEECHER, D.D., offered the closing prayer.

The Committee to prepare the Roll asked that their number might be enlarged ; and, by vote, Rev. Messrs. O. EMERSON, Jr., I. N. TARBOX, N. H. EGGLESTON, and Messrs. H. M. BIDWELL and A. W. DE FOREST, were added to the Committee.

The Business Committee reported, in part, the following items, for discussion in the Convention :—

1. The construction and practical operation of the "Plan of Union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists," agreed upon by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and the General Association of Connecticut, in 1801.

2. The building of Church Edifices at the West.

3. The system and operations of the American Home Missionary Society.

The Convention then adjourned till 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

### WEDNESDAY MORNING, Oct. 6th.

A Prayer Meeting was held at 8 o'clock, conducted by Rev. D. C. LANSING, D.D.

At 9 o'clock, the Convention was called to order by the President, and opened with singing, and prayer by Rev. S. BARTLETT. The Minutes of the last Session were read and approved.

The thanks of the Convention were offered to Rev. J. HAWES, D.D., for his Sermon before the body last evening, and a copy was requested for publication.

It was voted that a Committee of five be appointed, on Finance and Publication.

Rev. Messrs. J. P. CLEAVELAND, D.D., JOHN TODD, D.D., J. B. WALKER, and E. COLTON, and H. TERRY, Esq., were appointed a Committee to nominate such Committees as the Convention shall order.

The Committee on Rules recommended that the following of the Rules of the General Association of Connecticut be accepted for the government of this Convention, the terms being changed to correspond with its official titles;—and the report was adopted:

8. After the Convention is opened in the morning by prayer, the minutes of the preceding day shall be read by the secretaries.

9. The president shall preserve order and decorum in the body; and when he speaks to the merits of any question, he shall leave the chair and address himself to the vice-president.

10. Every member when he wishes to speak shall address the president.

11. No member shall speak more than twice to the merits of the question in debate, except by special permission of the body; nor more than once until every member choosing to speak shall have spoken.

12. Every motion, except for adjournment, shall be reduced to writing, if the president or any two members desire it.

13. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be made except for amendment—or the previous question—to postpone—or for an adjournment. The previous question is, *Shall the main question now be put?*

14. No motion, except for reconsideration, shall be acted upon until seconded.

15. When any member, in debating or otherwise, shall transgress the rules of the body, the president shall, by his own authority, or at the request of any member, call him to order; and if a question shall arise concerning his being in order, it shall be decided by an appeal to the body.

16. When two or more rise at once, the president shall name the member who is first to speak.

18. No motion, committed to writing, shall be finally decided upon, until it shall have had three several readings, if any member require it.

19. In cases of equal divisions of votes, the president shall have a casting vote.

20. If three or more members object against the appointment of a committee by nomination, the committee shall be chosen by ballot.

The Business Committee recommended that the first item—the Plan of Union—be referred to a Committee, of two from New England, and one from each of the other States represented in this body; and, by vote, it was so ordered.

In relation to the second item, the following resolution was adopted:—

*Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed, to take into consideration the subject of aiding feeble churches at the West, in building Church-edifices; and, if the Committee shall see fit, to report a plan for the same.

The Committee to prepare a Roll of the Convention made their report in part.

It was voted that the Committee be instructed to make out the Roll in strict accordance with the Call for this Convention.

It was voted that the Ministers and Delegates from those bodies in Ohio, now engaged in forming a General Association in that State, be considered as embraced within the terms of this Call.

It was voted, that the Evangelical Clergymen of Albany, and the Congregational Ministers present from Canada, be invited to sit with the Convention as Honorary members; also, that the Ministers and Delegates from the Welsh Congregational Association, be requested to sit with the Convention, and to take part in all its deliberations.

Rev. J. P. CLEAVELAND, D.D., was excused from further service on the Business Committee, and Rev. E. SMALLEY, D.D., was appointed to fill the vacancy.

A recess was taken for ten minutes; after which the Convention united in singing a hymn.

The Business Committee reported the following additional items of business, which were placed on the docket:—

4. The intercourse between the Congregationalists of New England and those of other States.
5. The local work and responsibility of a Congregational Church.
6. The bringing forward of Candidates for the Ministry.
7. The re-publication of the Works of our standard Theological writers.

The Business Committee recommended that the item of business No. 3,—concerning the system and operations of the American Home Missionary Society,—be referred to a Committee, of one from each State represented in this body; and that all resolutions respecting the withdrawal of aid from churches in the slaveholding States be also referred to that Committee.

The Committee on the Rules of the Convention, reported the following addition to the 11th Rule:—“And no speaker shall be allowed to occupy more than fifteen minutes at one time,”—which was adopted.

It was voted to take up for consideration, item No. 4, on the docket:—The intercourse between the Congregationalists of New England and those of other States. Upon this subject, the following preamble and resolutions were introduced:—

*Whereas*, for several years, insinuations and charges of heresy in doctrine, and



of disorder in practice, have been made against Congregationalists at the West, frequently too vague in their character, and too general and sweeping in their aim, to admit of refutation ; and

*Whereas*, Congregationalism at the West has thereby suffered greatly in the estimation of Congregationalists in New England, and of many other Christians ; therefore,

*Resolved*, First : That it is the duty of Congregationalists to frown upon all such accusations, unless their authors or abettors will make specific allegations, and hold themselves responsible for the same.

*Resolved*, Secondly : That it is very important that the General Associations, Conferences, and Conventions at the East, be careful to send Delegates to the General Associations at the West, that they may obtain reliable information respecting Western Congregationalism.

Pending the discussion of the above, the Committee on Nominations recommended the appointment of the following Committees, which by vote were so appointed :—

On the Plan of Union :—Rev. Messrs. H. HUMPHREY, D.D., and JOHN MALTBY, D.D., of New England ; Rev. O. E. DAGGETT, of New York ; Dr. J. M. WARD, of New Jersey ; Rev. T. WICKES, of Ohio ; Rev. M. A. JEWETT, of Indiana ; Rev. A. S. KEDZIE, of Michigan ; Rev. JOHN LEWIS, of Wisconsin ; Rev. G. S. F. SAVAGE, of Illinois ; and Rev. O. EMERSON, Jr., of Iowa.

On aiding feeble Churches at the West, to erect Houses of Worship :—Rev. Messrs. J. HAWES, D.D., SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D., EDWARD BEECHER, D.D., and ASA TURNER, and Mr. HENRY C. BOWEN.

The Convention then adjourned till 3 P.M.

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### WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON, 3 O'CLOCK.

The Convention assembled, and opened its session with singing.

The Preamble and Resolutions relating to the intercourse of New England Congregationalists with those in other States, after further discussion, were adopted, with but one dissenting vote.

The Nominating Committee recommended that the Committee on Finance and Publication, consist of Rev. Messrs. W. ALLEN, D.D., W. PATTON, D.D., RAY PALMER, D.D., and Messrs. BRADFORD R. WOOD, and JOSEPH A. SWEETSER. By vote, the Committee was so constituted.

In accordance also with their recommendation, the Committee on the system and operations of the American Home Missionary Society, was constituted as follows :—

Rev. A. PETERS, D.D., of Mass.; Mr. JOSEPH STEEN, of Vermont; Mr. ALEXANDER DRUMMOND, of Maine; Mr. LEWIS TAYLOR, of New Hampshire; Rev. GEO. W. PERKINS, of Conn.; Rev. SAMUEL BEANE, of Rhode Island; Rev. H. WARD BEECHER, of New York; Rev. L. L. RADCLIFF, of Penn.; Rev. M. E. STRIEBY, of Ohio; Rev. JONATHAN BLANCHARD, of Illinois; Rev. E. B. TURNER, of Iowa; Rev. S. D. COCHRANE, of New Jersey; Rev. PHILO R. HURD, of Michigan; Rev. E. G. MINER, of Wisconsin; Mr. M. B. MILLER, of Indiana; and Rev. GEO. H. ATKINSON, of Oregon.

The Pastors of the Evangelical Churches of Albany, present in the Convention, and also the Congregational Ministers from Canada, and from the Welsh Association present, having been invited to sit with the Convention as Honorary members, were introduced to the Convention.

By vote, the Committee on Devotional Exercises were requested to make preparations for celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in connection with the Congregational Church in Albany, to-morrow evening.

The Committee on Finance and Publication, reported that the expense of publishing the Sermon of Rev. J. HAWES, D.D., the roll of members, a summary of the proceedings of the Convention, and blank certificates, would require about fifty cents from each member, and recommended that a collection be taken for this purpose to-morrow. The report was adopted.

The Convention then adjourned till 7½ P.M.

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At 7½ o'clock, P.M., the Convention met for public worship. The Sermon was preached by Rev. H. D. Kitchell, of Detroit, from Psalm 12 : 4 :—" Who have said, With our tongue will we prevail ; our lips are our own ; who is Lord over us ?" Rev. Joseph Steele, of Vermont, aided in the opening exercises.

At the close of the services, the Convention adjourned till 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

#### THURSDAY MORNING, October 7th.

A Prayer Meeting was held at 8 o'clock, A.M., conducted by Rev. G. A. CALHOUN, D.D.

At 9 A.M., the Convention was called to order by the President. A hymn was sung, and prayer was offered by Rev. PINDAR FIELD.

The Minutes of yesterday were read and approved, as corrected.

On motion, it was voted, that all Congregational Ministers of the Gospel, and accredited members of Congregational Churches, who have come to this Convention expecting to be members thereof, but who find that they are not so by the terms of the Call,—be invited to sit in the Convention, as Honorary members.

The Committee on aiding in the erection of Church Edifices at the West, submitted their Report, which was accepted ; and after discussion and amendment, the Convention Resolved :—

That the " Plan for raising FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS for the erection of Congregational Church Edifices at the West," be approved and adopted by this Convention ; and that it be recommended to the consideration of the Congregational Pastors and Churches throughout the United States.

Plan for raising \$50,000 for aiding in the erection of Church-edifices at the West.

I. On the first Sabbath in January, 1853, all the Congregational Churches in the United States shall be requested to take up collections, as a New Year's offering, to aid in erecting Congregational Churches in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin,

sin, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Minnesota; this Convention recommending to all Pastors of Congregational Churches to preach on the subject, on the said Sabbath, and urge liberal contributions.

II. This Convention shall appoint seven persons, in the city of New York and vicinity, to act as a Central Committee, to receive the money and distribute the same as hereinafter provided; with power to fill vacancies in their body, and in the State Committees, the appointment of which by this body is hereinafter provided for.

III. This Convention shall appoint a Committee of three persons in each State, who shall have the general supervision of raising money within their borders, causing notices to be published in the newspapers, and urging all the Churches to do their part; said State Committees to receive the moneys when collected, and forward the same to the Central Committee.

IV. When all the moneys raised shall be received by the Central Committee, if the same shall amount to less than \$50,000, the Central Committee, if they deem it expedient, shall use further means to make up that amount.

V. When the said sum of \$50,000 shall be received by the Central Committee, or when all the collections and subscriptions made shall be paid over to them, then said Central Committee shall apportion the same to each of the Western States and Territories, as follows, to wit:—

To the State of Ohio . . . . .	8000 dollars.
“ “ of Michigan . . . . .	8000 “
“ “ of Wisconsin . . . . .	8000 “
“ “ of Iowa . . . . .	8000 “
“ “ of Indiana . . . . .	3000 “
“ “ of Illinois . . . . .	8000 “
“ “ of Missouri . . . . .	3000 “
“ Territory of Minnesota . . . . .	4000 “

VI. After the money has been apportioned, and before it is paid over, the General Congregational body, where one exists, in each of the foregoing States and Territory, shall appoint a Committee of five, two of whom shall be laymen, to receive the sum apportioned to the State or Territory. Or, in those States where there is no general body distinctively Congregational, the State Committee provided for in Article III, shall call a Convention, of the Pastors and Stated Supplies of the Congregational Churches in such States respectively, with one lay delegate from each Church, who shall choose a Committee as aforesaid, to receive and appropriate the money apportioned to the State.

VII. Should there be a surplus, over and above the aforesaid sum of \$50,000, the same shall be appropriated, under the direction of the Central Committee, to wards the erection of Congregational Churches in the foregoing and other States and Territories.

VIII. No money shall be used for any other purpose than the erection of houses for Religious Worship.

IX. No money shall be applied to aid in erecting any Church-edifice or place of worship, unless the Committee appointed by the State Convention shall be satisfied that said Church-edifice will be completed free from all debts and encumbrances, and that aid is necessary to complete its erection; nor shall any of the funds thus collected be granted to any Church or Society for the erection of a house of worship, (except in cases which the Committee may deem peculiar,) unless the available subscription of the Church or Society applying for the same, shall amount to at least twice the sum for which they apply.

X. No sum exceeding Three Hundred Dollars, shall be given for the erection of any one house of worship.

XI. Money may be loaned for a limited time, on proper security, instead of being given as a donation, whenever the State Committees shall deem this expedient.

XII. Other Regulations and Rules, not inconsistent with the foregoing,—as providing for the supply of vacancies occasioned by deaths or removals in State Committees, fixing their terms of office, prescribing the keeping of records, the making of reports, &c., &c.—may be adopted at the discretion of each State General Association or Convention.

The Convention adopted also the following resolution, to accompany the preceding Report:—

*Resolved*, That, in the judgment of this Convention, it is expedient that the Central Committee constituted for the aid of Churches at the West, in erecting Houses of Worship, procure plans of suitable edifices, with specifications and estimates, to be shown to Committees and others concerned in those enterprises, with a view to promoting convenience, economy and good taste, in the design and execution of the work; and, further, that before aid is granted, the State Committee be made acquainted with the plan and specifications of the buildings proposed to be erected, with liberty to insist on conformity, so far as they shall think expedient, to their directions.

A recess of ten minutes was then taken, after which the Convention united in singing a hymn, and proceeded with business.

The Committee on the construction and practical operation of the “Plan of Union of 1801,” made their Report, which was accepted. The discussion on the question of its adoption was arrested at the hour of adjournment; when, by vote, the Rule referring all business to the Business Committee was suspended, and the following Preamble and Resolutions were read and unanimously adopted:—



Assembled as we are from various and distant portions of our great Republic, and deeply interested in whatever promotes the morality, the order, the peace and prosperity of our country: We, the members of this Convention, feel it a privilege and duty to unite in the following Resolution:—

*Resolved*, That the recent adoption by three States and one Territory, and the favorable action, of a Law which suppresses and roots out the traffic in intoxicating liquors as a beverage, called the Maine Law, is, in our opinion, an event, in the good providence of God, which calls for the gratitude and support of all who love their country and their race; and that all Congregational Ministers and Churches be earnestly requested to stand forth prominent in favor of this legislation in their respective States and Territories, and continually to make supplication to Almighty God that the good work of redemption from one of the most demoralizing and desolating evils with which we are afflicted, so happily commenced, may speedily be perfected throughout our country and throughout the world.

The Convention then adjourned, till 3 P.M.

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THURSDAY, 3 O'CLOCK, P.M.

The Convention assembled, and opened its session with singing a hymn.

The discussion on the Report concerning the Plan of Union, was resumed; and it terminated in the unanimous adoption of the Report, as follows:—

The Committee on the Plan of Union, report the following Preamble and Resolutions, for the consideration of this Convention:—

*Whereas*, the Plan of Union formed in 1801, by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the General Association of Connecticut, is understood to have been repudiated by the said Assembly before the schism in that body of 1838, though this year acknowledged as still in force by the General Assembly which met last at Washington, D. C.; and

*Whereas*, many of our Presbyterian brethren, though adhering to this Plan in some of its provisions, do not, it is believed, maintain it in its integrity; especially in virtually requiring Congregational Ministers settled over Presbyterian Churches and Congregational Churches having Presbyterian Ministers, to be connected with Presbyteries; and

*Whereas*, whatever mutual advantage has formerly resulted from this Plan to the two denominations, and whatever might yet result from it if acted upon

impartially, its operation is now unfavorable to the spread and permanence of the Congregational polity, and even to the real harmony of these Christian communities :—

*Resolved*, 1st. That in the judgment of this Convention it is not deemed expedient that new Congregational Churches, or Churches heretofore independent, become connected with Presbyteries.

2d. That in the evident disuse of the said Plan, according to its original design, we deem it important, and for the purposes of union sufficient, that Congregationalists and Presbyterians exercise toward each other that spirit of love which the Gospel requires, and which their common faith is fitted to cherish ; that they accord to each other the right of pre-occupancy, where but one Church can be maintained ; and that, in the formation of such a Church, its ecclesiastical character and relations be determined by a majority of its members.

3d. That in respect to those Congregational Churches which are now connected with Presbyteries,—either on the above mentioned Plan, or on those of 1808 and 1813, between Congregational and Presbyterian bodies in the State of New York,—while we would not have them violently sever their existing relations, we counsel them to maintain vigilantly the Congregational privileges which have been guaranteed them by the Plans above mentioned, and to see to it that while they remain connected with Presbyteries, the true intent of those original arrangements be impartially carried out.

The Committee on “ the System and Operations of the American Home Missionary Society,” made the following Report, which was unanimously adopted :—

The Committee to whom was referred the “ system and operations of the American Home Missionary Society,” together with all Resolutions respecting Missionary aid to Churches in the Slaveholding States, report :—

That your Committee are unanimous in their approbation of the voluntary and unsectarian character of the American Home Missionary Society, and of the wisdom and efficiency with which its affairs have been conducted.

On the subject of the Society’s relation to the Presbyterian and Congregational systems of Church polity, your Committee are of opinion that any disruption of present relations is unadvisable.

The Committee express their belief that this Society has executed its trust towards both Congregational and Presbyterian Churches with impartiality ; and that any complaints on this head will be found to result from local interests, and not from the administrative policy of the Society.

The subject of Missionary aid to Churches in Slaveholding States having been referred to the same Committee, a Report was

presented by them, together with another from the minority to the Committee. After discussion, these Reports, with a substitute offered for both, were recommitted to the same Committee, for further consideration; and the Convention adjourned till 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  P.M.

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THURSDAY EVENING, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  O'CLOCK.

The Convention assembled, and, with the Congregational Church in Albany and other Christian friends, united in celebrating the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, administered by Rev. HENRY WILKES, D.D., of Canada, and Rev. E. BEECHER, D.D., of Boston. The administration of the ordinance was followed by addresses, from Rev. WILLIAM PATTON, D.D., and Rev. O. E. DAGGETT.

The Convention then proceeded to business. The Committee upon the subject of "Missionary aid to Churches in Slaveholding States," presented their unanimous report, which was unanimously adopted, as follows:—

On the subject of aid to Churches in Slaveholding States, the Committee present the following Resolution:—

*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the Gospel, wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms; and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to Churches in Slaveholding States, in the support of such Ministers only as shall so preach the Gospel, and inculcate the principles and application of Gospel discipline, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in regard to Slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong; and that, wherever a Minister is not permitted so to preach, he should, in accordance with the directions of Christ in such cases, 'depart out of that city.'

The Convention then adjourned, to meet at 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

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FRIDAY MORNING, Oct. 8.

Pursuant to adjournment, the Convention assembled at 8 o'clock, A.M. Prayer was offered by Rev. L. ARMSTRONG.

The Business Committee reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted :—

*Whereas*, This Convention is to its regret precluded, by the terms of the Call under which it is assembled, from enrolling among its members the names of those brethren who have come from the neighboring province of Canada, and also of those brethren connected with the Welsh Congregational Association; but has cordially invited them all to sit with it, as Honorary members :—

*Resolved*, That we regard with great interest the labors, and with great satisfaction the successes, of our brethren over the lines in promoting our common faith and order in the Provinces.

*Resolved*, That we greatly honor the faithful adherence of our Welsh brethren to the Evangelical faith and the Congregational order; and we advise that measures be taken to unite them in form with the General Associations of the States where they dwell, that so we may be mutually helpful in our common cause.

Rev. JOSHUA LEAVITT, and Messrs. GEO. H. WILLIAMS, and O. E. WOOD, were appointed a committee to publish the official proceedings of the Convention.

The Committee on Nominations recommended that the following individuals be appointed on the Central and State Committees, under the Plan to aid in the erection of Church-edifices at the West; and, by vote, they were so appointed :

**Central Committee,**

**IN NEW YORK AND VICINITY :**

HENRY C. BOWEN,  
 Rev. G. B. CHEEVER, D.D.,  
 ISRAEL MINER,  
 Rev. R. S. STORRS, JR.,  
 S. B. CHITTENDEN,  
 O. E. WOOD,  
 Rev. N. H. EGGLESTON.

**State Committees :**

**MAINE.**

Rev. W. T. DWIGHT, D.D.,	} Portland.
Rev. J. W. CHICKERING,	
LEVI CUTTER,	

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Rev. N. BOUTON, D.D.,  
 GEORGE HUTCHINS,  
 Rev. B. P. STONE, } Concord.

## VERMONT.

Rev. SILAS AIKEN, D.D., Rutland.  
 Rev. CHARLES WALKER, D.D., Pittsford.  
 WILLIAM NASH, New Haven.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

Rev. EDWARD BEECHER, D.D., Boston,  
 Rev. ELAM SMALLEY, D.D., Worcester,  
 Dea. JULIUS PALMER, Boston.

## RHODE ISLAND.

Rev. JONA LEAVITT,  
 A. C. BARSTOW,  
 BENJAMIN DYER, } Providence.

## CONNECTICUT.

Rev. JOEL HAWES, D.D., Hartford,  
 Rev. LEONARD BACON, D.D.,  
 TIMOTHY DWIGHT, } New Haven.

## NEW YORK.

Rev. H. W. BEECHER, Brooklyn.  
 Rev. O. E. DAGGETT, Canandaigua.  
 Hon. B. R. WOOD, Albany.

## NEW JERSEY.

Rev. S. D. COCHRANE, Paterson,  
 Rev. CHARLES BEECHER,  
 Dr. J. M. WARD, } Newark.

## OHIO.

Rev. J. C. HART, Hudson,  
 Rev. T. ADAMS, Thompson,  
 H. B. SPELLMAN, Cleveland.

## MICHIGAN.

Rev. H. D. KITCHELL, Detroit,  
 Rev. L. S. HOBART, Ann Arbor,  
 FRANCIS RAYMOND, Detroit.



## ILLINOIS.

Rev. F. BASCOM, Galesburg,  
 Rev. WILLIAM CARTER, Pittsfield,  
 PHILO CARPENTER, Chicago.

## INDIANA.

Rev. M. A. JEWETT, }  
 Rev. L. H. RICE,     }  
 HENRY ROSS,         } Terre Haute.

## WISCONSIN.

Rev. J. J. MITER, Milwaukie,  
 Rev. L. S. CLAPP, Wawatosa,  
 E. D. HOLTON, Milwaukie.

## IOWA.

Rev. J. C. HOLBROOK, Dubuque,  
 Rev. E. ADAMS, Davenport,  
 H. A. WILTZE, Dubuque.

## MINNESOTA.

Rev. CHARLES SECCOMBE, St. Anthony,  
 Rev. RICHARD HALL,     }  
 MAJ. ——— FURBER,     } Pt. Douglas.

The following resolutions of thanks were unanimously adopted :

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be, and they are hereby, presented to the First Congregational Church in Albany, to the families connected therewith and to their pastor, for their kindness and hospitality in providing for our happiness and comfort during our brief sojourn with them ; and that we desire that the choicest of Heaven's blessings may rest upon them.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Convention be also presented to those of other denominations, who have so generously united in extending to us their liberal hospitality, and in making us feel, as they have done, that we are all one in Christ.

*Resolved*, That our thanks be likewise presented to those railroad corporations who have generously and promptly reduced their fares for the accommodation of this Convention.

*Resolved*, That our thanks be given to the Choir, who have so kindly contributed to the interest of the devotional services of the Convention.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this body be presented to the Principal of the Normal School of the State of New York, and to Prof. Armsby of the Medical College, for the polite invitation extended to the members of this Convention to visit their institutions ; and also to the Trustees of the State Library.

The Business Committee reported the following resolution, in reference to the calling of a future Convention; which was adopted:—

*Resolved*, That the President, the Vice Presidents, and the Secretaries of this Convention, be appointed a Committee, with power to call another General Convention, in the year 1855 or previously, at such place as they may designate, —provided, that in their deliberate opinion such a Convention shall be expedient.

The subjoined resolutions, being also introduced by the Business Committee, were successively considered and adopted by the Convention:—

#### CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

*Whereas*, The friends of Congregationalism in Washington city have taken measures for establishing a Congregational Church in that city, and have purchased a commodious house of worship in an eligible situation, near the City Hall:—

*Resolved*, That this Convention look with great interest to the success of the enterprise of planting the religious institutions of our fathers in the National Capital; and we commend the object to the attention of our brethren, for their prayers, and for such pecuniary aid as it may need during its infancy.

#### REPUBLICATION OF CONGREGATIONAL WORKS.

*Resolved*, That this Convention recognizes with gratitude the republication of the collected works of Bellamy, Hopkins, the younger Edwards, and the venerable John Robinson, by the Doctrinal Tract and Book Society of Massachusetts, and the intended republication of the works of other fathers of American Congregationalism.

*Resolved*, That this Convention regards the extensive circulation of such works, among the Ministers and Churches of the Congregational polity, as an object of public interest and importance.

#### ON INCREASING THE NUMBER OF MINISTERS.

*Resolved*, That in view of the alarming disproportion between the increase of our population and the increase of Ministers of the Gospel, it is recommended to the Churches, to inquire who among their youthful members are qualified, by natural gifts and by the grace of the Spirit, for the service of God in the Gospel of his Son; and to encourage and aid such persons in preparing themselves for that work.

*Resolved*, Also, that this Convention cordially approves of the aim and the operations of the American Education Society, and commends it to the favor of the Churches.

#### SUPPORT OF COLLEGES AT THE WEST.

*Whereas*, Many colleges exist at the West which are under the control of Boards of Trust composed of Congregationalists and Presbyterians, and which came into being under the auspices, and have been founded and sustained by the common funds, of these two denominations:—

*Resolved*, That in the judgment of this Convention, the interests of sound learning, and of Christian truth, and the mutual prosperity of these denominations, alike demand the perpetuation of this union.

#### DUTIES OF A CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

*Resolved*, That every Congregational Church should regard itself as bound to care and labor continually for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ within its own parochial sphere; and to build itself up, not by inroads upon other Evangelical Churches, but by training up its own children in the faith and service of our Lord Jesus Christ, by promoting the intelligence, order and piety of all the households associated with them, and by systematic efforts, in the spirit of Christian love, to enlighten, evangelize and save the neglected, the ignorant, and the unbelieving.

#### SPECIAL PRESENT CALLS FOR SYSTEMATIC BENEFICENCE.

*Resolved*, That in an age when so much is to be done for the salvation of our country and for the diffusion of the Gospel through the world, and when the wealth of our country is developed and increased with a rapidity which threatens to overwhelm the Churches with a tide of worldliness, it is of the utmost importance for the Churches to discipline themselves to habits of Christian activity, and of systematic contribution to the great enterprises of Christian beneficence.

#### RESOLUTION OF THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this body be presented to our presiding officer, for the gentlemanly, prompt and efficient manner in which he has moderated this large Convention, during its deliberation and action upon subjects of great importance to the cause of God and to the interests of man.

The following Resolutions were also unanimously adopted; the whole Convention rising in their places, in express approbation of their spirit and terms:—

THE PURPOSE AND AIM OF THIS CONGREGATIONAL CONVENTION.

*Resolved*, That the polity of the Congregational Churches, being eminently simple and scriptural, is and must be essentially spiritual and unsectarian.

*Resolved*, That while this Convention rejoices in the prosperity of Congregationalism, especially in the fields of its more recent enterprise, and in the prospect of its still more rapid and vigorous growth as the result of these counsels and deliberations, yet we here distinctly disclaim and disavow all merely sectarian zeal; and do profess it to be our object, one and sole, to promote, through the Congregational polity, and hence in the freest and most efficient manner, the World's salvation in Jesus Christ our Lord.

The last Resolution adopted was as follows:—

GOD'S HAND IN THIS CONVENTION.

*Resolved*, That we gratefully and devoutly recognize the overruling providence of God, in the calling of this Convention, in the measures which have been adopted by it, and in the entire harmony of its counsels and its results.

The business of the Convention being completed, the Minutes were read and approved.

The closing prayer was offered by Rev. G. A. CALHOUN, D.D.

The Doxology was then sung; and at 11 A.M., the Convention adjourned, without day.

WM. T. DWIGHT,  
*President.*

R. S. STORRS, JR.,  
J. C. HOLBROOK,  
L. SMITH HOBART, } *Secretaries.*

ALBANY, *October 8, 1852.*





# Christ and Him Crucified,

THE GREAT THEME OF EVANGELICAL PREACHING; THE WORLD'S HOPE  
AND THE BASIS OF CHURCH PROSPERITY.

A SERMON,

Preached before the Convention of Congregational Ministers,

IN THE

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN ALBANY,

OCT. 5th, 1852.

BY J. HAWES, D.D.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST OF THE CONVENTION.



## Sermon.

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BELOVED brethren in the ministry and friends of our common Savior:—When called, very unexpectedly, a few days since, to address you on the present occasion, I greatly desired that I might be enabled so to perform the service assigned me as to make it promotive of the object for which we are met,—the prosperity of our churches and the glory of Christ in our land. In casting about for a subject, I quickly decided not to take one of a denominational or sectarian character; for I felt that in doing so I should offend both against the spirit of Congregationalism and the wishes of those who compose this Convention. It seemed, too, improper, that in my place and at this stage of our meeting, I should assume to make out a programme of business, or discourse on topics that might be expected to come up for general discussion. I felt myself little qualified to attempt such a service, and I willingly deferred it to those present who are better able than myself to do it justice. Having thus narrowed down my range of subjects, I rejoiced to find myself within the circle of our common Christianity, and was readily drawn to what we all regard the central point of that Christianity,—Christ and him crucified; the great theme of evangelical preaching, the world's hope and the basis of church prosperity.

Taking this as my stand-point, I have the pleasing hope that I shall carry along with me the sympathies and the prayers of my hearers, while I direct their attention to the words of Paul recorded in

1 *Corinthians* 2:2.—FOR I DETERMINED NOT TO KNOW ANYTHING AMONG YOU, SAVE JESUS CHRIST AND HIM CRUCIFIED.

It was the great animating principle and governing purpose of the Apostle's ministry, to make manifest the glory of his Savior, and to proclaim his atoning blood as the only ground of hope to lost man. In this, as in everything else relating to the duties of the sacred office, his example is worthy of all imitation. Let us then bend our attention to the Scripture before us, and consider:—

I. What is the import of the Apostle's determination. And

II. What were the reasons which influenced him in forming it.

I. Now to know, or, which is the true meaning of the phrase—to make known Christ and him crucified is to proclaim him in the glory of his person and excellence of his work, especially that part of his work that consists in his giving himself to die as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world. To do this, the Apostle tells us, was the deliberate and settled purpose of his ministry. We are not, however, to infer from his language in our text that he meant to confine his preaching to the single topic of Christ crucified. This would be putting a construction upon his words that would prove him false to his own determination, and make him a very unskillful dispenser of divine truth. He doubtless preached at Corinth the same system of religion that he did at Rome, and taught the same doctrines in his sermons that he did in his epistles. We know from the history of his ministry that his preaching did take a very wide range, embracing the being, perfections, law and government of God, the character, state and destiny of man, together with the various duties that grow out of our numerous relations and circumstances in life.

To ascertain the true meaning of the Apostle's determination, we must advert to the circumstances in which he was placed

when he formed it. He was then at Corinth, a city famous for its school of philosophy and rhetoric, and for the ingenuity and learning of its inhabitants. There he was surrounded, on the one hand, by philosophers and self-reputed wise men, who insisted upon the sufficiency of natural religion, or what they styled wisdom, and demanded that everything presented to them in the form of instruction should be dressed out in the most elegant style, and delivered according to the rules of the most finished rhetoric. They were proud of their philosophy, and boasted of their wisdom, and deemed *them* a sufficient foundation on which to build their faith and their hopes.

On the other hand, he was beset with Jews and judaizing teachers, who insisted upon the perpetual obligation of the law of Moses, and taught that none could be saved but by an observance of its rites and ceremonies. These were bigoted in their attachment to the religion of their fathers, and could not endure to have taken from them the hopes they built upon it, of justification before God. In these circumstances, the Apostle, instead of falling in with the sentiments of either party, set aside the claims of both. He resolved not to preach philosophy to please the Greeks, nor the law of Moses to gratify the Jews. He regarded both as utterly insufficient to secure the salvation of the soul, and he therefore determined to preach neither, but to present Christ crucified as the only foundation of hope to guilty man. And he determined to preach him, not with excellency of speech and of wisdom, not in the studied artificial style of Grecian eloquence, but with all simplicity and plainness, that the faith of his converts, as he says, should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. The main thing then which the Apostle had in view in his determination was to *exclude* every other ground of hope, but Christ crucified, and to present him in his personal glory and atoning sacrifice, as the only name under heaven, whereby men can be saved. He did not mean to say that he would preach on no other subject, but that he would exhibit no other ground of hope. Christ crucified, he felt assured, is "God's



grand ordinance" for saving a ruined world; and he knew, for he had been taught it by inspiration, that nothing could be done in delivering men from the power and the punishment of sin, but by holding him forth in the true dignity of his person and perfection of his work; the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world. This, therefore, he determined to make the great leading object of his ministry.

In addition to this, it is, no doubt, implied in his determination, that he meant to make the doctrine of Christ crucified a subject of frequent and distinct discussion, to dwell upon it much and earnestly in preaching the Gospel. He regarded this doctrine as holding such a prominent place in the system of revealed truth, and so fundamental in the plan of salvation, that he resolved never to lose sight of it, but to make it the basis of his ministry and the life of his services. He determined that on whatever subject he preached, or whatever duties he enjoined, the doctrine of Christ crucified should support all, illustrate all, enforce all, and pervade all by its heavenly light and quickening power. He would have all his instructions tend towards Christ, all his exhortations point to Christ, all the lines of his ministry and labors of his life meet and center in Christ, and thus manifest his glory and extend the triumphs of his cross in the salvation of dying men.

Such is the import of the Apostle's determination. Let us consider :

II. The reasons that influenced him in forming it. It strikes us as remarkable, at first view, that the Apostle should adopt a purpose like that in our text, which was opposed to the whole current doctrine and sentiment of his day, which exposed him to the bitterest scorn and reproach of the world, and made his whole life a scene of the greatest self-denial and suffering, and finally brought him to a martyr's death. He must have had strong reasons for adopting the course he did. What were they? I answer:—

1. Paul regarded the doctrine of Christ crucified as constituting the grand, distinguishing peculiarity of the Gospel. The Gospel, as distinguished from the law, and also from natural religion, is a *remedial* system. It is a scheme of mercy, not discoverable by the light of nature, but made known in the revelation of God, for the recovery of lost men to his image and favor. But what is more ; it is a scheme built entirely on the mediation of Christ. The pardon and eternal life revealed in the Gospel are not an absolute, unconditional gift of God ; but the purchase of a Savior's atoning blood ; the fruit of his suffering unto death. We are redeemed from the curse of the law, not by the blotting out of its sanctions, but by Christ bearing the curse for us ; making expiation for our sins by the sacrifice of himself. Hence, the Bible abounds in such language as the following :—Without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sin. Whom, that is, Christ, God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood. He was once offered to bear the sins of many. He became sin, that is, a sin offering for us, who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. We are reconciled to God by the death of his Son ; are washed from our sins in his blood ; are saved by his death ; and have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins, through his blood.

These, and numerous other passages that might be cited, set the fact before us with great distinctness, that salvation comes to us only through Christ, giving himself a ransom for us ; dying that we might live through his atoning sacrifice. And this, we say, is the distinguishing truth of the Gospel. *Forgiveness of sin through the atonement of Christ*—this makes the Gospel what it is, glad tidings to perishing sinners, and distinguishes it from every other system of religion.

Natural religion teaches us the being and perfections of God ; our accountability to him as the subjects of his government, the immortality of the soul, many of our social and relative duties, and a future state of rewards and punishments. But it reveals no way in which sinners, like ourselves, can be pardoned. It

shows us our guilt ; but tells us not how it may be washed away. It warns us of danger as exposed to the displeasure of a righteous God ; but points us to no refuge and opens before us no way of reconciliation to our offended Sovereign. Hence the poor heathen are, and ever have been in profound darkness on this subject. And so are infidels, and all who reject the hope of Israel, and the Savior thereof. Despair hangs heavy on the spirit at the approach of death, and no voice of mercy speaks of pardon and peace, as the soul passes, in the dimness of nature's light, to its dwelling place beyond the grave. Here the Gospel comes in with its overtures of pardon and means of reconciliation through a crucified Savior. It shows us God in Christ reconciling the world to himself ; and pointing us to the Lamb of God, the appointed sacrificial victim that taketh away the sin of the world, it bids us look unto him and live, and assures us that believing in him we shall be justified freely by his grace, have peace with God and rejoice in hope of his glory.

The doctrine of Christ crucified, then, lies at the foundation of the Gospel. It is the distinguishing characteristic of the Christian system, and forms the broad line of separation between it and all that is called religion. This, then, was one reason why Paul determined to make the doctrine of Christ crucified the great prominent theme of his preaching. It constitutes the essential glory of the Gospel.

2. Another reason that influenced the Apostle in his determination is the fact that the doctrine in question affords the clearest and most affecting views of the character of God, especially of his justice and mercy, his goodness and truth. I look up to the heavens, and abroad over creation, and I everywhere behold evidences of an all-wise, powerful, reigning God ; but in the light of natural religion, I cannot know what he is to me, nor what I have to expect from him. I shrink from his holiness. I tremble before his awful majesty, and I see not how I, a poor, needy sinner, can approach his throne with confidence, or look up to him with

hope as my Father. An impenetrable vail hides his highest moral glory from my view ; and it is only as I turn to contemplate him as seen in his Son, my Savior, that I behold the infinite attractions of his love and am drawn to him in filial affection and trust. Hence it is said,—*No man hath seen God at any time ; the only begotten Son who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.* If we would study the character and ways of God to the greatest advantage, we must place ourselves at the foot of the cross, and view them as illustrated in the work of redemption. Here angels love to study this character, as in their bright abodes they desire to look into these things ; and principalities and powers, during eternal ages, will be learning the manifold wisdom of God as displayed in the redemption of his Church, through the mediation of his Son our Savior. Here the infinite wisdom, the spotless holiness, the immutable justice, the eternal love, the abounding mercy of our God, all shine forth in beautiful harmony and glory. No one darkens or eclipses the other ; every one gives a luster to the rest. The Eternal stands before us the righteous Lawgiver, the wise moral Governor, the merciful Father, the true and faithful, yet kind and gracious God ; the *just God and Savior*. Nowhere does the justice of God appear so inflexible, his mercy so attractive, his wisdom so profound, or his truth so immutable as in the gift of his Son to die for the redemption of a lost world, and in the Son's giving himself to endure the mysterious agonies of the cross, that sinners might live through him.

“ Here the whole Deity is known :  
Nor dares a creature guess,  
Which of the glories brightest shone,  
The justice or the grace.”

Here God appears at once the sinner's friend, and sin's eternal foe,—delighting to forgive and show mercy ; but in no wise clearing the guilty by giving up the claims of his justice, or waiving his rights as Lawgiver and Ruler of the world.

3. As another reason that influenced the Apostle in his deter-

mination, I mention the perfect adaptation of the doctrine of Christ crucified to the character and state of man as a fallen, perishing sinner. In this character man is oppressed with innumerable wants which no created power can remove. He is guilty and needs pardon; he is sinful and needs renewal of heart; he is spiritually poor and needs to be enriched from the treasures of grace; he is weak, frail, dying, and needs the upholding care and guidance of an Almighty friend; he is going to the judgment and eternity, and he needs what will save him from the wrath to come, secure for him a friend in his Judge, and make him an heir of immortal happiness in the state beyond the grave. These wants press upon all the children of men; and they fill the world with sighs and groans and tears. And how are they to be met and removed? Who can tell me how I can have my sins forgiven, my fallen, shattered nature renewed, my spirit cheered with the love of God, and my path to death and the grave brightened with the hope full of immortality? The world has no answer to these questions. Philosophy is silent, or speaks only to torture my anxious bosom with increased perplexity and doubt. Human wisdom, in all its pride and boasting, has not a word to say, when her oracles are consulted on the high concerns of pardon, of reconciliation to God, of judgment, and the scenes following the judgment. Here again the doctrine of Christ crucified comes in, dissipates my doubts, removes my fears, speaks peace to my mind, and spreads a cheering light over all the scenes of the future. It *assures* me of the infinite love and compassion of God, in that he gave his Son to die for me, and draws me to his throne with humble boldness to ask for the supply of all my wants, in the Mediator's name. It shows me God in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself; not imputing the trespasses of them that believe in him. And while there comes forth from the cross of Christ an assurance of God's willingness to pardon and save even the chief of sinners, there emanates from the same source an influence to enlighten, to sanctify, to animate with hope, to cheer with victories over the world, and to encourage with pledges of eternal blessedness



beyond the scenes of earth and time. In this view the doctrine of Christ crucified is eminently a doctrine of consolation, of joy and peace and hope. It comes home to the bosom, not as a dry speculation, a cold dogma of philosophy, but warm with the sympathies of everlasting love; and placing you on the broad ground of an atonement made for the sins of the world, bids you look up to God as a forgiving Father, and receive pardon, grace and eternal life as a free gift. It assures you that the blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin; and that, found in him, he becomes to you wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. No condemnation can reach you either in this or the future world; but passed from death unto life, you have peace with God and rejoice in hope of his glory. In the faith of this doctrine the poor, the guilty, the sorrowful and the lost have in every age found strong consolation, and in the light and comfort of it have passed the time of their sojourning on earth in peace, and met death in the triumphs of joy and hope. How was it that Paul, a blasphemer, and a persecutor, obtained pardon and hope; how was it that amid persecutions and trials of every kind, he was enabled to maintain such habitual peace of mind and to sing so sweet a song in the house of his pilgrimage? He tells us in one short sentence; Christ loved me and gave himself to die for me, therefore God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of Christ; and I account all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of his precious name; and will know nothing but Him and him crucified in preaching the gospel of his grace to guilty, perishing men.

4. As another reason for this determination, I mention the *tendency* of the doctrine of Christ crucified; its power above all other means to bring men to repentance and a holy life. Account for it as we may, the fact is undeniable, that the doctrine in question has, in all ages of the world, turned into feebleness all other means of awakening and saving men from the dominion and the curse of sin. It has been clothed with a power, alto-

gether its own, to arouse the conscience, subdue the heart, and bring the life into a conformity to the will of Christ. Though the preaching of this doctrine in primitive times by Paul and his fellow-apostles was accounted foolishness, and despised as among the weak things of the world, it nevertheless proved itself, by actual results, to be the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation. The efficacy of this doctrine Paul had felt in his own soul; it made him a new man; by it the world was crucified to him, and he to the world; and witnessing, as he did, every where its triumphs in the conviction and conversion of men, he wisely and firmly determined, in the face of all the ignominy and reproach that were cast upon him, to make this doctrine the burden of his preaching. A mighty energy attended the simple preaching of the cross. Wherever he went proclaiming this doctrine, the Spirit of almighty grace was present with him; the altars and temples of idolatry crumbled into dust; the darkness of ages rolled away, and thousands, awakened as by the voice of God from the slumbers of sin, rose to newness of life, and pressed to the gate of glory. And so it has been in all ages since the days of the Apostles. Christ crucified is God's grand ordinance for reconciling sinners to himself. And when this doctrine has been proclaimed in its native simplicity—unencumbered with philosophy, unmixed with metaphysics, there God has borne testimony to the word of his grace, by the effusions of his Spirit, and souls have been converted to Christ. The affecting experience of the Moravian missionaries in Greenland is well known. For many years did they labor to teach the benighted pagans the existence and attributes of God, and, generally, the doctrines of natural religion. Never was work more unsuccessful. The heart of the Greenlander, cold as his own snows, was unmoved, and the missionaries appeared to labor in vain. At length, it happened that one of them read in the hearing of a savage the account of the Savior's sufferings in the garden and on the cross. How is this, said the poor pagan; tell me it once more, for I would be saved; and laid his hand on his mouth and wept. This was the com-

mencement of a marvelous work of grace among the benighted Greenlanders ; which continued for a long time and resulted in the conversion of many hundreds ; and here was illustrated anew the principle of the Gospel adapted to all ages and people, that the story of a suffering, atoning Savior is the grand means of teaching sinners every where their guilt, and of drawing tears of repentance from eyes which but for that would never weep. Similar to this was the experience of Brainerd while laboring as a missionary among the Indians of our country. The most powerful impressions he ever witnessed on their dark minds, he tells us, were under a discourse he addressed to them on the love of Christ in giving himself to die for sinners. While dwelling on this theme, with his own heart filled with the spirit of it, the assembly seemed pervaded by a mighty subduing influence, and great numbers of them bowed in penitence and faith under the doctrine of Christ crucified, and testified their love to his precious name by lives consecrated to his service. Did time permit, I might cite numerous other examples of the same kind. The Gospel, in its grand distinguishing element of Christ crucified, has gone in among the people of the Sandwich Islands, and, within our own times, has changed the whole plan and mould of society ; banishing idolatry, infanticide, licentiousness and crime, and gathering thousands into the church of Christ, washed and purified by his grace. It has gone in among the poor degraded inhabitants of Southern Africa, among the ferocious tribes of our own country, among the refined voluptuous Asiatics, and the wild savages in the islands of the Pacific, and by its mighty transforming influence has led forth multitudes of disciples for the Lord Jesus, purifying their hearts by faith in him as a crucified Savior. But where, I may ask, in all the world have such changes in human character been wrought, except where this doctrine has been taught and a prominent place given it in the teachings of the ministry ?

I must just add, that as the doctrine of Christ crucified has always been found the most efficacious in the awakening and con-

version of *sinner*s, so also it has in quickening and comforting Christians and making them fruitful unto God. No other doctrine speaks with such a voice of power to the inner man; no other doctrine can so melt and subdue the heart, can so fill it with joy and peace in believing, with love to God and love to men, or so transform the soul into the image of Christ and fit it for his presence in heaven. Yes, and when the redeemed shall be gathered home to heaven and stand each one on Mount Zion with palms of victory in their hands and crowns of glory on their heads, Christ who died to redeem them will be the supreme object of attraction, and the grateful song will burst forth from every heart,—Unto Him that loved us and washed us from our sins in his own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and his Father—to Him be glory and dominion forever and ever.

In passing to an application of our subject to practical purposes, I remark :

1. *It fixes the standard of true evangelical preaching.* If the Apostle was right in determining to make Christ and him crucified the great theme of his preaching, then the preaching of others is evangelical only so far as it imitates this inspired example. Preaching may be learned, may be eloquent, may be very interesting and stirring as an exhibition of talent and genius, and yet have no claim whatever to the character of evangelical preaching. It may discourse elegantly and forcibly on moral topics; it may discuss the nature and destiny of man as rational and immortal; the law and government of God; the guilt and punishment of sin, and the retributions of a future judgment, all subjects of importance, and not to be excluded from their proper place in the instructions of the pulpit; and yet there may be in all this so little reference to Christ and him crucified, so little of the peculiar spirit of the Gospel as a system of mediation and mercy for lost men, that it can with no propriety be regarded as preaching Christ, or as evangelical

in its character. And here, there can be no doubt, lies a chief defect in the preaching of the present day. It does not give sufficient prominence to Christ, to his person, to his character, to his work in giving himself to die for the sins of the world. It is often versatile, ingenious, speculative, polished; but it dwells not enough on topics immediately connected with the atoning sacrifice and mediation of Christ. And the subjects which it does discuss are not viewed sufficiently in their relation to Christ, nor are they so presented as to turn the eyes and the hearts of men to *Him* who is the source and center of all spiritual life and hope and salvation. In a word, there is a great deal of preaching which is anything else but preaching Christ and him crucified. But preaching which is essentially defective in this particular, whatever other qualities it may possess, cannot deserve the name of evangelical preaching. Nor can it in any manner accomplish the great end of preaching. It cannot convince of sin, nor bring the soul to Christ, nor build it up in joy, and faith, and hope. It is dry, weak, powerless as to all spiritual results. It may amuse the curious, the gay, and the worldly; but it has no consolation for the sorrowful, no peace for the conscience, and no hope full of immortality for the miserable and the lost. It is not owned of God, as his wisdom and power unto salvation; and it is not owned of him to this end, because it does not bear testimony to the Son of his love, nor speak of his atoning blood as the only ground of hope for guilty man. And the preaching, I repeat, which is obviously defective in this particular, which does not make Christ the soul and the center of its ministrations, always has been, and always must be inefficient and fruitless,—failing entirely in all the great ends of the ministry—bringing sinners to repentance, and maturing Christians for the purity and bliss of heaven. The testimony of Dr. Chalmers on this point has often been referred to. Twelve years he preached the reformations of morality, and honesty, and integrity among his people, leaving out Christ and him crucified as the basis of his ministrations; and he tells us, as the result,



that he labored in vain, and spent his strength for naught ; none of those to whom he ministered being made more moral or more honest by his preaching. The same has always been the result, wherever the experiment has been made. On the other hand, the preaching that dwells much and affectionately on Christ, that makes him first and fundamental in its ministrations, enforcing its instructions by motives drawn from the love of Christ, and making all the lines of its influence meet and center in him,—such preaching is never left without decisive tokens of God's approbation. He attends it with the power of his Spirit ; sinners are awakened and converted, and Christians are edified in faith and love.

I have before referred to the experience of David Brainerd, and the Moravian missionaries. And I will now add that of the celebrated Gossner, a converted Catholic priest, who is, or was a few years since, a Protestant clergyman in Berlin. It is said that he has probably been the means of the immediate conversion of more souls than any man living. Yet, he seldom varies in his manner of preaching. The love of Christ is almost his constant theme ; and his preaching is almost a constant pouring out of the warm effusions of the heart on the love of God, the preciousness of the Savior, the glory of his salvation, and the blessedness of heaven, where Christ reigns. Preaching of this kind may, in the estimation of a worldly mind, seem devoid of the elements of power. But facts demonstrate the contrary. It brings to needy, guilty man a message adapted to his deepest wants ; a message of love, of pardon and life from his God ; it tells him of the kindness and compassion of one who has died for his redemption, and risen again for his justification ; it tells him of help provided for him in the agency of the Holy Spirit ; it speaks to him in a voice of tenderness and love, warning him indeed of danger, but pointing to a way of escape ; and while it proffers all needed aid to the poorest and most guilty of our race, it allures to heaven, and directs the steps in the path thither, by unfolding the joys of salvation, and holding out the crown of

eternal glory. This is Gospel; this is glad tidings; and rely upon it, brethren, the nearer we keep the Gospel in these views of it to our hearts, and the more we dwell upon it as a doctrine of Christ crucified, a suffering, sympathizing, reigning Savior, the nearer will Christ be to our souls, the more of his presence shall we enjoy in our ministry, and the more pure and abundant will be the fruit gathered to the glory of his name and the advancement of his cause.

Taking our place at the foot of the cross, abiding there in communion with our crucified Master, and doing our work in the spirit which that position is suited to inspire and to cherish, our preaching will be in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. We shall dwell in light and love ourselves; and great will be our joy in leading on to heaven souls redeemed by the blood of Christ, sanctified by his grace, loving and honoring his precious name, preparing to be hereafter our joy and crown of rejoicing in the presence of our and their Lord and Savior.

2. *Does not our subject suggest the means on which we are chiefly to rely in seeking to promote the prosperity and extension of our churches?* This is an object dear to our hearts, and we have come together in this Convention in the hope that we might do something for its advancement. But how is this to be done? Not surely by inflaming and diffusing a sectarian or denominational zeal. Congregationalism repudiates such zeal, and can have no fellowship with it, whether it breaks out, as it occasionally does, in its own body, or as manifested in other denominations. It is of a larger, freer, more expansive spirit, and naturally seeks communion and co-operation with all of every name that love our Lord Jesus Christ, in sincerity and in truth. Congregationalists, properly speaking, never were a sect, and never can be, till they renounce the true spirit of their order. At the first they organized churches on what they believed to be scriptural principles; then, when inquired of by others, they freely gave a full and explicit statement of their faith and order,

leaving it to them to say, whether they would extend to them the right-hand of fellowship as churches of Christ. This is as it should be; and we can hope to prosper as a denomination only as we cherish the same spirit and act on the same principle—*fellowship with all who hold the Head, and co-operation with all who will co-operate with us in building up the cause of our common Savior.* In seeking to promote the true interests of the churches in our connection, we can have nothing to do with the spirit of sect which would separate us from other branches of the Church of Christ, and draw us off to work *within ourselves and for ourselves*, regardless of the general good. Such a spirit is bad in itself, and it makes a sorry appearance at the foot of the cross or by the side of the spirit of our text. Christ, it should be remembered, was not crucified for Congregationalists alone, nor for Presbyterians alone, nor for Methodists, nor for Baptists, nor for Episcopalians alone; but for all of every name who own him as their Lord and trust in his atoning blood for salvation; and the doctrine we have been considering, fully recognizing this fact, forbids us to attempt to promote the interests of our particular denomination by any measures that shall infringe on the rights, or obstruct the prosperity, of other portions of the great family of Christ. Nor if we plant ourselves on the doctrine of Christ crucified, and act in the true spirit and intent of it, can we *possibly* be disposed to adopt such measures, or pursue any such narrow sectarian policy? No, brethren; if we would see our churches prosper, built up in faith and holiness, and spread abroad through the land, blessed with revivals, and increased continually in the number and fruitfulness of their communicants, let our ministry be deeply imbued with the spirit of Christ crucified; let them abide near the cross; there invigorating their faith and love, there studying their theology, there enlarging their charity, there strengthening their zeal, their self-denial, and devotedness; and thus made ready, thoroughly furnished unto every good work, let them go forth to proclaim to the people the unsearchable riches of Christ, seeking to

breathe into the Churches the same spirit, and to animate them with the faith and love of the same truths that live and reign in their own bosoms ; let our ministry and our churches go forth to their respective duties in the spirit and in the manner here indicated, and strength and salvation from the Lord are surely ours. Here, it seems to me, are the means, and the only means on which we can safely rely for promoting the prosperity and extension of our churches. Sectarianism we cannot away with ; it has no affinity with our order, and we should give it no place in our counsels or our measures. We have no hierarchy to rely upon, and we want none. We have no wide extended organization, strongly interlocked and compacted together ; a net-work of courts and governments and appeals thrown over our churches and binding them in on every side. Such things, if they are an advantage, other denominations may boast of and rely upon ; but we have them not. The frame-work around our churches is very simple, and our *external* machinery for propagandism is naught. Our polity is the worst possible for all sectarian uses. The only bond that binds us together is the unity of the spirit, kept in the pledge and culture of peace. We have no other reliance for strength or for growth. We fall back, then, of necessity, on the truth and Spirit of God. These are the weapons of our warfare—not carnal, but spiritual ; and we have no other to make use of, either for aggression or defense. Hitherto, these have been sufficient for every emergency ; a sure ground of prosperity and strength, and on these, primarily and chiefly, must we rely in time to come. And if, in the spirit of our crucified Master, and in the faith and power of the great truths taught us by his cross, we go forth to our work, *out-preaching, out-praying, out-living* our brethren of other denominations, in Christian zeal and beneficence, we shall surely outstrip them in the career of prosperity ; our churches will be multiplied and spread over our land as strong, bright watch-towers of the Gospel, existing not to make war upon other portions of the sacramental host of God's elect, but rejoicing in their onward march

and rising prosperity, and ever ready, not to fight against them, but to unite with them in fighting against the common enemies of our Lord and man's salvation.

3. *Does not our subject suggest the spirit and aim by which we should be governed in the deliberations of this Convention?* We have come here from different and distant parts of our country, servants of a crucified Master, and ministers of his Gospel, to consider by what means we can best promote the honor of his name and the advancement of the common cause of his Gospel. The occasion is one of great interest, the only one of the kind that has occurred in our denomination for 172 years, and much, very much, depends on the spirit in which we conduct our deliberations, and the end we aim to accomplish by them. The eyes of other denominations throughout the country are turned upon us; and, what is more, the eyes of our blessed Lord and Savior are turned upon us, and he expects us to be actuated in all our counsels and measures by the spirit he manifested in giving himself to die for us and a lost world.

I mistake, if any in this convention have come here with a sectarian, divisive spirit, or have any wish or purpose to press measures that shall separate us more widely from those of our brethren with whom we have hitherto been accustomed to co-operate. If there are such, I am sure they must be few; and I am still more sure, that their counsels cannot prevail. We have come together for peace, for mutual fellowship and consultation respecting our common interests, and I have a strong persuasion that the result of our meeting will be, not only to bind us together more closely as a denomination, but to place us on the ground of a more ready and harmonious co-operation with our brethren of other denominations, especially with our Presbyterian brethren, who are our natural allies, and with whom we have so long sustained relations mutually and eminently useful and happy. They hold the same faith with us in a crucified Savior, and preach the same system of doctrines. And we can have no



wish to separate from them, so long as, in good faith, they are disposed to co-operate with us in promoting the common cause. We feel that nothing is to be gained, on either side, by such a separation, certainly nothing to the cause of our common Christianity; but much, very much to be lost. Our voice therefore is for peace; is for mutual good-will and fraternal co-operation; especially in all the great benevolent movements of the day; separating only where we must and can with perfectly kind feeling, in things non-essential, matters of church order and government. But standing on my watch-tower and looking at the signs of the times, I most seriously fear that the day is not distant when the separation here deprecated will be effected. I fear there are some among our Presbyterian brethren, and some perhaps among our own, who, most unwisely, as I think, are wishing to sever the two denominations, and put an end to all such co-operation as has hitherto existed between them. This, I must believe, is eminently unhappy and altogether of evil tendency. We of New England, we Congregationalists as a body, may I not say, wish for no such thing; we deprecate and shall act against it; certainly shall do nothing to hasten it. And we say here that if separation in those matters in which we have hitherto been united, must come, let it all come from one side; let us do nothing here or elsewhere, either to hasten or to consummate it; and then when it is done, we shall see, and our Presbyterian brethren will see, on which side is the gain and on which side is the loss. But why need this be? Why, in either denomination, should there be any jealousy, any strife, as to who shall be first, or any disposition to sever or to weaken the ties that bind us together? Difficulties to some extent may of course be expected to arise in our new and sparsely settled states in the organization of churches, in the settlement of pastors, and in the location and support of missionaries sent out by our Home Missionary Society. These, however, for the most part, can be easily overcome, or at least easily borne, if met in the spirit of Christian love and forbearance. But who can estimate the evils that would be sure to result

from a final and fixed separation of these denominations; a separation that would cut directly through many of the infant churches of the West, that would sunder our benevolent societies, send a sectarian influence far over the foreign missionary field, and create endless jealousies and strifes between brethren at home? No, let us bear and forbear, a long time, before we, on either side, be accessory in bringing upon our respective churches such evils as these. We have no jealousy in relation to our Presbyterian brethren; we acknowledge them as brethren in Christ, we love them as such; we bid them God-speed in all their efforts to multiply and extend their churches; we have long been accustomed to send them our men and our money to aid them in this work; we shall be most ready and happy to do so in time to come; nor shall we be "careful to go into any close sectarian calculation of the gains and losses to each denomination respectively in the operation of the great societies through which our charities flow." All we ask in return is a reciprocation of kind, Christian feeling, and a readiness, so far as there may be opportunity, to co-operate with us on *equal terms*, in the common cause of spreading the light and blessings of the Gospel through our land and world. This, we are sure, is right, is in the spirit of our Master, in the spirit of Christ crucified; and may all the deliberations and measures of this Convention be in the spirit and with the aim here indicated! Then all will be well; and we shall return to our homes strengthened and refreshed in spirit, and rejoice with our people in the happy results of our meeting.

4. Finally, how great is the honor and privilege of being ministers of the crucified Savior; his appointed heralds to publish salvation through his atoning blood to lost men. Here, brethren, let us kneel at the foot of the cross, and humbly and gratefully adore the grace that has called us to bear a part in this high and holy work; and bathing our souls in the spirit of Him who gave himself to die for us, trusting in his mercy and rejoicing in hope of his glory, we shall account no trials great, no labors severe,

which we may be called to endure in preaching Christ and him crucified to our dying fellow-men. Like Paul we shall account all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of his precious name; and like him we shall be willing to suffer the loss of all things, if so we may honor our Redeemer in winning souls to his love, and training them up for the joys of his eternal kingdom. We are called to exercise our ministry in widely separated portions of the common vineyard; some as pastors in the older and established churches of the East, and some as pastors and missionaries in the new and scattered and comparatively feeble churches of the West. But the field is one, the work is one, the Master is one, one the heaven to which we go, and one the reward that awaits us there. Trials and privations and toils are incident to the sacred office every where. Paul knew them in all their incessant and exhausting severity; but he never saw the day, no, not when suffering hunger and cold and nakedness; not when he was whipped and stoned; not even when he was thrust into the inner dungeon in the gaol at Philippi, and was led forth on the Appian way to be put to death; no, he never saw the day when he would have exchanged the ministry he had received of the Lord Jesus for the scepter and the crown of the mightiest monarch on earth. The secret of all was this: the love of Christ constrained him and his presence cheered him, and the hope of his glory made all his trials seem light and momentary. And so with us, my brethren. The love of Christ in us and his presence with us, and the hope of his eternal smiles in heaven cheering us,—these will sweeten all our cares, lighten all our toils, and make all the way before us bright and pleasant as illumined with rays from the Eternal Throne. Our brief day of labor in the service of our Master will soon be over, and in heaven, if through grace we attain that pure and happy world, it will be pleasant to look back and recount our toils, our triumphs and our victories in the cause of our glorious Redeemer, while we shall cast our crowns at his feet and sing forever with all the ransomed of the Lord,—Unto him that loved us and washed us

from our sins in his own blood and hath made us kings and priests unto God, even his Father—to him be glory and dominion forever and ever.

I close in the words of one who a few months since addressed an assembly not unlike this, and on an occasion very similar to the present : \*

“ We individually shall not live and labor long. We shall be assembled as we are now but once in our lives—and soon from this convocation we shall go back to our individual fields of labor,—to work perchance a little longer, or to lie down and die. Associated together, or as individuals, may the Spirit of glory and of God rest upon us,—that in these united counsels we may be led to results that shall be well pleasing to our Master; that while life lasts we may maintain those great principles which we have received; and that we may send them onward, to future times, to bless and save those who shall live when we are dead.”

\* Rev. Mr. Barnes.

## Appendix.

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IN conformity with the expressed wishes of many members and friends of the Convention, the Publishing Committee have concluded to publish in pamphlet form, with a view to permanent preservation, as full a report as could be made of the principal debates that took place in that body. The discussions that were deemed of general importance were on five subjects, viz. :—

1. THE RELATIONS OF EASTERN AND WESTERN CONGREGATIONALISTS.
  2. PROVISION FOR BUILDING CHURCH-EDIFICES AT THE WEST.
  3. THE PLAN OF UNION WITH PRESBYTERIANS.
  4. THE HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY, WITH THE RELATIONS OF SLAVERY TO THE CAUSE OF HOME MISSIONS.
  5. CONCLUDING ADDRESSES.
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### I. RELATIONS AND INTERCOURSE OF THE EAST AND WEST.

This subject having been placed on the docket by report of the Business Committee, it was called up for consideration.

Dr. BACON then offered the following resolution, which he said had been put in his hands by a Western member, and of which he cordially approved :—

“ *Whereas*, for several years past, insinuations and charges of heresy in doctrine, and disorder in practice, have been made against Congregationalists at the West, frequently too vague in their character and too vague and general in their aim to admit of their refutation; And whereas, Congregationalism at the West has thereby suffered greatly in the estimation of the Congregationalists of New England, and of many other Christians, therefore—

“ 1. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of Congregationalists to frown on all such insinuations, unless their authors or abettors will make specific allegations and hold themselves responsible for the same.

“ 2. That it is very important that the General Associations and Conferences at the East should be careful to send delegates to the General Associations of the West, that they may obtain reliable information respecting Western Congregationalism.”



Dr. BACON said that one of the most important objects for which the Convention was called, was involved in the consideration of that resolution. He referred to the suspicion which had been created—he would not *now* say whether justly or unjustly—with regard to Congregational Churches at the West, and the habit which certainly exists of charging every such Church that happens to be formed west of Byram river with some kind of degeneracy from the old stamp. He said there has hardly been such a Church formed within the last ten years with regard to which there has not been such an insinuation thrown out, beginning with “The Church of the Pilgrims,” and terminating, if you please, with the Congregational Church at St. Louis. Immediately when a Church is formed this side of New England there is an outcry, “We have a great regard for New England Congregationalism; but as for this western sort, we have no opinion of it whatever.” This is certainly a great evil. The question is, what is the remedy? In my judgment one remedy is, for us at the East, whenever such allegations are thrown out, to hold those who utter them responsible for them. It will be generally found, as I know from experience in some cases, that when the allegations are sifted, those who make them have a great respect for old-fashioned Congregationalism, because it is the other side of Byram river. He had found generally, that to sift these slanders is to explode them. They will not bear investigation. Whoever brings charges against Western Congregationalists should be made to understand that they are our brethren, that we feel towards them as such, and that a charge against them, like a charge against our own sons, must be sustained or retracted. Sometimes these allegations come from brethren who have themselves suffered from allegations made in the same way, and of the same sort.

Another remedy, I think, is, as far as possible to maintain a regular intercourse with our brethren in their organized bodies at the West by the interchange of delegates. It is not enough that we receive delegates from the West; because, after all, some may say, “They cut them off at the sample end, and those who remain behind will not bear a comparison with the specimen sent.” We should send delegates to them as far as possible, and try to ascertain the character of their meetings. The time may come when a sort of organization resembling that adopted by Congregationalists in England and Wales, and also in Scotland,—a sort of union for mutual aid and nothing else,—may be needed.

Rev. Mr. KEDZIE, of Michigan, said, this subject was that about which the greatest degree of interest clustered. He came from Michigan to see if the Churches of New England would give them the right-hand of fellowship. They had felt much sensitiveness on that point; so often had the charge been reiterated in their ears, that Western Congregationalism was spurious in its character. When those who make the charge have been asked to show the difference in Western

from Eastern Congregationalism, everything was left in mystery and fog, and not a single point of difference was made out. They had come here laboring under this disadvantage, which was bearing them down, to see if the right-hand of fellowship would be given to them,—a thing which they had not felt emboldened to ask until the Chairman of the Business Committee (Dr. BACON) had so freely and frankly recognized them as genuine Congregationalists. If they could go back under the impression that they were one with Eastern Congregationalists, they would feel stronger than ever before. Many an Eastern man who comes among us, stands aloof and joins some other body, in consequence of the suspicions which have been instilled into his mind, that the Congregationalism of the West is a different thing from that of the East. We invite your fullest scrutiny at our meetings, and we will welcome your delegates. We love to have you come to our churches and our prayer-meetings and ecclesiastical bodies, and we would have you look at us till you know us. It may be desirable to have a general organization in which all may come together; but we rather fear such large machines which turn so slowly and yet with so much power, and prefer to dispense with them when they are not necessary. For the present, we think this friendly intercourse between Eastern and Western Christians will be sufficient; with this we shall rest satisfied. We have been told so often that Western Congregationalism is spurious, that we have felt that we must examine ourselves to see what we are, and then come down to New England and see what you are, to decide whether we are of the true pattern. We wish to go home with the assurance that you do recognize us as genuine Congregationalists; for then we shall feel strong and ready to labor. We feel that we are an advance army, a kind of forlorn hope, and if we can know that we can fall back upon the main body, we shall feel strong and ready to battle in the name of the Lord of Hosts.

Rev. Dr. WOODBRIDGE remarked that he was not quite prepared to give his Western brethren his entire confidence until he knew something more about them. He was disposed to treat them and all others kindly. There were evils among Eastern Congregationalists even, and it did not follow that a man was sound because he belonged to a particular denomination. The question should be, How does he live? Although there might be vague and unfavorable reports against Western Congregationalists, he thought they should not be asked to pass a resolution like the one before the Convention.

Rev. JONATHAN BLANCHARD, of Illinois, said, they of the West did not wish a vote passed indorsing Western Congregationalism in a mass, but simply the adoption of the Common Law principle that a man shall be held to be sound till he is proved unsound. He fully accorded with the remarks of Mr. KEDZIE; but wished to add that all from the West did not come to see if their Eastern brethren could take them by the hand, but some had come to see if they could take their Eastern brethren by the hand. He thought that neither party would

suffer by watchling. There was one thing which fairness required him to state, which was, that a person who should reside for a short time at the West, would become different from those who always reside at the East. One of the most careful men he ever knew gave it as his opinion, that a man who should go from New England to the West as a merchant, and come back to the East without appearing to those with whom he had before been associated as "a little sprung in his intellect," would be looked upon as a rare man. So the clergyman who has always heard the bell ring on the Sabbath morning, and has had his two sermons written and prepared to be delivered to an audience, every one of whom he can call by name, when he is transplanted to the banks of the Mississippi, and obliged to preach in a building so low that his head will touch the ceiling, to those whom he knows not; or is compelled to preach in a bar-room, and get up his own congregation as a town crier collects an assembly, he will after a time differ from his Eastern brethren. He will be very likely to acquire a sort of hasty utterance that is different from what is practiced at the East. If he does not learn something by coming among us, he will not be the man for his place. It will do no harm to watch us, therefore, and at the same time we mean to watch you. The right sort of men for the West were those with right principles and with sense enough to apply those principles to the circumstances in which they are placed. He hoped that in this view of the matter Western Christians would not be found very degenerate, after all.

Rev. Mr. KITCHELL, of Detroit, said, that they at the West did not ask to have their orthodoxy indorsed. All they asked was that a charge should not be taken up against them without proof, that they might be known before they were judged. By any standard that any man in New England would give them, they were sound and orderly Congregationalists. He asked, however, that they should not be tried by a standard which he had seen in one print lately; namely, that he is a good Congregationalist who immediately on leaving New England becomes a Presbyterian. He said, if it is to be regarded as a heresy that we adhere to that which you taught us in New England, wherever we go, then there are many in the West who are heterodox. But if you will lay down principles of Congregationalism as you understand them in the East, and try us by them, I believe you will find us sound, as sound at least as any body of Presbyterians in the West. They and we share about equally in any crudities that exist. We beg leave to differ somewhat from the form and order which our brethren in Connecticut have adopted. We feel that there are some things that will not work well even there, and after having worn the Consociational harness for ten years in Connecticut I know how it sits;—we therefore have omitted that. But try us by the standard in Massachusetts or the great body of Congregationalists, and we abide by it and work it out as you do in the East. Certainly Connecticut has her apology. For a long time she was a frontier state in respect to Congrega-

tionalism, and looking over into the green pastures of Presbyterianism she has perhaps brought forth a system somewhat "ring-streaked and speckled." (Laughter.) But give us the principles of Congregationalism "after the pattern seen in the mount" by our fathers of old, and we are true, according to any standard you will bring us. Now what we ask is, that you will know us before you judge us, and I wish it distinctly understood that these resolutions have a special reference to our Eastern brethren. We at the West are doubly incapacitated in respect to these charges. We are not only suspected, but we are suspected of being suspected. How is it possible for us to rid ourselves of these charges? But you have a duty and a power which we cannot exercise; and when a brother shall stand before any General Association and criminate us gravely and deeply, till our souls bleed under the charges, you are bound to call that brother as an accuser not to be heard till he brings the proof against us.

We did not suppose we were committing any crime in going out of New England, nor in retaining the principles you taught us, as well as the theology we received from you; and we ask that you will have some care for us and our good names; and whenever these are aspersed, remember we are your children, and take us under your wings. Certainly there is a propriety in your taking us under your wings and teaching us to fly. We shall fly presently as strongly as you; and it may be that in your old age the young eaglet will bring back the principles she carried away, to the old ancestral nest; for it is a fact that we are growing strong in the West. God opens bright prospects before us, if you will believe in us and confide in us as you well may. We cannot defend ourselves if we happen not to be present in your assemblies or at your firesides when these aspersions are made. Deal gently with us, therefore, and do not receive these aspersions against us without proof.

Rev. TERTIUS S. CLARKE, of Penn Yan, said, it was easy to make a party suspicious or jealous, by treating them as if you expected them to be so. He was afraid we should err in lack of charity to our Presbyterian brethren. He had gone among them to be pastor of a Congregational church in the midst of Presbyterians, and he had gone with his heart in his hand, evidently taking it for granted that he was to be received and treated in a friendly manner by his Presbyterian brethren, and he was so. They received him as orthodox because he preached the truth, and they treated him like a Christian because he tried to behave like one. But if Congregationalists behave unseemly, and act as if they expected to be suspected, and turn a cold shoulder to Presbyterians as if they had no confidence in them, it is not strange if they are treated coldly in return. Let them be frank, open, and manly in their deportment, and it is very likely they will fare better. It has been well said that the circumstances of Congregationalists in the West are widely different from those in New England. Oh, how unlike! How often have I sighed to get back to that good land; but it is

not to be. Let us learn to make the best of it, and we may do away a host of prejudices. Presbyterian hearts are just as good in general as Congregational hearts. He would carefully guard the good name of our brethren at the West, and at the same time beware lest we sin against charity and so provoke the treatment of which we complain.

Dr. LYMAN BEECHER. When I left Boston I had become so noted as an op-pug-nator of Unitarianism that the Unitarians had done ascribing evil to the devil, but charged it all to me; and when I got to Cincinnati, Dr. WILSON published me in his paper as a Unitarian, and we had to bear it; and I never asked any body to indorse me, but I toughed it through. We cannot escape all these things, we must bear them until we can live them down.

Dr. BACON. Perhaps the venerable father who has just taken his seat does not realize the difference in the cases. He went to Ohio in the ripeness of his age, with the experience and the honors of nearly half a century of public service, and with a reputation not merely as large as the country, but with a world-wide renown. Dr. WILSON was a small circumstance to him—hardly more to him than the fly was to Uncle Toby. Very different is the case of a young man who goes to the West to preach the Gospel; perhaps he is a licentiate, and he sincerely prefers Congregationalism, in which he has been educated, and he is invited to labor with a Congregational Church. And he soon finds a difficulty. Sir, you may depend on it, that it is a very different thing for such a young man to have his character assailed with charges of heresy and disorder from what it was for Dr. BEECHER. Dr. BEECHER says he did not cry; neither does the war-horse described in the book of Job cry at being attacked, when he “paweth in the valley and rejoiceth in his strength, and saith Ha, ha! among the trumpets.” No wonder Dr. BEECHER did not cry; I would not cry if I was he. But it is a very different thing for our worthy brethren to meet these cruel charges single-handed, which they cannot breast alone.

This resolution ought not to give offense in any quarter. The facts on which it is based are not denied; they cannot be. We do not propose to indorse any body, either as to his regularity or his orthodoxy. Our Western brethren do not ask us to become their sponsors. We cannot say that they are all orthodox, but we can say what this resolution proposes. Our responsibility for these brethren is not according to the theory of those who hold the doctrine of a consolidated Church. That theory is that there is but one Church, and one ecclesiastical authority, and that under it every man is responsible for every other man. Our theory is all different from this—that one Church is no more responsible for another than one gentleman is responsible for another in well-ordered society, where every man is entitled to be treated as a gentleman until he shows that he is unworthy to be so treated. They are like our colleges, which have no general



head to make them responsible to and for one another, and they are to know and observe the laws of mutual courtesy and respect.

We cannot undertake to indorse the character of all our Western brethren, but we can say whether we will recognize them as Congregationalists, and on what terms; and we can say that the wholesale condemnation of them in these vague terms is something that we will not consent to by being the willing recipients of such reports. I have no doubt that there are brethren at the West in Congregational bodies, indeed I have every reason to be assured there are, with whom I should not at all agree on some important questions in theology, and whose views of order and proceedings and measures I should heartily and earnestly dissent from. So there are in New England. There are ultra men out West, But bring forward the most ultra into this meeting, I do not care who he is, on the question of slavery for example—and I will be bound to scare up somebody in Connecticut equal to him in every way. (Laughter.) We are all in a suspected district, as Dr. BEECHER found he was when he came from the West. The suspicion does not lie upon Illinois alone, but upon New England and even old England, too. The fact is, our Congregationalism is not a system which commends itself to those who prefer a very different system, and it cannot be expected that it will. True, we have some among us, who seem to belong to that class of men who possess a character which, according to Shakspeare, appertains to men of extraordinary genius, that is, many-sided men, who can be either Congregationalists or Presbyterians, or both at the same time. (Laughter.) Our brother from Michigan (Mr. KITCHELL) ought to have known better than to say some things he did about Connecticut. He thought we got our system from looking over into New York to see Presbyterianism there. But the Saybrook platform is older than any Presbyterian Church in the United States. The Saybrook Synod met and framed that notable piece of workmanship before there was a Presbyterian session this side of the Atlantic. We are not all alike, even at the East, and probably never shall be. We have, it is true, various degrees, various tones of orthodoxy, and various forms of Church government, so that if a man moves from one place to another, he must learn a new system of Church government; and we have churches as independent as Paul was when he sent out Barnabas on a mission. On the whole, we get along pretty well, and we learn, either through our system or through the want of it, that principle of mutual toleration which we think some of our Presbyterian brethren at the West should put in practice there; and the longer we live, and the more of these collisions we have, we think the more of that principle of mutual toleration we have. I do for one. I hope therefore that these two resolutions will be adopted without any disagreement; first, that it is the duty of Congregationalists to frown on all such allegations, unless their authors and abettors will make specific allegations and hold themselves responsible for the same. I think nobody

can object to that. Not to frown on them in all cases, but to frown on them unless the persons making them shall make them in a specific form and be responsible. If A comes and tells me about Brother KITCHELL, I will say, "Tell me *the thing* he has done and the reason why I should withhold my confidence; and let me write to him and tell him you say so and so, and are prepared to prove it." Second, it is very important that Associations at the East should be careful to send delegations to the West, that they may obtain reliable information respecting Western Congregationalism.

Dr. OSGOOD, of Springfield, said, he liked the spirit of the resolutions, though he did not consider them of much importance to their Western brethren. But he thought the remarks which had grown out of their consideration very appropriate and such as their Western brethren deserved. Where he resided he often heard of such allegations as the resolutions contemplated. He thought they were bound to require that all such allegations should be made in writing. A few years since a brother who had lived in his neighborhood and whom he knew to be a devoted man, after having removed to the West and been connected with Oberlin, returned and made him a visit. He was asked if he would invite his brother to preach? "Why," said one, "are you going to indorse Oberlin?" The only objection made to his preaching was, that he came from Oberlin, but after a conversation with him the Doctor could discover only one or two points of difference that neither of them could define. (Laughter.) If any one came with such accusations as they had been accustomed to hear, he ought to smart for it. He thought the adoption of the resolutions would put a stop to much slander.

Dr. WOODBRIDGE wished to be cautious. He had confidence in some Western men whom he knew; but he should vote against the resolutions, because he was not acquainted with the men. He couldn't trust some of his neighbors, much less those whom he knew so little about.

Rev. Mr. ADAMS, of Ohio, said, I am surprised to hear these remarks with regard to Western ministers. Who are they? Many of them had lived and labored at the East; but growing rusty as people thought, they have gone West, and there they have been seoured up and have been very acceptable. Who make up the other portion? A very considerable part of the rest are young men, educated at Andover, New Haven, or East Windsor, and even at Bangor. Though we have as good ministers as New England people have raised up, and such as New England people have been satisfied with, yet when they come from us, New England is made to be dissatisfied with them. Now, he had noticed that no man's orthodoxy is out there questioned, who will consent to join Presbytery. Now for a thorough-going Presbyterian he had a profound respect; but for such a *filius degener* as some they had out in the Reserve, he had but very little respect. Another thing he had learned on going West, was the real meaning of the Plan

of Union. He had *thought* that the Plan was a compact between Congregationalists and Presbyterians, giving to each equal rights; but the *fact* was, that the union was a perfect absorption. It has absorbed our Ministers and our Churches. It has bound the souls of our Church Members in the iron yoke of Presbyterianism. This was the meaning of the Union, as it practically works.

Dr. EDWARD BEECHER, of Boston, said, there was a great similarity between the present relation of the Western Churches to those of New England and that which once existed between the Churches of New England and the mother country. The time was, when the fathers of New England had to vindicate their orthodoxy and order, just as Western Congregationalists do now. We then needed the countenance of Old England, and turned to them for it, just as the West now turns to New England. He thought there should be more respect for conscientious opinions, and more tenderness of treatment with regard to orthodoxy. The things which are said when they are not known to be true, are said simply because there is not that tenderness of conscience with regard to what is said about bodies of men which there is with regard to what is said about individuals. He hardly knew a point where the moral sensibility of the Christian community more needs to be rectified and refined.

Rev. Mr. BLAKESLY, of Ohio, had listened with interest to the instructions of the fathers from the East, but they were ignorant of some things respecting Western Churches which they ought to know. He thought the resolutions exceedingly important, as they took strong hold of Congregationalism at the West. He had heard it asserted at the West, and since he came here, that the Congregationalists at the West were not orthodox. He had met those who were in the same Theological Seminary here with him, and who were now with the Presbyterians; and they said they would rather be in connection with the Presbyterians than in connection with Oberlinism. But it should be known that the Presbyterians also license Oberlin ministers and have always done so, having never refused to license any one because he came from Oberlin and held to Mr. Finney's views. If therefore Oberlinism was heterodox, the Presbyterians were as much accountable for its extension as the Congregationalists.

Dr. HAWES thought that course of remark was doing what the resolutions declared they would not do.

Mr. BLAKESLY responded that his object was simply to have it understood that the Presbyterians were as fully in connection with Oberlin as the Congregationalists. He did not wish to cast any reproach on any one, but if reproach belonged to any, he wanted it to fall where it did belong.

Rev. Dr. DIMMICK thought it became the Convention to act with care. He was in favor of the resolutions. There were doubtless errors existing in some cases, which he would not like to indorse. But he did not understand that they were called upon to indorse everything that may be found in connection with Congre-

gationalists at the West. He thought the East had been wanting to the West. New England had sent her sons far into the West, and had almost forgotten them. The Plan of Union had extensively filled the eye of New England men and New England churches, and what they had done it had been thought they must do under the banner of union, so that those now in the far West who do not appear under that banner are looked upon with suspicion. Many who have gone from Congregational churches and families have taken another banner, and a large part—not all, nor the best—have forsaken us. We have heard rumors of evils which we did not wish to indorse; and we have been afraid to assume the position which we ought to assume with regard to Congregational churches at the West. The arrangements there had their origin in New England; and if the New England churches had been duly mindful of their own privileges, many of those now out of our hands would have remained with us. He would give a hearty response to his western brethren; he wished them to go back assured that we have confidence in them; not that we indorse their errors, nor that they indorse ours.

Rev. Mr. CAMP, of Michigan, wished to remind the Convention that it was an eastern body—that it was called by eastern men. The question which was before the Convention was not therefore one for western men to settle. In his opinion the Convention were not prepared to decide the question. Venerable fathers from the East said that they did not know us, and were not ready to indorse us. Suppose any one should speak in the same way of the churches in Connecticut or Massachusetts? They of the West maintained that it was the duty of their fathers to know what sort of sons they had sent to the West. They were not here, however, for the purpose of making any complaint.

Rev. Mr. KEEP, of Ohio, hoped that a vote would not be taken on the resolutions, until the matter had been fully discussed.

Dr. HAWES moved that the subject be laid on the table for the present, to be called up when they had further opportunity to learn the feelings of western brethren.

Hon. ISRAEL BILLINGS, of Hatfield, thought the discussion thus far had done him good, and that every member of the Convention would retire to his home perfectly satisfied with regard to western Congregationalism. He thought that the vote should be then taken. They had had sufficient evidence that Congregationalism at the West had been aspersed. The remedy proposed by the resolution was as good as any that can be prescribed, which was simply that they would not open their ears to those aspersions. He hoped the resolutions would not be laid on the table.

Dr. HAWES stated his object in making the motion to lay the resolutions on the table to be, that they might have an opportunity to understand the subject.

Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD said that if the vote should not be finally taken upon the

resolutions, in consequence of any press of other business, the effect would be worse than if they had not been offered.

After suggestions by several members, the vote was taken on the adoption of the resolutions, and they were adopted almost unanimously.



## II. CHURCH-BUILDING AT THE WEST.

Dr. HAWES reported from the Committee on Church-building at the West a plan for raising fifty thousand dollars for this purpose, which he read, and requested that it might be considered and amended by the Convention.

Dr. TODD said, one strong desire we have is, that before we separate, the East and the West shall understand each other. We want to understand the trials of brethren at the West, and to have them understand our situation at the East. There have been mistakes on both sides which need to be corrected. One important result of this Convention will be to make the impression that we, the representatives of the Congregational churches, have entire confidence in our system of church government, and an entire reliance that, under God, this system is to do a great work in and for the world. Most of the brethren at the West were sent out as missionaries from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and all New England, and the time has never been when the heart of the East has ceased to beat warmly towards those who have gone, being bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh, the jewels of our own hearts. Do the brethren of the West think that when we give them our sons, and they come back and take our daughters as wives—the best wives in the world except those they leave behind—that our hearts will be cold toward them? At one time there were twenty-six agents from the West in New England, seeking aid, and none of them, so far as I know, was turned back and coldly rebuked. We have always responded to the calls of the West, so far as was in our power. While they tell us of their trials at the West, through their missionary paper, let them remember that we too have trials, and that we both need patience and perseverance. I remember that when young I was in trouble, and feared I should be put in a place where I should be burned up, and I went to Dr. Beecher and asked him what I should do. Said he, “Todd, stand still.” So we both need patience sometimes. It should be understood that the West is a very wide field, and that a donation scattered over the whole gives but a little in any one place. The calls upon us are continual, and we are glad to have them; but it should be understood that these calls fall first upon the pastors, who are the most self-denying men to be found on the face of the earth. I could tell this Convention of a good brother, who, with a salary of less than four hundred dollars, gives more than all the rest of his church to be-



nevolent objects. I presume that is not a solitary instance. I know my church do not give away enough, yet they gave, last year, more than eight dollars for each member, for objects out of our own town. It must be borne in mind, too, that it is the common, every day people who give for the purpose of building up churches—those who are in the middle walks of life. Will the brethren at the West then understand that we are ready not only to acknowledge them as brethren, and give them our entire confidence and warm sympathies, but also to do all we can for them?

The people at the West should understand another thing. A man in New England buys a farm, and scratches away upon it a long time for every seventy-five cents or dollar that he gives away, and when he dies his property is divided among his children, and as they have, many of them, gone to the West, his property goes there. But you say that New England is growing rich. Yes, and I wish I could tell you some of the stories that the good agents who come here tell us of the West, where the soil is knee-deep, and corn grows so high you can scarcely see the top of it, and who say that our farms are so poor they would not live on them, and then will say, "Come, now, give us your money." (Laughter.) Though New England is growing rich, I want to warn my eastern brethren that perhaps it is not best to take up the system of building churches in the West as a system to be pursued from generation to generation.

Rev. Mr. PLATT, of Binghamton, wished to inquire whether the churches in central New York, connected with the Presbytery by the Plan of Union, should contribute, with the understanding that the money should be sent to aid western churches. He thought they would need help for their own feeble churches.

The report was then accepted, and the question of its adoption was considered.

Dr. BACON moved the passage of the following resolution in lieu of the ordinary form of adopting the report:

*Resolved.* That the plan for raising fifty thousand dollars for building Congregational Church-edifices at the West, be approved and adopted by this Convention, and that it be recommended to Pastors and Churches throughout the United States."

Dr. BACON said, My own observation with regard to those who have sought contributions for the erection of churches at the West has led me to conclude that generally the pastor to whom the agent always come first, of course, thinks the case is a pretty strong one, and so recommends it to his people, stating that though he does not approve of general applications, still he thinks this a peculiar case. The consequence is, that the man from Michigan, or perhaps still further off, will go around for a time getting the contributions of the people, and finally succeed in securing enough to pay a little more than his expenses to New England. He may not raise more than enough to pay his expenses.

But I have observed within a few months indications of a change at the West, and gentlemen from the West have sometimes said, "We beg of you not to

attend to these applications; we can meet in a school-house or a barn if you will only aid us in supporting a pastor." A change in our policy in this respect is manifestly required, and the feeling seems to be that there is a necessity for aid in this form. On the other hand, I do not wish to adopt any plan of this kind that looks to permanency. The present plan is only to raise an amount of money to meet an existing exigency, to aid in raising houses of worship on that broad area immediately. For these reasons I am in favor of this plan, and I am happy to be able to present to the Convention this document which I hold in my hand, which I have no doubt will have its weight in commending the plan itself to the regard and consideration of the Convention.

"ALBANY, Oct. 7, 1852.

"The undersigned, feeling deeply interested in the moral and religious condition of their country, and rejoicing that a new impulse has been given to a cause most dear to them, do hereby agree to give the sum of Ten Thousand Dollars to aid in erecting Congregational Churches at the West, upon the plan proposed in this Convention: Provided, that the whole sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars shall be raised within six months from the 1st of January, 1853.

"BOWEN & McNAMEE, New York."

It will be observed from the terms of this paper that it requires an approbation of this plan as given to the Convention, and that the whole amount be raised within six months from the 1st of January, 1853.

One word as to the suggestion of Brother Platt, of Binghamton, that there is a proper field for aid in Pennsylvania and New York. We have the same thing in Connecticut, and in Massachusetts, and Vermont, and New Hampshire.

Dr. CLEAVELAND.—And Rhode Island.

Dr. BACON.—And Rhode Island especially, since they have the principles of law and order established there.

Dr. CLEAVELAND.—I wish Connecticut would come over and learn them.

Dr. BACON.—This state of things must exist; there will be places where we cannot undertake to organize Churches. But we can do it for the great empire at the West; and there is an exigency there now which we are required to meet, there is a battle to be fought there for the world, and for all the ages to come, in which we have our part to act, and from which, I trust, we shall not withhold any effort or any self-denial that is required of us.

Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD stated the fact that the venerable Chief Justice Williams, of Connecticut, made a donation to aid feeble Churches in central Illinois, and that some five or six Churches had been erected in pursuance of his plan. But three of those Churches thus erected are now waiting for ministers. They have never had a pastor.

Dr. LYMAN BEECHER said if you want to get martins about your house, you must put up a martin box. It is *meeting-houses*, too, that we want, rather than *log houses*. A village at the West grows up in six months, and he who has a

house to assemble them in, will take the flood. He considered this one of the most important subjects for the Convention to consider. So far as he was acquainted with the West, it was true that ministers were needed; but ministers could be had if they had houses. When he went to Cincinnati, he expected there would be a colony from his Church in five years, at most, but the quarrels there prevented it for ten years or more. When he went there the Methodists had but one Church, and we had four or five. Now they have twenty, while we have stood still. It is meeting-houses that you want, and you may carry that principle as far as you please. A village at the West grows up in less than six months, with all that class of persons who usually raise up societies, having emigrated from among us. It is therefore important to have houses of worship for such villages, for those who begin will take the flood afterwards. If you begin now by raising fifty thousand dollars, I know well that when the thing has been tried, you will be willing to give a hundred thousand, for you will see that the money is better spent for such an object than for any other. Do you hear? (Laughter.) I want—no, I do not want to apologize. There has been a great racket about our Church organization, and there has been a mighty alarm—I will not say any thing invidious—a mighty alarm because we moved a little to get a Church-extension society. There is no danger that the New School or any body else will overrun us at the West. Besides, it is what ought to be, it is what you ought to do; it is what ought to have been begun long ago, and continued till the wilderness should have blossomed as the rose.

Dr. CLEVELAND had been twelve years at the West, and thought he understood the subject practically. Since he had returned to New England no subject had impressed him so much as this. He was the pastor of a large and wealthy Church, which was a liberal one also—and when he spoke of Church contributions he wished it understood that many large contributions came from the society and not the Church alone—and he was impressed with this subject, because the most liberal and intelligent contributors had adopted the axiom that where a Church is needed it can be built to the extent of the want, and that if a large one cannot be built then it is not wanted. One thing which has gone to confirm this axiom has been that so many applications have been of an unwarrantable character, such as the payment of old debts, and the purchase of a bell, &c. These applications had not come so much from the far West as from intermediate places. His observation led him to indorse the remark of Dr. BACON that agents for aid to build Churches generally received but little more than enough to pay their traveling expenses. Since he said impulsively, “Rhode Island above all,” a little while ago, when Dr. Bacon was addressing the Convention, he would explain that he meant to have it understood that since they have the Maine Law there, and would execute it without fear or favor, they would soon pay all their Church debts.

Dr. HAWES.—That will relieve Connecticut from paying Rhode Island a thousand dollars.

Dr. CLEVELAND.—We say we will take care of our Church debts if we hold on to the Maine Law. And we shall do it, and shall pay our Church debts, and it will be but a little while before we will excuse Brother Hawes and the rest of Connecticut, if they will turn round and give their money to some Rhode Island in the West. They must pay the money somewhere as long as the world stands, as a matter of course. I love to think what Connecticut is doing and has done. It is a glorious state, “and Rhode Island above all.” (Laughter.) After some further remarks, Dr. C. closed by saying that his mind was decidedly relieved with regard to contributions for building Churches at the West. He believed the plan proposed would procure large contributions where not a dollar was given before. He liked the plan with the idea that it was not to be a permanent one.

Rev. ASA TURNER of Iowa said he had opposed the sending of agents to the East to beg for money to aid in erecting Churches at the West, because he saw that if the practice were pursued there would be no end to the applications. They did, however, need aid in some way. But he had often told his brethren that he would sooner stick up poles and cover them with corn-stalks for a house of worship, than send any one to the East to beg for aid. But times have changed: our population is spread wider. We find, for instance, a little community in which there are some four or five men interested in the worship of God. These men, altogether, are not worth perhaps more than a thousand dollars, and without aid they can make no impression on the community. But with the aid of one or two hundred dollars they will secure enough, together with their own labor, to erect a house of worship, and accommodate the whole community around, who would otherwise be destitute.

Allusion has been made to the Church-extension plan. I have blessed God for every meeting-house that our Presbyterian brethren at the West have erected. I am not jealous of them on that score. We have six different kinds of Presbyterians in Iowa, and I will give thanks to God for every house our Methodist or Baptist brethren will build. There is room enough for all in our great state. And while I am a Congregationalist fully, I rejoice to see houses built by any denomination where Christ is preached. And I believe that a plan of this kind, which will not require time to be taken up by a Missionary of the West by a personal application, will accomplish an amount of good beyond our computation, and I could not but be deeply affected when this brother who proffered the ten thousand dollars presented the plan. And I must say that I think the man who could give ten thousand must surely be a *business man*, and enabled to give the details of such a plan.

Mr. BOWEN of New York said, as a member of your Committee who have

made this report, I feel it my duty to explain the matter somewhat, that you may understand the responsibility which you take in adopting this report, to carry it out. It is admitted by all the brethren that we must do something to aid the Churches at the West, either in this or some other way, and if we give as we have done heretofore, when we did not understand the merits of each particular case, we shall give hap-hazard. You need to understand that we as a denomination in New York are not more than eight or ten years old, and are not able to give as much as we otherwise should, in consequence of the great expense we have been at in building our own churches. We have expended, within eight or ten years, in the city of New York and vicinity, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars; and when brethren come to New York and ask us to aid them, we say to them, we would do it, but we must have first a little breathing spell. In helping the West we want to give all a share. Merchants from the West are often delegated, when they come to New York, to ask aid in giving a bell for a Church, or something else which is needed, and we rejoice to help as far as we can. Now this plan, I have no doubt, or something of the kind, will meet the approbation of the people. We do not want the funds given to go from New York, or Hartford, or Providence especially, but we want help to be given from the Churches generally. It is a question of expense for this Convention to decide; for until the wants of the western Churches are met, agents will come East for help. Do you want to pay two hundred dollars? And will you pay one hundred for the purpose of defraying the expense of the agent? In nine times out of ten, it costs half or one-third to pay his traveling expenses. This plan will not cost a cent. Every dime, every penny will go right to the people without any expense, except perhaps a little for printing, and even that I hope will be provided for in some other way. I was rejoiced to hear the resolutions adopted yesterday, extending the right hand of fellowship to the West. I am pleased with such manifestations, and the feeling with which the hand is extended, but being a practical man, I like to see something in the right hand of fellowship.

This plan proposes to have a Committee in New York. What shall they do? They receive the money and appropriate it. They have something more to do. They ought to arrange the facts with regard to the West, and converse with the people there through the newspapers, and have circulars printed and sent throughout the country if necessary.

What will be the duties of the State Committee? There are some suggestions which have occurred to my mind which are important; that is, that they should have circulars printed and sent to every minister in the state, presenting the matter to him and urging him to take hold of it.

The plan proposes that Ministers should preach on the first Sabbath in January upon the subject, and take up a collection. Some member of the Convention has suggested that this could as well be on any other time. If so there will be no



time. But it will be a glorious spectacle to see all the Congregational Ministers and Churches engaged in the same cause on the same day. It will be a glorious testimony to our brethren at the West that we are truly desirous to aid them. They will think the better of us, and will remember that in extending the right hand of fellowship we have something in it to back up the outward manifestation. They will inquire, while their brethren at the East are thus helping them, what they have to do for themselves; and in my opinion it will lead to the projecting of more Churches within the next five years than have been projected within the last twenty. This plan is one that will come fairly and honorably before all our Churches throughout the United States, and will give all the people an opportunity to aid in the work. It will not leave the contributions to be made by the rich, but will give the poorer members of our denomination the privilege of aiding in the work. It is a good plan, and I hope it will be adopted.

Several amendments were moved and adopted, and then the Plan was adopted unanimously.

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### III. REPORT ON THE PLAN OF UNION.

Dr. HUMPHREY said, after reading the Report—It is incident to all human things that there should be changes, and in religious and ecclesiastical matters as well as in other things, and especially in the new States and Territories of this country. The Committee did not suppose that they were to go into the inquiry at much length, whether the original Plan of Union had operated in the beginning favorably, or unfavorably. There was found, after comparing views in the Committee, not a perfect agreement on that point. Some of the brethren rather questioned whether if there had been no such Plan of Union, it would not have turned out for the furtherance of Congregationalism, and the furtherance of the Gospel also. In consequence of the changes incident to this matter, any system which may have worked well for a series of years, may turn out in the end to have accomplished its mission, or that which the original designers of it expected it would accomplish. The Committee, a majority of whom are Western men, who are upon the ground where this Union has existed, after deliberation during all the afternoon yesterday, and a part of this morning, came to the conclusion that, however well the system might have operated in the beginning, it has not, so far as we Congregationalists are concerned, accomplished the design of the Connecticut General Association, or of those who acted on that Plan in the State of New York. In short, though it is called a Union still, the Commit-

tee are deeply impressed with the fact that it is a Union, which so far as regards its present operation, and for many years past, is a Union nearly all on one side. It is a Union which has resulted, not in the building up of Congregationalism at the West, but of Presbyterianism, and under which hundreds of Churches have been gradually drawn over—we do not say improperly, that is for the Convention to determine—to Presbyterianism. Congregational Churches have been required to send up their minutes to the Presbyteries; and when Congregational Ministers are settled, the Presbyteries insist upon having the whole management of the Ordination; and when Presbyterian Ministers are settled over Congregational Churches, they expect, and in some instances require, that the Presbyterian brother shall be settled by themselves, and then they are in fact Members of the Presbytery. The Committee have expressed their views as fully as they could in the Preamble and Resolutions which have been read. The Convention will decide, of course, whether this is the wisest and best disposition which can be made of the matter, or whether something else should be adopted which shall secure what we need. For myself, I think it is quite time that Congregationalism should take better care of itself at the West. (Sensation and approval.)

One thing more, which I omitted in its proper place. I remember that when this Union was formed, indeed before, the impression was pretty generally and pretty deeply felt in Connecticut, that though Congregationalism was best on the whole, in New England, we were not quite certain that it could be established at the West, and we questioned whether our system was not too democratic, and whether it was not necessary to put on some screws upon the organization of Churches. And, upon the whole, we yielded the point so far, that we felt less confidence of the power of our Congregationalism than we have now. Such was the general feeling; and this feeling had much to do with our forming and acquiescing in the Plan. But all this has changed. We have no questions of this sort perplexing us now. We have far more confidence than formerly in our own system, and this reason no longer exists to induce us to perpetuate the Union. I cannot say that I regret that the Union was formed; but I confidently believe, that if it had been really, as it has been virtually dissolved for the last ten years; in other words, if we had not consented that that Union should be almost all on one side, and had gone on and built up our Churches in our own way, we should have been stronger as Congregational Churches at the West than we are now.

Rev. Mr. LAWRENCE, of Mass., said, We have now come to what seems to me to be the most vital, and yet the most delicate question which comes before this body. It is that of "dissolving the Union." For, whatever may have been done on the other side, up to this point, we have been neutral, we have acted the part of faithful covenant keepers. I might say more than that. We have yielded, and as has been well expressed, the Union has been all one side. I be-

lieve that some two thousand Churches which have been substantially organized on the Congregational plan, have gone over to Presbyterianism. I believe the basis of Union, as it was formed, has been totally vacated in its practical workings; and I have been led to look a little into the history of the question to see if I could account for this anomalous fact. In an article published in "*The Repertory*," at Princeton, for July, 1837, containing several arguments presented before the General Assembly of 1837, I found that it was there stated that the originators of this Plan of Union designed it as a means of bringing Congregational Churches over to Presbyterianism. I find it also, as one of the accredited arguments urged before that body, that after a reasonable time, when it was found not to answer its original design, the Assembly was first to abandon the Union. I find also another thing; that the making it permanent, in the view of that body, was a perversion of the Plan. It has seemed to me that this would account for the fact, that the whole leaning has been toward Presbyterianism. Then, if we look at the structure of the system, we shall find these arguments somewhat substantiated. The second and third Articles are impartial, so far as I can see. The fourth Article defines strictly a Presbyterian Church, under the name of Congregationalism. It provides for a Session, called a Standing Committee; it takes the discipline of the Church out of the hands of the Church, and puts it in the hands of a Committee; and if a brother is to be tried by the body of the Church, he can be tried there only by an appeal from the Committee. We have thus all the elements of a Presbyterian body. Here, then, we have a Plan of Union, but substantially in its elements, and in its original workings, a Presbyterian institution. I would not speak of it in any way to disparage our Presbyterian brethren. I love them. They have often come from the West to our New England, and ranged over our fat pastures, and borne away the fleeces from our flocks; they have milked our Congregational cows, but they have made nothing but Presbyterian butter and cheese. (Laughter.) Of this I do not complain. We have that confidence in our Presbyterian brethren and in the efficiency of a Presbyterian organization, that we do not complain; but when they insist on a monopoly, when they would allow no other denomination to bring the brick and the shingles and the nails from New England, to put them into a Congregational edifice, we think they go too far. I think then the time has come for us to stand up as Congregationalists. We will fellowship them still, but we would like to do it on a principle that shall not tie our own hands, and prevent our helping ourselves. And here it seems to me that the true dignity and policy of Congregationalism should come in and help the Presbyterians still; but be sure to do it on a condition that will leave us at liberty to help ourselves also.

REV. ASA TURNER, of Iowa:—I wish to give a little of my experience in respect to this Plan. A complaint has been made that it throws a large portion of

the Ministers into the Presbyterian Church. This it has done—both into the Old and New School Churches. As a reverend doctor in the General Assembly once said, if you take out of the Churches all those who were Congregationalists in their origin, there would be little left. The question, however, is, were the Presbyterians to blame? I answer—in one sense, no. I was reared and educated in New England, and I was never ashamed of my mother; but I am sorry that she did not teach me some things that I ought to have known. Twenty-two years ago I removed to the West. I was taught that when I went out of New England I must be a Presbyterian. I had never in my life heard a sermon upon our Church polity, and had never seen a line in print upon the subject. As I have said, I went to the West under the impression that it was necessary that I should be a Presbyterian; and soon after arriving there, I organized a Church in Adams county, Illinois. Everything went on harmoniously for about two years; but soon there began to be friction in the General Assembly itself, and our Church Members became restive; and those who are acquainted with the history of the times at the West, know the difficulties we had to pass through. Our religious meetings, up to the time of the Synod, were like political meetings of the two parties. My Church demanded of me that they should be Congregational. I hesitated some time about acceding to their wishes. My brethren in the Ministry all opposed the idea. A good father in the Presbyterian Church sent me word, that if I organized a Congregational Church, he must come out against me; and one of the Presbyterian fathers, whose name is revered in all the land, told me that if I organized a Congregational Church in Quincy, he would come and preach me down. But I organized a Church, and when he came to Quincy, I told him, that after we got down through the soil in Quincy, we came to the solid rock; that the Mississippi had not washed away the soil, and I thought it probable it never would.

According to the Plan of Union, when a Church is to be organized, those who are to compose it are to have a choice in regard to its form. I was, however, reproved for giving my Church its choice. The whole feeling was that Congregationalism must be frowned down. I knew of no Congregational Church in the West at that time. Afterwards I found one, but was told that the Minister was a Unitarian. And I have been called a Unitarian because I taught principles which I received in New England.

But I was referring to the blame. The blame is that New England fathers have not taught their own children. If they had been taught, if all the light had been spread over the land which is spread over it now, we should have seen an entirely different result. But when this subject began to be moved, and an article was published in the *New York Evangelist* in regard to it, an excitement was got up, and good Brother Gridley said to me that all the Churches in Northern Illinois would be Congregational if the Ministers would let them. But

time has passed on, and now the right is granted. And we rejoice to feel that the right is granted from you, because in 1837, after having organized thirteen Churches in Northern Illinois, composed of those who had asked me to organize them thus, on returning to New England, I tried to present myself before an Association in Massachusetts, and they did not know me. They regarded it as a heresy that I should be a Congregationalist coming from the valley of the Mississippi! I say then that Congregationalists were to blame in the beginning.

I will say a few words as to what we want. The Congregationalists associated with me do not want to make every man a Congregationalist. We do not want him to be so unless he wants to be so. If a Minister wants to be a Presbyterian, I tell him to be so, and bid him God-speed. I have labored with Presbyterians more than with Congregationalists. There is a class with whom I can labor with all my soul. I tell them I know they are not entirely orthodox, but I can fellowship them truly. What we want is an open Bible, and that men should have a right to act as men, to take the Bible and go where they please. I never lay a straw in the way of the organization of a Presbyterian Church, and I ask them to allow me the same freedom. I will tell you where the shoe pinches. The difficulty is that when our principles are presented before the minds of men, the majority will choose to be Congregationalists—they cannot help it. This is so especially with regard to those who were born and bred in New England. And if you go into a neighborhood where there is a Lutheran, a Baptist, a Seceder, and others of different evangelical denominations, they see that if they would have the Ordinances of the Gospel, they must be united. Now go to them and say, "Brother, you want to serve God, don't you?" "Yes," they say. "Well, then, come together and bind yourself to serve God. You need not bind yourselves to be Lutherans, or Baptists, or Methodists, or anything else. Come together and agree on some plan to serve the Lord." Well, they come together and agree on a plan by which they can be united and serve the Lord, and behold they are Congregationalists. (Approving sensation.) We have many Churches formed in this way. What I wish to say to Congregationalists is, that I am known at the West as a Congregationalist, and I do not think I shall be known as anything else. But I say to all, "Fair play." There is work enough for all to do, and room enough for all to do it in. But I ask these fathers from the East that they should be willing that their sons and daughters who go West should go and carry their own faith there. It seems to me the brethren at the East should settle the question whether their polity is in accordance with the Word of God or not. If it is, then take it; and if it is not, reject it; and if the Bible has not pointed out any Church polity, then let us know that.

Mr. KINGSBURY concurred in the remarks of Mr. TURNER with regard to the effect of the Plan of Union, as far as his own experience went, and related an



instance, confirming the statement that Churches were often not free in their choice as to the form of Church government they would have.

Rev. Mr. HAMMOND, of Michigan, said, he wished to suggest a few remarks upon the Plan of Union, and would premise them by stating that speakers in the West—and he among them—had acquired such habits of speaking, that he could not go round about to get at his meaning. Said he, we out West, when traveling from point to point, instead of going round, often go straight through “the openings.” I wish to say frankly with regard to the Plan of Union, that it has wrought evil and only evil from the beginning. I have no respect for the Plan, though I have a great respect for those good men of New England who assented to it. They ought to have been wiser, their fathers having come out of similar difficulties. The effect of the Plan has been to prove the truth of the declaration made by one, that “The waves do no more surely beat against the earth than the minds of ambitious men are led to encroach upon the rights of others.”

Our fathers did not throw those safeguards around their children who went to New York which they ought to have thrown. I was brought up in Central New York—the very region that suffered from this Plan of Union. The example was set in Connecticut, and other Plans of Union were framed for New York. I can point to Churches in Oneida, Madison and Chenango Counties, and others which are to this day living witnesses to the evils of this Plan—to the divisions and alienations resulting from its adoption. The earliest information which I received upon ecclesiastical subjects was connected with efforts to resist this plan of absorption. It is a plan like that spoken of in Exodus by which the rod of Aaron swallowed up the rods of the magicians. Such has been the result of the Plan in that region.

It has been said that many Churches have been gathered under it; but I would ask, would they not have been gathered without it and upon the Congregational principles of New England? Go as far West as you please, and would there not have been a republication of New England? Would not the leaven have gone South and West, and spread wider and wider, in accordance with the energy and talents of the descendants of New England, till the country was thus wholly pervaded with these principles?

Another result of this Plan is that it has re-acted upon New England itself. At Andover, where I went to study theology, I got not one idea upon which to make up my mind which was best—Congregationalism or Presbyterianism. Why? Because, being restricted to the Plan of Union, their mouths were shut, and they could not teach their students that the principles of Congregationalism were the principles taught in the Bible, and then at the same time instruct them if they went West they must join the Presbytery. I went to Michigan, and was there met by persons from New England—gentlemen of

talent, some of whom I have met here—who most cordially invited me to the Presbytery. The Plan of Union was a double-shotted cannon—red hot against Congregationalism. An effort was made to establish a Congregational Church at Detroit, but we were met by this Plan of Union, and it was said that the effort to form a Church not under the control of the Presbytery showed that we did not respect the Plan of Union. According then to my experience in the West, this Plan of Union has stood right in the way of our being distinctive Congregationalists. I am disposed also to trace the accusations of heresy to this Plan of Union. Some of us were charged with Oberlinism, and some in their anxiety to commend themselves to their Eastern brethren, in order to secure the Home Missionary fund, went to work to purge themselves from the charge of Oberlinism. But still the effect was that almost any Oberlin student could go to New England and be received by their own Associations as a good, accredited Minister of the Gospel. I can specify facts if they are called for. Now, the matter is somewhat complicated. We find now that the very heresiarch himself has been received in Connecticut; and we would like to inquire, since the old lion himself has been cherished in New England and received with welcome, and permitted to roar in Hartford pulpits—whether we are still to be called upon to hunt down the whelps in the West? If there is such a radical heresy at Oberlin, why is this state of things? I am rather inclined to think that all this mad-dog cry has grown out of the Plan of Union, and for the purpose of injuring Congregationalism at the West. I am heartily glad that this Report has been presented, and hope it will be adopted.

Rev. Mr. ADAMS, of Ohio, said, —I am anxious to complete our business, and hope those of us who feel moved to make speeches, will make short ones; and long speeches will not be needed, if all our reports are as well matured as the one before us. I wish merely to touch upon one objection. It is said that this movement will “run the plow-share of division through our Churches.” I am satisfied from my own experience that there is no necessity for this. I have spent six years in Ohio, and they have been among the most peaceful in my life. I supposed when I went there that the Plan of Union did not require any one to compromise his principles; but when I attended a meeting of Presbytery, and saw a member received from a Congregational Association, I discovered my mistake, and determined I would have nothing to do with it. We organized an Association of three members. One was soon removed by death, and two of us stood alone for two years. But we stood very comfortably, conscious that we were on a good foundation. The whole number that have *now* been connected with the Association is eleven, two or three of whom have been dismissed, and there is a fair prospect of a further increase. We have no collision with our Presbyterian brethren. It is only necessary that Congregationalists should act

out their principles, and observe the simple rule that *every one should mind his own business*.

Rev. Mr. COLTON, of Michigan, said, he was requested last spring to correspond with gentlemen in different Eastern States on this subject of the Plan of Union, and the result of his inquiries was to show that there were out of New England, including New York, and not reckoning those in Oregon and California, one thousand Churches. Of this one thousand, three hundred at least are connected with Presbyteries on the Plan of Union, so that one-third of the Churches formed out of New England have become Presbyterian. In this State, according to the best estimates, there are two hundred Churches connected with Presbyteries. On the Western Reserve there are seventy; and besides the two hundred in New York, there are one hundred and fifty independent Churches, making in all three hundred and fifty. We thus see the effect of the Plan has been to draw these Churches into Presbyteries; and they are counted as their members, reported as such in the General Assembly, and go as capital in that body. I will only say that, born naturally in the Old Bay State, and spiritually, if ever, in this city, and having been connected with the Second Presbyterian Church, of which Dr. SPRAGUE is Pastor, I went out to Jacksonville, Ill., and since that time, having labored with Presbyterians in revivals, both in the Old and New School Churches, I here publicly declare that I have no other than friendly feeling toward them. But being a Yankee from the Old Bay State, I think I have a right to protect myself, and with myself my brethren. Yankees claim the right to see to it, that things do not go wrong. This is our object. We have the best spirit with regard to Presbyterians, and wish them well. We only wish now to look at what has been done by the perversion of the Plan of Union.

The Report of the Committee was then adopted.

#### IV. THE DEBATE ON SLAVERY.

Dr. PETERS made the report from the Committee to whom was referred the resolution relating to the system and operations of the Am. Home Missionary Society, and all memorials respecting aid to churches in slaveholding states. He read the report as follows:—

##### ON THE SUBJECT OF THE OPERATIONS OF THE AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

Your Committee are unanimous in their approbation of the voluntary and unsectarian character of the American Home Missionary Society, and in the wisdom and efficiency with which its affairs have been conducted.

On the subject of the Society's relation to the Presbyterian and Congregational systems of Church Polity, your Committee are of opinion that any disruption of present relations is unadvisable.

This Committee express their belief that this Society has executed its trust toward both Congregational and Presbyterian churches with impartiality; and that any complaints on this head will be found to result from local interests, and not from the administrative policy of the Society.

Thus far, said Dr. P., the Committee were unanimous, but in respect to the remainder of the report they were divided, nine being in favor of it and six opposed. He read as follows:—

On the subject of aid to slaveholding churches, the Committee present the following :

Believing that those who for their own advantage hold and use their fellow-men as slaves, violate a cardinal principle of true religion, and ought not to be received into Christian churches, it is our opinion that churches which recognize such slaveholders as worthy of membership, ought not to receive aid from the American Home Missionary Society; and, therefore, in dispensing the funds with which it is intrusted by the Christian public, it should give aid to such churches only as refuse such recognition.

Dr. PETERS then stated that the minority had prepared a report to be presented in place of the last half of the report of the majority, which, if it was in order, he would read.

The PRESIDENT allowing him to proceed, he read the following:—

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the Gospel, wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms, and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to churches in slaveholding states, in the support of such ministers only as shall endeavor, with simplicity of purpose, and with a wise discretion in their ministry, so to preach the Gospel, and commend it to the hearts and consciences of men, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in mitigating the oppressions of slavery, and leading to its ultimate abolition.

Dr. PETERS then moved—

1. That the report of the majority be accepted.
2. That so much of that report as relates to the system and operations of the American Home Missionary Society, be adopted.
3. That the report of the minority be taken up as a substitute for the remaining portion of the report of the majority.

These motions being seconded and voted without debate,

Dr. PETERS said—The subject referred to the Committee was that of giving aid to Churches in slaveholding states. I object to that report of the majority because its title is a misnomer, in speaking of “slaveholding Churches.” Then I object to the report itself. It first contains a declaration of faith on the subject of slavery which I think we are not called on to make in this assembly, and I think that it is undignified and out of place to be made here. “Believing that those who hold their fellow-men as slaves violate a cardinal principle of true religion, and ought not

to be received into Christian Churches," &c. I think that declaration is uncongregational, and that it is inconsistent for this assembly to go into the interior of Christian Churches and say on what conditions persons shall be received. We are not competent to act on that subject. There is no call for the expression of our views.

Again, it is stated, that "it is our opinion that Churches which recognize slaveholders as worthy of membership, ought not to receive aid from the American Home Missionary Society." The ground of granting or withholding aid should be, the character of the minister whom you propose to send, and not the character of the Churches. The opinion of some of the members of the Committee was that ministers should not go to these Churches. That is, the Church must be converted from the worst of all its sins—in the reasoning of these gentlemen—before you send them the Gospel. And then the H. M. Society should give aid to such Churches only as refuse the recognition of slaveholders as members. That must all be done in slaveholding states before you send them the Gospel.

Then, the subject of Home Missionary operations was not referred to us. But in this majority report, the Home Missionary Society is brought in, and this advice is given to that Society. Now I suppose this is uncalled for. For these reasons, I thought it would be better, certainly more in accordance with my own views, and, I suppose, the views of the great majority of our Congregational Churches and ministers, to leave the propriety of sending the Gospel to, or withdrawing it from, slaveholding states, not upon the character of the Churches at all—for the more sinful the more need they have of the Gospel—but to base it upon the character of the ministers only. And inasmuch as it is said there are ministers within the slaveholding states that do advocate slavery as a biblical system, and therefore sustain it, I am willing to say, and that Churches should say, and that we should give our advice as follows. [See the resolution above.]

When I went into that Committee I thought it was doubtful whether I would say anything on the subject of slavery. I knew that it was an agitating topic, and irritating, especially in its connection with ecclesiastical order and political bodies, and I thought I would avoid it if it might be done. But I found the Committee was composed of gentlemen who had been, many of them, forward in discussing the slavery question in its various forms, and I found that those from the West thought that the West would not be satisfied unless we said something on this subject. I therefore was drawn from my determination in part, and willing to yield my own views as far as I could. When our western brethren wish us to say so much, that the world may know that we are not pro-slavery men, and that when we are said to be such in abolition papers and speeches we are slandered, we say we think it would not be worth while to send a minister to support slavery or give it countenance. There are two ways of letting our light shine. One is to light a candle and put it on a candle-stick, and let it light every-



thing in the room, and burn only the material of which it is composed. Another is to light torches and firebrands, and throw them broad-cast through the country, as if we were in sport. I differ from any member of the Committee as to the course to be pursued with regard to the evil of slavery. I differ with members of the Committee who have left the H. M. Society, and refuse to aid it because it gives aid to Churches in slaveholding states. I hold that the cardinal principles upon which we have acted hitherto, of aiding ministers in good standing in their own communion, without going into the inquiry as to the mode of discipline of the bodies with which they are connected, whether they are Congregational or Presbyterian, or going into the question of the rule of government which would exclude any man who ever sold intoxicating drinks, are sufficient. So with regard to slavery. We send a minister to preach the Gospel, and we intend to destroy slavery in the end, but we do not wait for slavery to be destroyed before we commence. We go and preach the Gospel in the face of slavery. This is in accordance with our policy from the beginning. This is the only Congregational and only Christian policy, in my opinion.

I will only add, that I wish the members of the Convention may meet this subject with great calmness, and remember that in this Committee I have felt myself to be in one of the most difficult positions in which I was ever placed, in being obliged to differ from good men on the Committee. And if the substitute for the report of the majority of the Committee is one that in substance meets all your views, I beg that we may not be detained by amendments and suggestions, and that we may not be led off into a protracted debate; for we have not the slightest prospect of converting each other on the subject of slavery now. Who is ready to be converted from his positions? Brother Blanchard is not, and I am not.

Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD replied, that his respected father Peters might have arrived at that stage of intellectual perfection which would make it impossible to be converted; but for his own part he was sincerely willing to be converted to better views than he then held. He said further, I feel it important to put some minor matters right before the Convention listens further to remarks upon the merits of the question. The father who has just addressed us remarked that the minority report was the report of six out of a committee of fifteen, and included among the minority the gentleman from Rhode Island. What I wish to say is, there is certainly an error in the number.

Dr. PETERS. The gentleman from Rhode Island told me he would go for my report, if it should be made the basis of discussion.

Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD. I wish to treat the report of the father, and himself, with all respect. He objects to the majority report because it is headed by a misnomer—"On the subject of aid to slaveholding Churches." Then he objects to the report, because we propose to convert slaveholders before we send the

Gospel there. I ask if this is a fair statement of our position. The object of the majority 'hath this extent, no more.' "Believing that those who for their own advantage hold and use their fellow-men as slaves," &c. The majority wish that Churches which ask aid from the free North will not hold and use their fellow-men as slaves for their own advantage. The father tells you that the majority are unwilling to send the Gospel till those Churches are converted from their sins. So far from this being the object of the majority, the object is this; to send a missionary to those Churches to convert them from their sins, and to send him under such circumstances as promise their conversion. We wish to send more missionaries into slaveholding states, but not to preach and administer a slaveholding discipline. We do not wish to put the consciences of our young men between the upper and the nether millstone and drag them down morally, by sending them to preach a Gospel which shall root out and exterminate slavery, but on conditions which must have an effect in the future, as they have for the last century, to build up instead of destroy slavery. That is all the object of the majority. Now whether it be correct or incorrect to state that our object is to refuse to send ministers there till these Churches rise up and convert themselves, this Convention must judge.

It was objected that the majority traveled out of the record in reporting on a subject which was not committed to them. I think it would have been more pertinent and proper if the chairman had instructed the Committee in the committee-room. But this is the first time I have heard these instructions from the father. I do not know but in casting the construction of his argument in his mind, this was reserved as a sort of forlorn hope. The minority report speaks well in many respects; but it speaks of "mitigating the oppressions of slavery, and leading to its ultimate abolition." It takes a ground that would set us back half a century at least. Now we do not believe slavery is an evil to be mitigated, but that slaveholding, where a man holds a slave for his own use, as property, is a sin to be repented of; and that is just the difference between the two reports. You were told in the warmth of the argument of the father, that you were advised in our report to refuse aid till the Churches would exclude slaveholders. Is that the language of the report, every word of which the worthy chairman has attended to? The most that the majority wished was, that the Convention should take ground that those who hold slaves for their own advantage should not have aid.

This is, after all, the main subject which has called this Convention together. I am entitled to say that, because, in the absence of a worthy brother, I drew the Call myself in the Plymouth Church at Brooklyn; I know the views of those who called this Convention, and I know this was among the leading questions that led to the Call. I hope the sons will have patience with the fathers, and the fathers with the sons. I have been thankful to God for the manner in which you have been pleased to speak of us at the West, and I am ready to say that though I

have no great veneration for men, there is no body of men for whom I have more veneration than this which is here assembled.

I will say one word in explanation of a remark I have made before. I said, when speaking on another topic, that we came from the West to see if we could take all of our New England brethren by the hand; and if I said it in soft tones, it is not the first time that words have been uttered in soft tones which had none the less of truth in them on that account. Did not President Edwards say, in 1791, that "while you hold negroes in slavery, you do exceeding wrong"? This was in 1791, two years before the Constitution of the United States was adopted, in a day and time when none would be suspected of fanaticism. When I was at Andover, it was deemed almost a heresy not to receive and hold the theology of President Edwards. Now I want to ask if our morality is become the purer by the fires that burn out our freedom?

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER said—It was not my purpose to speak at all in this Convention, because some of the fathers said this was a Convention in which Henry Ward Beecher was coming to make a great racket; and as I did not know anything about it, I meant to disappoint them. I was satisfied all the more, because I saw there was no occasion for it. I saw the Spirit of God was here, and I should not have spoken under any circumstances if the chairman of the Committee had not, in making his report, stopped and interlarded the whole report by remarks and explanations that did not fairly represent the majority of the Committee. But I regret that the majority are put on the defense in this case, and not the minority, as is usual when committees disagree on their report. Now, with all deference to the father, the proper way to bring in a report is, to bring it in as a document of that committee, as a unit, and then the minority may, if they choose, bring in a report. I think it is wrong for the chairman of a committee to bring in a minority report, and make his remarks; and that is what has brought me to my feet.

The majority did not wish to take advantage of any local currents to pledge this Convention, and give force to anti-slavery sentiments; for this reason: We have tongues to speak for ourselves. We have papers and pulpits, and we can give our opinions force according to our strength, and we do not ask any Convention to indorse anything to give authority to it. I do not want this Convention to give force to our sentiments on the subject of slavery.

This was my object. There is in the West a large number of Christians whose minds are disaffected on the sole ground that the funds of the A. H. M. S. went to slaveholding churches, where slaveholding for selfish purposes was no bar to communion. There was but one wish in my heart, which was, that the American Home Missionary Society might be helped by the report which should be brought before this body. We did not propose to take the H. M. S. and make it the snow-plow, and put the abolition engine behind, clearing the track

with that. We saw that society was liable to lose some of its helpers that loved it—some on this side and some on that, and this was declared in the Committee. By the bye, I would excuse myself from anything said in committee. It is the first time that I ever knew the conversation in a committee brought up before a body and cut up and analyzed. It was our wish to bring out such a paper as would put those churches, which were dissatisfied, at rest, and bring them into a perfect agreement with the A. H. M. S. That being the object, the question was not whether we should make a declaration of our opinions abstractly on slavery; for if our object had been to propagate these, then it would have been our business to draw up a paper and present them. But our object was to conciliate men and women. And a paper for such a purpose ought to have the grace of explicitness. It ought to say nay, and mean nay; or say yes, and mean yes. All we wanted was to bring back those churches who through their anti-slavery partialities were in danger of going off.

Now, brethren and fathers, I do not pretend that that was the best report which could be brought here. It did not suit me as I could prepare a paper to suit me, if I could sit down and deliberately draw it up. But we had a committee of fifteen men, and we were crowded for time, and had to adopt the best we could agree upon. There was another reason which I will not state. But I could not take the minority report, because it seemed to express nothing or anything. It had an excellent appearance of saying something; but under that appearance I could not find that it said anything. That is my trouble. There are churches in the West who say that if the H. M. Society do not do something they will wheel off. So we are told that slavery thrives under our contributions, and we do not wish to make the Gospel an understrapper for slavery. I wanted to say, not that slanderous thing, that we did not want to send the Gospel until the slaveholders were converted from slavery, because that point was made by me explicitly that we thought they needed the Gospel. And we thought that when anything was said, it should be something temperate, but something that had a practical application to the wants of those who objected to the operation of the H. M. S. It was our wish to say, that while slaveholders need the Gospel, it is not wise to give aid to churches, nor, all things considered, best to send missionaries to the South to churches who receive slaveholders who use their fellow-men for their own advantage. If I have one wish in my heart it is this, to see how these banded brethren of the Lord Jesus Christ—such a band as I never expect to see again—could take the most fiery and dangerous subjects and come to a Christian assent upon them; and therefore I did not mean to urge anything. Now, it is as much your interest as mine that there should be peace all around. And I am not strenuous on that report. If, in the judgment of wiser men, it is best to substitute this minority report, so be it. All I want is, that it should not be misunderstood how these reports came before this body.

Dr. BACON. I am not particularly desirous that this Convention should say anything on the subject now under consideration. I am not terrified, I will add, by the consideration which moved the brother who has just taken his seat, and who argues that the churches in the Northwest, unless we speak out in accordance with their views on this particular subject, will withdraw their contributions from the American Home Missionary Society. For my own part, I am willing that the American Missionary Association should prosper and be strong enough to extend its operations both abroad and in the Home field; and what reason for alarm is there in the thought that all these discordant elements may adjust themselves in that way? Even if half the churches of the Northwest should presently be found in connection with the Missionary Association, and should wholly withdraw from the Home Missionary Society, my hair would not grow gray any the sooner for that. The ark is the Lord's; and if the cattle that draw it stumble, it is not of course my business to hold it up by putting my hand to it. If we, in this Convention, cannot agree in some strong and harmonious utterance on this matter of the relation between Home Missions and slavery, I am very willing not to say anything at all; nor have I any fear of what may be the result of our silence.

As for the two reports which have come from the Committee, I am not quite satisfied with either of them. In the report of the majority, I dislike the phrase "slaveholding churches." It is equivocal and indefinite. There are churches in Virginia, and perhaps in other states—at least there *were* such churches in Virginia a few years ago, and it may be presumed there are now—which are literally "slaveholding churches." That is, they have an endowment or fund for the support of public worship, the endowment being invested in slaves—a half dozen, a half score, or a score of human beings black or yellow. These slaves are leased out from time to time, and the avails of their labor go into the treasury of the church. That is a "slaveholding church," and I know no other. From such a church I am willing to withdraw all communion. Of such a church, holding fast its endowment and compelling a few poor people to defray the expenses of public worship by their labor, I am willing to say *Anathema Maranatha*; and I believe every heart here will say, *Amen!* [Many responded *Amen.*] But the phrase "slaveholding churches" is used in the report, as I understand it, to signify something very different from this. It is best to use language, in a subject of this kind, with the utmost precision; for force depends on precision.

I feel too that the objection of the Chairman of the Committee against the resolution proposed by the majority, is entirely valid on this point, that instead of looking to the fitness and fidelity of the missionary whom the Missionary Society is to employ and commission, it looks to the state of discipline in the church in which the missionary is to labor. Whether intended or not by the Committee, the language of the resolution does say, in effect, that we are not to send the



Gospel to a church in which there are members who hold and use slaves for their own advantage, till that church shall have first reformed its discipline and its morals. That is the very point of the resolution, as reported. Let me ask, then, Are we not to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature? But how shall we go into the state of Missouri and preach the Gospel, if we must needs insist that the churches to which we preach it shall first come right on that cardinal point of Christian morality on which, more perhaps than on any other point, they need to be instructed and enlightened?

At the same time, I am free to say that I am not pleased with the language of the substitute proposed by the minority of the committee. Something stronger and more definite would be better. Before I sit down, I will read a form of a resolution which would please me better than either of the two now before us. I have written my own form, because on this subject I am somewhat in the habit of standing by myself. I have always found myself in a state of "betweenity" in relation to parties on questions connected with slavery, so that, as Baxter said of himself in regard to the controversies of his day, where other men have had one adversary I have had two. And I expect it will be so as long as I live—or as long as slavery lives, if I should happen to outlive it.

The question of slavery has of late become—and it is destined still to be—a grand political question, not in the slav. holding states only, but throughout all the states. I use the term "political" not in the low and vulgar sense of party politics, but in that true and high sense in which a political question is a question of public or national polity. The question of slavery has become a political question, in regard to which every elector, not to say every citizen, in these thirty-one sovereignties, has a distinct responsibility. Since the question of slavery was brought into the arena of national politics by the annexation of Texas, there has been developed throughout the Christian community of these free states, an intense and unanimous opposition to slavery. It has been made manifest that the fire of other days, the true spirit of our fathers, is yet alive and glowing under the embers. Party managers may attempt to bury the question under their compromises, and may proclaim that the vexed and vexing subject is finally disposed of; but the very men who make the compromises, know at the time that there is no possibility of keeping them, and have no expectation so absurd as the expectation that their compromises will be final. The self-same question is to come up again, a few months hence, with redoubled fire and excitement, in every arena of political debate. At whatever moment the question of the annexation of Cuba comes up, or the question of the acquisition of some other territory on the Gulf of Mexico, that thither the slaves of Virginia may be sent, from the temperate clime of their birth, to swelter and die under a tropical sun in the cultivation of sugar, the voices of millions will rise in one loud, stern protest, till the petty jug-

glory that passes for statesmanship shall contrive some new compromise to mystify and corrupt for a season the moral sense of the great American people.

But unanimous as we are on the political question of establishing slavery by the power of the Union or of permitting its continued existence where the government of the Union has power to abolish it, we are not unanimous on the question of the application of Church discipline to slavery. The moment we raise that question, our voices become discordant ; and the force of our protest against slavery as a political institution is diminished. Some hold that the master of slaves should instantly abdicate his power without regard to consequences ; and that if he refuses or hesitates, the Church should exclude him from communion. Others hold that the law of love may require him to retain for a season the power with which the law of the land has invested him, to stand between them and the state that treats them as enemies, and to administer a kindly and civilizing government over them till they shall be able to govern themselves. It is undesirable that in such a meeting as this, we should undertake to decide these long disputed questions. And here I will say that I highly approve the discretion which the majority of the Committee have shown in the framing of the resolution which they have reported. They ask us to pronounce that the discipline of the Church should be inflicted—not upon slaveholders simply as such, but—upon “those who, for their own advantage, hold and use their fellow-men as slaves.” Such a position is in no respect unreasonable. It is, in effect, the same with that which I have myself defended in our public meetings of Ministers for many years. The offense upon which it invokes the censures of the Church, is something which the moral sense of every human being recognizes as a crime. Doubtless the moral sense may be misled, blinded, or silenced. Doubtless men may do wickedly, without being at all aware of the wickedness they are doing. Thus there are many disputes about the moral sense: and some men—even some theologians, if I mistake not—deny that there is any such thing. But there is a moral sense among the elements of the human soul ; and if any man does not know what it is, I will tell him where to find it. It is that faculty which gives you the idea or conception of wrong. It is that sense which, when a certain act is committed on yourself, makes you feel not only the painfulness of the thing but the wrongfulness of it. Here we have, as Dr. Chalmers has beautifully unfolded it, the *genesis* of the earliest knowledge of wrong and right in the mind of a child. The child of a year old begins to know when wrong is done to himself, and thus he comes to know when he does wrong to others. You know instinctively when you are wronged, as soon as you understand what has been done to you. You have an immediate and untaught perception of injustice perpetrated on yourself. To that instinct—to that law of which even selfishness is compelled to be the guardian, add the great precept of the Gospel—“Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do

ye even so to them,"—and the revelation of the moral sense is complete. To this moral sense we must make an appeal against the wickedness of slavery. To this universal moral sense, every act of Church discipline, which has any bearing on slavery, must commend itself. The universal moral sense of human nature knows that it is wrong for me to seize upon a human being, however helpless he may be before the law, and, for my own advantage, to hold and use him as a slave. If any man can be found who has not moral sense enough to know that, it might be wise to sell him for a slave till he does know it. [Laughter.] I heartily approve, therefore, the guarded statement of the Committee, "that those who for their own advantage hold and use their fellow-men as slaves, violate a cardinal principle of true religion, and ought not to be received into Christian Churches." And yet there are reasons—the President intimates that I am in danger of transgressing my limits as to time, and therefore I cannot state the reasons which convince me that the Convention cannot agree upon that resolution, and ought not to adopt it. I will, therefore, if it be in order, propose the following as an amended form of the substitute introduced by the minority of the Committee:—

*"Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the manifestation of Christ, wherever his gospel is preached, and preached in its purity, will destroy 'the works of the devil,' slavery not excepted: and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to Churches in slaveholding states, in the support of such Ministers only as shall endeavor, with simplicity of purpose, and by wise discretion in their Ministry, to preach the gospel, and to commend it to the hearts and consciences of men, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in respect to slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong; and furthermore, that where such Ministers of the Gospel have no freedom to speak their convictions, and will not be received or heard by the people, they should depart from that place, and wipe off the dust of their feet as they go."*

Dr. PATTON then took the floor and said, My object is not to make a speech in favor of or against slavery. The question to consider is, what will be the effect of such a measure on the A. H. M. Society? I apprehend there is much ignorance on that subject, and that if the true fact were known it would relieve the minds of many from much feverishness on that subject. The part of the report which we have adopted is, that we will go on as we have, in co-operation with that Society. The H. M. Society have said that they will not commission any slaveholding Missionary. This made a sensation at the time. But that man is not to be found on God's earth who is a Missionary of the H. M. Society and a slaveholder. That position is now understood at the South. The moment a person who holds a commission as a Missionary of that Society becomes a slaveholder, his commission ceases. See how it works on the other side. A Missionary in Kentucky took it into his head that he would not have a person in communion in his Church who held a slave. The Synod write to the H. M. Society, "You must dismiss that man." They say, "We cannot." It is replied,

“He ought not to hold your commission.” It is responded, “Are you ready to table charges against him, and depose him from the Ministry? Until you are, you must not ask us not to sustain him.” The Society has thus two oppositions like two mighty mountains of strength. It is my opinion that if you leave the report as far as you have adopted it, and let the rest lie over, and leave the Society to work out their way as their wisdom and piety will enable to do it best, it will be wiser than for us to legislate on the subject in this body. There has been no expression used here which conveys the deep abhorrence of my soul against slavery. No language can be used—Dr. Cox cannot make words big enough to express my feeling against it. But the question is not, how great a curse or blessing it is. There are so few Churches in the slave states which are aided by the Society, while the immense mass are in the free states; why should we put shackles on the Society? It is best to let well enough alone. Let us express what we have adopted, and as to the rest, let us trust those men in the H. M. S. who have devoted their best years and strength to this good cause. I would postpone the majority report, the minority report, and Dr. Bacon’s rhetorical report.

Rev. Mr. STORRS, of Brooklyn, remarked that it had been said that the subject now before the Convention was the principal occasion of the calling of such a Convention. The statement is incorrect. In that unqualified form it must make a wrong impression, however unintentionally. This Convention was occasioned and brought about by a multitude of influences. The reasons impelling the General Association of New York to invite it were manifold. All the interests that have here been discussed, concerning the relations of Eastern and Western Congregationalists, concerning the Plan of Union, the best mode of helping Western Churches to build Church-edifices, etc., had been considered and discussed by the Members of that Association before they decided to propose this Convention. The fact that this subject was one principal one discussed in the Association, at the time when the Committee was appointed to issue the Call, does not show at all that the Convention was called mainly on account of this. That was hardly more than an accidental coincidence. The existence of this body is a fact that has grown out of many roots; though that happened to be the one about which the Association was principally digging, just at that juncture.

And now, as I have said a word that seemed needful on this matter, may I be permitted to add a few words on the general subject before us? It seems to me that we may have some *unnecessary* heats of feeling, here; that we do all agree more nearly than we think. Either of the Reports is good, and will do good. I will begin with the Minority Report; indeed, I will not read the others, for they, as you know, take stronger ground than this on the matter of Slavery. But I am bound to say of this, after carefully reading it, that it seems to me to



express good, Christian ground, on this subject of aid to Churches containing slaveholders: and I am quite willing to have it go as the voice of this Convention. I will read it:

[Mr. S. read the Resolution.]

Now I do not say that that says all that it might say, and yet speak truthfully. I do not say that it says all that I should like to have it say, if only my views were to be consulted about it. But I do say that so far as it goes it speaks the Truth. It speaks Anti-Slavery Truth. The Gospel *will* remove error and wrong, where it is faithfully preached; and Missionary aid *should* be given ONLY to such Ministers as will faithfully and wisely preach it, for the accomplishment of this end. Undoubtedly we may go a great deal further than this, if we choose, and if we are all agreed, and yet keep within the limits of justness. We may build out our piers into the rushing current of prejudice and error on this subject, a great way beyond this resolution. But why should we try to do it?—when we cannot do it unanimously; and when so far as we have built this, in this Report, it is firm, solid, durable, and has deep water enough before and all around it to float the largest Christian enterprise. For one, Sir, I must say, that the Report seems to me to have been undervalued, in respect to its Anti-Slavery character. It is thoroughly true and good, so far as it goes.

Then, again, Sir, I am constrained to think that this Report states the true ground, and the other does *not*, in regard to the bestowment of Missionary aid. That aid is given to the Minister, not to the Church. It is to enable him to preach the Gospel; not to enable the Church to get rich, or to build itself larger and more splendid edifices. And it is therefore to the character of the MAN, that the Society is to look, in appropriating its aid. Whomsoever God has called to the kingdom of his Son, and to the work of his Ministry, by the regenerating, enlightening and quickening influences of the Holy Spirit, Him I ought to own: the Churches and their Societies ought to own and accept him, and to aid him as he needs it. We cannot be absolved from this obligation. It is because of this obligation that Missionary Societies exist and are sustained. Wheresoever any man has Christ within him, *his* Wisdom, Righteousness, and his Hope of Glory—and wheresoever he is endeavouring, with his whole heart and mind, in the devotion of his life, to carry to men the knowledge of this Christ, to make them sharers in this Redemption—I have no right to withhold from him my aid, my sympathies, my prayers, and my pecuniary contributions. I am bound, on the other hand, to give them all to him. And I never can say—in even that poor measure in which any mortal man may say it after Christ—I *never* can say, when Death comes to me, and I look back upon Life and the mission with which God has entrusted me in it, “It is finished”—if I fail to do this.

And, Sir, I think we should be extremely cautious how we limit the scope of this Missionary aid. Of course we should not so extend it, as to establish error



or wrong-doing by our charities. But I think we should look upon differences of view, on this very subject of Slavery, with a great deal of forbearance; perhaps, I may say, with a pretty broad latitude of indulgence. Why, Sir, there have been times in my experience, and not long ago, either—when I could not for the life of me find it in my heart to say that I esteemed as Christian brethren Ministers, my neighbors, perhaps some of them in this house, for their views on this very matter of American Slavery. They have seemed to me to preach a doctrine most thoroughly anti-Christian; a doctrine from which my whole nature recoils, to its inmost depths. And yet if these men had applied to me for aid in preaching the Gospel—should I have been justified in withholding it from them? *Not* so long as I had confidence in their Christian character, and in their capacity to preach. They may be greatly in error upon this subject. To my mind they are so; greatly and fearfully. But I could not withhold from even them my aid, so long as I was satisfied that they preached in substance, and with desire to bless men, the Gospel of the Master. Of course it will be a question, and a grave one, how far a man may go in ministering to a Church that has slaveholders in it, and retain our confidence in his wisdom and zeal, and his single-hearted devotion to the Master. That is a question for the Societies who sustain him to answer in its time. But *so long as* they respect and love him as a Christian Minister, they are bound to assist him, so far as he needs it.

I will add, too, that it seems to me that now more than at any other time, it becomes us to be united, and most efficiently united, in this work of Home Missions. Now when God is pouring the heathen *upon* us—is about to bring them from the shores of the Pacific over to our Eastern slope, to live in our very households and families—and when the population of our country is increasing and spreading with such unexampled rapidity—when it is sweeping out on every side with the speed of Steam, and I had almost said of the electric force—now, more than ever, we ought to labor, together and most vigorously, to evangelize our Land. We should carry abroad the Gospel, wherever we can get place for it. We owe it to the country which God has given us; so rich, and vast, and populous, as it shall be. We owe it to the World; over whose affairs, and for whose good, this country is to be grandly and permanently influential. I feel, in every fibre of my being, that now it becomes us with new, unfainting, redoubled zeal, to plant the Gospel everywhere in this country; to plant it, and to maintain it, by the presence of the Preacher. We send the Word of God in the Bible, everywhere; to Slave-States, as to Free. Why not the Minister, then? who is to be the living, *breathing*, Word of God; who is so, just so far as he feels and expresses the Spirit of his Master. Put him wherever men will receive and hear him, I say; without waiting till they are rid of their worse forms of Sin. Put him there, and keep him there, so long as you are satisfied of his Christian

character—and so long as they will let him remain. If he cannot do all the good we wish, let us be grateful for the good he *can* do. The Gospel is a Light; and wherever it is placed, it will enlighten at least partially the surrounding darkness. And our aim must be to increase and multiply such centres of light, till the Land is full of their clear illumination.

For these reasons, I, for one, am in favor of the Minority Report. I hope we shall take *no* action in this body, that will not be unanimous and hearty; no action that will be divisive, and put us apart from each other, in regard to this great work of Christian philanthropy. Except for the strength of my convictions on this subject, I would not have spoken, but have left it to others to speak more ably, in this Presence. But I do feel, deeply, strongly, *vitalily*, that we ought as Christian men to be agreed in this matter. And while, as an Anti-Slavery man, I might amend the Minority Report to suit my views more perfectly, I am sure that so far as it goes it states and maintains good, stable, Anti-Slavery, CHRISTIAN ground.

Rev. Mr. BLANCHARD said that though he did say, in the hurry of speaking, that this subject was the principal occasion of calling the Convention, he afterwards corrected it, and said it was one of the principal reasons for calling it.

After some farther discussion, the whole subject was re-committed.

After the Communion, the President called the Convention to order, when Dr. PETERS reported that the Committee on Home Missions had come to a unanimous and cordial agreement on the question that had been referred back to them. The report was read, and was at once unanimously adopted, without debate, as follows:—

#### THE CONCLUSION ON SLAVERY.

On the subject of aid to Churches in the slaveholding states, the Committee present the following resolution:—

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the Gospel, wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms; and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to Churches in slaveholding states, in the support of such ministers only as shall so preach the Gospel, and inculcate the principles and application of Gospel discipline, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in regard to slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong; and that wherever a minister is not permitted so to preach, he should, in accordance with the directions of Christ in such cases, “depart out of that city.”

So happy a result of a discussion, from which many had anticipated evil, called forth at once a devout expression of gratitude from the Convention, which closed the labors of the day.

## V. CLOSING ADDRESSES.

Rev. Mr. HOLBROOK, of Iowa, presented the following Resolution:—

*Resolved*, That we gratefully and devoutly recognize the over-ruling providence of God in calling this Convention together, in the measures which have been adopted, and the entire harmony with which its results have been arrived at.

Mr. H. said—Mr. President, You will bear in mind that Western brethren have occupied but a small portion of the time and attention of this Convention. It was not our design to do so. We felt a deep interest in the calling of this Convention, and in its proceedings. But we desired it more for the purpose of mutual acquaintance, and to enable our fathers and brethren of the East to give us advice in regard to our course in the circumstances in which we are placed as Congregationalists, than for the purpose of bringing forward any plan of our own. Therefore, we are quite satisfied that others have occupied the attention of the Convention, and have brought forward and given direction to its measures. It is true that on one or two points we might have wished to ask a little time, to state some facts in order to impress this Convention with the importance of the measures which have been adopted. But we saw that everything was moving entirely to our satisfaction, and we were content.

I wish to say in my own behalf, and I believe in behalf of every individual at the West, that we are perfectly satisfied, so far as we are concerned, with the decisions of this Convention, and the results to which it has come. In the first place, we have taken up the Plan of Union, and in accordance with the unanimous views of men who have lived in the West, and have seen the practical operation of that Plan, we have decided that whatever may have been the wisdom and propriety of adopting it, the day of its usefulness, if it ever had any, is gone by. We are unanimously of the opinion that this Convention has acted wisely, and in accordance, not only with the best interests of our denomination, but of the cause of Christ throughout the West, in declaring that it is not wise to attempt to carry out any longer this specific Plan of Union. We believe the attempt to do it would be productive of more collision than anything else.

In the second place this Convention has decided that it will frown on all representations and charges against us at the West, unless those who make them will do it specifically, and hold themselves responsible for the truth of the allegations. We were desirous that some such action should be taken by this Convention for various reasons, one of which was, that it would encourage and strengthen Western brethren in their labors, and prevent their being disheartened as they have been by such reports as have been made before Associations at the East, and which were calculated to undermine our influence, and destroy your confidence in

us. There has been a systematic design in these reports, as some think, for the purpose of cutting off the bond of sympathy between the East and the West, so that that sympathy might be turned into another channel. There has been a great effort made to prove that the cause of Christ was safer in the hands of another denomination than in ours. I am rejoiced, and all the West unite with me in rejoicing, that this decisive course has been taken. We do not agree that the passage of this Resolution was of little or no importance; on the other hand, we regard its passage of as much importance as anything done by this Convention. It will tell upon our Eastern brethren, and upon those who are desiring to throw obstacles in our way in our operations at the West.

I regard the measures with respect to Church building as very important, and entirely satisfactory.

In regard to the action of the Convention respecting the A. H. M. Society, we are all unanimously agreed. We have confidence, and have always said it in public and in private, in all the officers of the A. H. M. S. With reference to myself, I will say that I have been understood as having expressed some opinion that they were partial in their operation, or that the operation of the Society at the West tended to injure Congregationalism, and aid another denomination. I have never expressed, and never held such an opinion. We have confidence in the officers of that Society, that they have been wholly impartial in all their action; and we rejoice to have the opportunity, as we did in Iowa last spring, to express our confidence in these brethren who manage that Society, and to declare our opinion that they have been entirely impartial in the administration of its affairs.

And in regard to the subject of Slavery, I cannot express the gratitude that I feel to God, that we come to so happy a result upon it. There is a deep feeling in the Western Churches on the subject of Slavery; and I rejoice to say that the position taken last evening is precisely the position which I have advocated in our General Association, and in the newspapers; and I believe it is a decision which will commend itself heartily to all our Churches in the West, that the influence of it will be to strengthen the influence of the H. M. Society beyond all calculation. It will prevent those who were hesitating about withdrawing from doing so now, and will, perhaps, be the means of drawing others into our organization. The importance of holding Western Churches with these Boards is greater than most men are aware of. The day is not distant when vast sums of money, and I have no doubt many men, will be drawn from the Western Churches to aid these Boards in their work of evangelizing and saving the world. In my Church, which is on the frontier, we have five men converted and in colleges, preparing themselves to engage in the Missionary work at home and abroad. My Church has contributed during the past year nearly seven hundred dollars. It was a few years ago a Missionary Church. That is only one exam-

ple out of many that I could mention. Many more will do the same thing before long. It is of vast importance that we act harmoniously, that Western Ministers and Churches be retained in connection with these great Boards which we love, and have been taught to love from our youth. I would sooner cut off my right hand than cut off my connection with either of these Boards, so long as I can act conscientiously with them.

I have but a word more to say, which is, that the great object accomplished by this Convention after all, has been the bringing of us together here and making us acquainted with the views and feelings of each other with respect to the great measures which have been adopted by us. We feel, and our fathers and brethren from the East feel that we are one in sentiment, one in our great views of action; and this, if nothing more had been accomplished, and we had not adopted one of the measures which have been before us, would have been sufficient to remunerate us for all the time and trouble and expense we have been at in coming. And I do most heartily thank God for the calling of this Convention and for the measures adopted. It is a great Convention; its influence will flow far and wide over this nation, and far down the stream of time, and I have no doubt our descendants will look back upon this Convention with something of the feeling with which we look back upon a similar Convention of our denomination, held nearly two hundred years ago.

REV. J. B. WALKER said, he desired for himself and others to suggest a single modification or amendment in one passage of the remarks which had just been made. He supposed it was implied in the remarks, but he wished it to be distinctly stated. He agreed to all things that had been said concerning the valuable results which would follow the doings of this Convention. But in regard to the statement that the action of this Convention would have the effect to prevent many Churches from withdrawing from the American Home Missionary Society, it should be added—*provided* that Society shall think proper to act upon the principles set forth in the report of this Convention. This Convention is not the American Home Missionary Society, and our report does not speak for it. If that Society shall continue to send out Missionaries who receive and retain members in their communion who hold and treat men as property—if they sustain men in slaveholding states, who preach the Gospel so that it will not have an effect to bring to pass the “speedy abolition of the tremendous wrong of slavery”—if these principles of the report are not carried out by the old Boards, many Churches already disaffected both at the West and the East, will give their contributions to other Societies, and many not now disaffected will become so.

REV. J. BLANCHARD, of Illinois, said, He wished likewise to acquiesce in the things spoken by Mr. HOLBROOK in behalf of the West, with the addition or suggestion just stated by Mr. WALKER.



The resolution was then adopted.

Dr. HAWES then rose and said, that in a remark made in his Sermon he was the author of a wrong impression in regard to the date of the last preceding General Convention of Congregationalists. He had been misled himself by a newspaper article on the subject, but had since learned that the last Convention was held in 1680. The one which he had in his mind when the statement was made in the Sermon, was held in 1657.

Rev. Father ARMSTRONG, of Ballston, N. Y., said—My Christian Fathers and Brethren, I stand before you as an anomaly in my generation, being now seventy-seven years of age, and having enjoyed through my long life perfect and uninterrupted good health. I feel that I have been abundantly rewarded for coming up to this Convention. I am the only Congregational Minister in all the counties in the region where I live. All the rest have gone over to Presbyterianism, and I am left alone. But I rejoice that I have been here, and I accord fully in my heart in all the doings of the Convention. I verily believe in my heart that, as it was said in the Scripture of Josiah, “he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord,” so it may be said of you. That should always be our aim, either as individuals or in public assemblies. Now in closing I will say in the language of Divine Inspiration, “Whatsoever your hands find to do, do it with your might.” To glorify God, is the work our hands find to do, to serve our generation and to set our house in order and prepare for death and eternity. And may the Lord God of heaven keep us and enable us to do it for the glory of His great name and the good of His Church and people on earth.

Dr. BEECHER then said—I feel greatly relieved, greatly delighted, and highly grateful for the evidence we have had of the Divine presence in the counsels and deliberations of this meeting. Permit me to say that I have been conversant with this whole subject, having been half the time in the Presbyterian Churches and half the time in the Congregational. God helping, I have been affectionate and faithful, and I have felt that just about as much good might be done in the one as in the other. With respect to this division, it is incidental to the circumstances in which we are found. With reference to the manner in which we were brought together, it is true there has been some scratching on both sides; but that is all gone now, and no matter for that. From the feelings shown and declarations made here, I think we are now cut off from all chafings incidental to a state of things which we had outgrown. Now there is a mutual understanding, and each can march onward under its own denominational colors, and happy is the man who can do the most good. We shall have no more letters of complaint nor *ex parte* statements. Home Missions and Foreign Missions will have our prayers and support. We shall “go ahead,” and we shall see the Millennium much quicker than if we had stood where we were when this Convention met.

An appropriate and solemn closing prayer was made by Rev. Dr. CALHOUN, of Connecticut, after which the Convention united in singing the Christian Doxology. The President then, at half-past 10 o'clock, A.M., declared the Convention adjourned, *sine die*, and the members parted in love to go to their several homes.



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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MISSIONARY JUBILEE,

HELD AT

WILLIAMS COLLEGE,

AUGUST 5, 1856.

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BOSTON:  
T. R. MARVIN & SON, 42 CONGRESS STREET.  
1856.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1856, by

T. R. MARVIN,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.



WILLIAMS COLLEGE, 1856.

At a meeting of the Alumni, held Wednesday, August 6, the following Resolution was passed :

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Alumni be given to Prof. HOPKINS, for his Address, and that it, with the Speeches and Proceedings of the Jubilee Celebration, be published in pamphlet form, and that a committee of three be appointed to superintend their publication.

Whereupon the following gentlemen were appointed a Committee for that purpose, viz. :

CHARLES DEMOND, Esq., Boston ;  
HON. EMORY WASHBURN, Cambridge, and  
MR. WILLIAM T. R. MARVIN, Boston.

The above is a true copy of the record.

N. H. GRIFFIN, *Secretary*.

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The Committee are happy to be able to present this pamphlet at so early a day, for which they are much indebted to the various speakers, for the promptitude with which they furnished their addresses, and also to the Rev. CALVIN DUFFEE, for his valuable suggestions and efficient aid.

In editing this memorial, they have taken the liberty of inserting such introductory and explanatory matter and notes, as seemed to them necessary to make the whole more intelligible, valuable and complete, as a permanent record of the proceedings of this most interesting day.

They trust their labors will receive the indulgence and favorable consideration of their brethren of the Alumni.

BOSTON, SEPT. 10, 1856.



## MISSIONARY JUBILEE.

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THE fact that a prayer meeting was held in 1806, by MILLS, RICHARDS, and a few others, under a haystack in the fields near Williams College, in which the *proposition was made to send the gospel to the heathen*, which resulted in time in the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the general awaking of American Christians to their duty to obey the Saviour's last command, has long been known and dwelt upon with interest by the friends of missions, and with pride by the Alumni of this College.

The precise spot has not, till recently, been identified, though tradition had fixed it in a grove which formerly stood at the junction of the Housick and Green rivers; and the writer well remembers the deep interest with which he often visited that spot, and thought upon the great results which, in the providence of God, had followed the faith and self-consecration of those humble young men. In 1854, Hon. BYRAM GREEN, one of "the men of the haystack," and the only one surviving, was in Williamstown, and identified the spot. At the ensuing Commencement in August, 1854, the

Alumni voted to purchase the grounds, and in pursuance thereof the following Circular, prepared by President HOPKINS, was sent out. We insert it entire, as it states very clearly and forcibly the reasons for purchasing and adorning the grounds.

DEAR SIR:

At a meeting of the Society of the Alumni of this College in August last, the following Resolution, moved by Hon. D. D. Field, of New York, was passed:

*Resolved*, That the grounds north of the West College, where Mills and his associates used to meet for prayer, and where the first American Missions were projected, be purchased by the Alumni of the College, and be called the Mission Park and Grounds.

The above Resolution was introduced in consequence of a statement made by Prof. Hopkins, that the precise spot had been ascertained where the haystack stood, under which the first proposal to send out Foreign Missionaries from this country was made, and the first prayer meeting in behalf of such an object was held.

For thirty years, or more, no one on this ground had known the spot. Inquiry was often made by strangers, and a desire expressed that it might be designated in some appropriate way; but the hope of being able to do this had been nearly abandoned. As illustrating the state of feeling both among strangers and here, while tradition was busy, and some supposed the spot known, the following letter, by an entire stranger, then and afterwards, to all connected with the College, may be given.

*South Williamstown, April 26, 1852.*

MISS S. J. W.,

In making inquiries this afternoon, on my first visit to Williamstown, in relation to the spot where the *haystack* stood, so famous in the history of Missions as the one behind which Mills and his associates prayed for the divine guidance and blessing while maturing their plans for preaching the gospel of the kingdom to the heathen world—plans which were carried out so successfully—I regretted to learn that the place was unmarked by tree, shrub, stone, or monument of any kind.

Having learned that the *very spot* was yet known, and that there had been among some Ladies—who are, the world over, always ready to every good work—some desire manifested to mark the sacred place before it was entirely forgotten, with some memorial, will you please take charge of the enclosed dollar, [a gold one,] and apply it in any

way you may deem best suited to effect the object. It is little, but rain-drops make the shower. If it does no more than purchase a cedar stake to mark the spot, it will not be in vain; for long ere that will have time to moulder, wealthy ones will have marked with marble the place where American Missions had their birth, and from whence went forth those who were chosen of God to commence the work of making every heathen heart bow at the blessed name of JESUS.

You will pardon the liberty a stranger takes in addressing you, and kindly excuse the trouble he gives, and believe me,

Respectfully and truly yours,

W. R. D.

This dollar is now in the hands of the Committee for the purchase of the grounds. It remained as buried seed, and might have continued to do so; but last summer the Hon. Byram Green, of Sodus, N. Y., in passing through this place spent a night with his friends, and it was ascertained that he was present at that first prayer meeting, and could point out the spot. This he did, sticking a stake with his own hand. He then gave a full account of the circumstances attending the meeting, and has since stated them in the following letter:

*Sodus, August 22, 1854.*

Prof. ALBERT HOPKINS,

Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 11th of July has been received. You request a statement of the facts in relation to a prayer meeting, which was held under a haystack, by some of the students of Williams College, in July or August, 1806. That prayer meeting becomes interesting to the Christian community, because it was then and there first proposed to send the gospel to the Pagans of Asia, and to the disciples of Mohammed. The stack of hay stood northerly from the West College, near a maple grove, in a field that was then called Sloan's meadow.

Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, Francis L. Robbins,\* Harvey Loomis and Byram Green were present. The afternoon was oppressively warm, which probably detained all those from the East College that usually attended, and some from the West. We first went to the grove, expecting to hold our prayer meeting there, but a dark cloud

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\* There was another Robbins, at that time in College, Robert Chauncey Robbins, a classmate of Mills and Richards, of whom Rev. Justin Edwards, D. D., of the Class of 1810, spake, in an Address delivered in New York, February 11, 1835, as follows: "Robbins is a name not often mentioned among missionaries; but in heart and soul, he was a great missionary, by whose mighty instrumentality, and that of others, was prayed into existence the whole system of American Missions. His bones slumber in a southern clime, and his spirit, we trust, mingles sweetly with that rapidly increasing band of perfect missionaries, before the throne of God." Rev. Robert Chauncey Robbins, died in 1825, aged 35.



was rising in the west, and it soon began to thunder and lighten, and we left the grove and went under the haystack to protect us from the approaching storm, which was soon realized.

The subject of conversation under the stack, before and during the shower, was the moral darkness of Asia. Mills proposed to send the gospel to that dark and heathen land; and said that we could do it if we would. We were all agreed and delighted with the idea except Loomis,\* who contended that it was premature; that if missionaries should be sent to Asia they would be murdered; that Christian armies must subdue the country before the gospel could be sent to the Turks and Arabs. In reply to Loomis it was said, that God was always willing to have his gospel spread throughout the world; that if the Christian public was willing and active, the work would be done; that on this subject the Roman adage would be true, "*Vox populi, vox Dei.*" 'Come,' said Mills, 'let us make it a subject of prayer, under this haystack, while the dark clouds are going, and the clear sky is coming.'

We all prayed, and made Foreign Missions a subject in our prayers, except Loomis. Mills made the last prayer, and was in some degree enthusiastic; he prayed that God would strike down the arm with the red artillery of heaven that should be raised against a herald of the cross. We then sang one stanza. It was as follows:

Let all the heathen writers join  
To form one perfect book:  
Great God, if once compared with thine,  
How mean their writings look!

The prayer meetings were continued during the warm season of that year, in the groves somewhere between the village and the Hoo-sick,† and the subject of Foreign Missions was remembered in our prayers. The following is a list of names that usually attended, to wit: John Nelson, Calvin Bushnell, Byram Green, Rufus Pomeroy,

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\* Rev. Harvey Loomis, notwithstanding this, was a man of eminent piety, and died with his armor on, in a pulpit in Bangor, Maine, the first Sabbath of the year 1825. Though in feeble health, he had walked some distance to preach, but died in the midst of the exercises, having a sermon with him which he was about to deliver, upon the text, "This year thou shalt die."—Jeremiah xxviii. 16.

† We add the following upon the authority of Rev. Ozro French, of Harpersfield, N. Y.

When the weather became cold, Mills and his friends obtained, from a pious lady, leave to meet on Saturday evenings, in her kitchen, for prayer. Soon the good lady asked the privilege of having the door, which opened into her sitting-room, ajar, so that she might enjoy the devotion which pervaded their prayers. This was granted, and she soon gave them an invitation to meet in her sitting-room, which was accepted, and she allowed to invite a few of her neighbors. This was the origin of the Saturday night prayer meeting, at 'old Mrs. Bardwell's,' which has been continued till the present time, being now held at the house of Mrs. Benjamin.

Francis L. Robbins, Samuel Ware, Edwin W. Dwight, Ezra Fisk, Harvey Loomis, Samuel J. Mills, and James Richards. Others attended occasionally.

The next summer, 1807, the prayer meetings were again held in the grove; two were added to our number, to wit: Luther Rice and John Whittlesey. I have several times seen the names of Hall and Rice numbered among those who were at the prayer meeting under the haystack. That is an error. Rice was not a member of College until October, 1806. Hall was not a professor of religion at that time, and did not attend our religious meetings. He was made a subject of grace in the year 1808, about six or eight months before he graduated. After that he was active in the cause.

B. GREEN.

The rest is known. Nothing can be more certain and direct than the connection between this prayer meeting and the subsequent movements in this country respecting Foreign Missions. They continued to be the subject of prayer, of conversation and discussion, until, two years after, the first Foreign Missionary Society in this country was formed in this College,—a Society for the purpose, not of sending others, but of GOING to the heathen. The following was the Constitution of that Society.

“The object of this Society shall be to effect, *in the person of its members*, a mission to the heathen.

“No person shall be admitted who is under an engagement of any kind which shall be incompatible with going on a mission to the heathen.

“Each member shall keep absolutely free from every engagement, which, after his prayerful attention and after consultation with the brethren, shall be deemed incompatible with the objects of this Society; and shall hold himself ready to go on a mission when and where duty may call.”

This Society, with a modified constitution, has been continued here from that time. From it emissaries were sent to other Colleges, to stir up a similar spirit in them. One took a dismission for that purpose. A similar Society, still flourishing, was founded by Mills and those who went with him, at Andover; and from that the proposition was made to the General Association of Massachusetts, which resulted in the formation of the American Board.

In view of these facts, the foregoing Resolution was passed by the Alumni; and after visiting the ground, they voted to purchase twenty acres, leaving the matter, however, in the hands of a Committee of five. That Committee, for reasons which they hope will satisfy the Alumni, have thought it best to purchase but ten acres.

This seems to them adequate, and less than this would put the place of the haystack in a corner, and would not sufficiently include the grove where most of the prayer meetings were held.

Shall then this ground be purchased? We think the great heart of the Christian public of all denominations will say, *Yes*. Shall patriotism and genius have their monuments and consecrated grounds, and shall not religion? Shall a love wider than that of patriotism, a consecration nobler than genius, have no memorial? Do any contend that the sentiments of the race, natural and deep-seated, should not find expression in connection with religion? We would point them to the commendation by our Saviour of the woman who brought the box of ointment very precious, and poured it forth, though it might have been sold for an hundred pence, and given to the poor.

It is not supposed that there was, at that time, no missionary spirit elsewhere in the country—no general preparation for such a movement; but the fact that there was patriotism in the country at large, only renders it the more fit that there should be a monument at Lexington and Bunker Hill.

The account by Mr. Green modifies the conception usually entertained of the origin of the missionary enterprise in two respects; and, as it seems to us, renders it more valuable.

1st. The prayer meeting was a stated one; and we here see honor put by God upon a uniform course of Christian duty. It is a fact of great interest, that so many young men could be found at that day, who were willing to devote the leisure of Saturday afternoon, for two successive seasons, to prayer; and it was fitting that, in connection with such devotion, and under the broad canopy of heaven, this great and all-embracing idea should start into life.

2d. It was stated by Mr. Green, in conversation, that Geography was at that time a College study, and that it was from impressions received in studying the Geography of Asia, that Mills was led to make the proposal he did. This shows the assimilative power of an ardent piety, and what *may* be the connection between ordinary studies and Christian enterprise.

In raising the funds to purchase these grounds, which are highly beautiful, the Committee have presumed that they might apply with

success, to wealthy individuals ; but they know that many would prefer to share in the purchase, and they would choose that it might be felt to be the property of the Christian public. The sum required to purchase the ten acres, is \$2,500, or \$250 per acre. Of these ten acres, the students now in College have agreed to purchase one ; and it is hoped the same may be done by individual States, or Cities, or Churches, or Institutions. There will be required, in addition, a fund to enclose and ornament the grounds, and to keep them in order.

The above statement is sent to you, dear Sir, in the hope that you will approve of the object proposed, and will cause it to be laid before Christians in your community, either at the monthly concert, or at such time, and in such manner, as you may judge best.

It is suggested that the names of contributors should, so far as possible, be preserved. Communications may be addressed to Prof. Albert Hopkins.

In behalf of the Committee,

Very truly yours,

MARK HOPKINS.

*Williams College, February 5, 1855.*

At the Commencement in August, 1855, the necessary funds having been pledged, and the grounds purchased, the Society of the Alumni of Williams College held a meeting in 'Mission Park,' August 15, 1855, and, on motion of David Dudley Field, passed the following Resolutions :

"RESOLVED, That, inasmuch as the year 1856 will complete the period of fifty years since the first meeting of Mills and his associates on this hallowed ground, it appears to us proper that there should be held a general Missionary Jubilee in this Park on the day preceding the next College Commencement.

"RESOLVED, That a Committee of five be appointed by the Chair, to make arrangements for this Jubilee, and that there be invited not only all the Alumni of this College, but all friends of missions, and representatives from every American Mission."

David Dudley Field, LL. D., of New York City,

Martin I. Townsend, Esq., of Troy, N. Y., George N. Briggs, LL. D., of Pittsfield, Mass., Professor Albert Hopkins, of Williams College, and Henry L. Sabin, M. D., of Williamstown, Mass., were appointed the Committee.

The Committee made preparations for the Jubilee exercises in the Park, where seats were arranged in the grove, a bungalow for missionaries, and a haystack, were prepared; but a severe and almost unprecedented storm, (the most severe that had been known at Commencement-time since 1806,—the year of the prayer meeting, as Prof. Chester Dewey said,—forcibly reminding us of the storm that drove Mills and his associates to the haystack,) rendered it necessary to take shelter in the church, where the exercises were held.

Hon. David Dudley Field presided, and contributed much to the interest of the occasion, and won golden opinions, by the dignity, tact and *felicity* with which he directed the exercises; which were six hours in length, and concluded while all would gladly have heard more, but time forbade.



## JUBILEE EXERCISES.

Hon. DAVID DUDLEY FIELD, LL. D., of New York, made the Introductory Address, as follows:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN;

Fifty years ago, five students of this College, Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, Francis L. Robbins, Harvey Loomis and Byram Green, met for meditation and prayer



in the grove where we were to have assembled this morning, and within sight of this sacred house. While they were there, a thunder-storm arose, which drove them to the better shelter of a haystack in the adjoining field. Underneath this haystack, the conversation turned upon the moral condition of Asia, whose geography they were then studying. The thought then occurred to Mills, and was mentioned by him to his associates, that they might themselves carry the gospel to the people of that most ancient quarter of the world. All, or all but one, agreed to the suggestion; they joined in prayer, and sung a hymn; and as the storm cleared away, and the rainbow of God appeared in the heavens, they separated, filled with this great idea.

These men were young and poor. They had small resources of their own for the accomplishment of their design, and little means of influencing the actions or opinions of others. The times, moreover, were unpropitious. The earth was filled with war and carnage. Europe was covered with armed battalions from Gibraltar to Archangel. In that year the battle of Jena had prostrated Prussia at the feet of the French Emperor, whose beams thence "culminated from the Equator," portending an universal military and irreligious domination. Our own country was about to be swept into the vortex of war. The British orders in council, and the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, were involving us in an angry controversy with both the belligerents, which resulted in hostilities with one of them. There was but one propitious sign in all the horizon, the abolition of the slave-trade by America and England.

But nothing daunted by the unpropitious signs, these young men went forth to a conquest more glorious than the conquests of Alexander. They saw their object, not as we see yonder Greylock, with its summit shrouded in cloud, but as it will appear when the cloud has passed away, and the whole mountain shines beneath an unclouded sun. They formed in this College the first Foreign Missionary Society

ever formed in this land. They sent delegates from their little Society to other Colleges, there to excite a kindred spirit ; and in four years afterwards, the time was ripe for the establishment in this Commonwealth of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

Mills and Richards perished as martyrs to the cause which they had undertaken. The former went down in the waters of the Atlantic, and the latter sleeps in the groves of India. But the cause in which they perished did not perish with them. The missionary spirit survived, and has been continued, projecting and executing new enterprises, until the great missionary Corporation of which I have spoken has now more than a hundred stations under its control in different parts of the world. I have myself seen them in the heart of Greece, on the banks of the Meles, and upon the slopes of Lebanon. They are in the torrid zone, and under the Southern Cross, in the South Sea Islands, and upon the headlands of the Chinese seas. Time, which winnows all things, has winnowed the names of the men of 1806. Chieftains and statesmen have been blown away as chaff ; but the names of these early founders of missions are garnered up as precious grains, to become more precious as the world grows older and wiser.

The place where this haystack stood, though there was a tradition respecting it, was not precisely known, until two years ago, when the only survivor of those five students revisited this valley, and pointed out the spot. The Alumni of our College have purchased it, together with the adjoining grove, ten acres in all, and now dedicate them as a Mission Park for all time to come. They intend to plant here every tree which will grow in this soil, and beneath this sky ; and I would also have, if by any means it be possible, a tree from every missionary station on the globe. You have been invited here this day to join in the solemnities of the dedication.

We welcome you, Friends of Missions, from whatever sect,

or State, or land you come ; we welcome you in the name of the Alumni, and of the Officers of this College ; we welcome you to this beautiful valley, to these everlasting hills, to this excellent seat of learning, to this hallowed Mission Ground.

We dedicate this Park to the memory of the Founders of American Missions, and to the missionary cause and spirit. We hope that in all future time, the students of this College will come here for exercise and meditation ; that the officers of the College will seek here refreshment from their anxieties and toils ; we hope that the young missionary, about to depart with a brave heart upon his glorious errand, will walk upon this ground to strengthen himself with the spirit of the place ; and that the returned missionary, wearied with labor, exposure and privation, will find here rest and consolation for the body and the spirit. May this grove be more sacred, if less famous, than the Academia of Plato ; may its trees flourish like the Cedars of Lebanon, and its turf ever be green as the pastures "beside the still waters."

The following stanza, which was sung at the close of the prayer meeting under the haystack, fifty years ago, was then sung to the tune of St. Martin's, all the congregation joining :

Let all the heathen writers join  
 To form one perfect book ;  
 Great God, if once compared with thine,  
 How mean their writings look !

Rev. ISAAC FERRIS, D. D., Chancellor of the University of the city of New York, then read the following passage of Scripture, which was the text from which Rev. Dr. Woods preached the ordination sermon of Samuel Newell, Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Gordon Hall, and Luther Rice, the

first missionaries of the American Board, at Salem, February 6, 1811.

God be merciful unto us, and bless us; and cause his face to shine upon us. Selah. That thy way may be known upon earth, thy saving health among all nations. Let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee. O let the nations be glad and sing for joy: for thou shalt judge the people righteously, and govern the nations upon earth. Selah. Let the people praise thee, O God; let all the people praise thee. Then shall the earth yield her increase; and God, even our own God, shall bless us. God shall bless us, and all the ends of the earth shall fear him.—PSALM lxvii.

REV. TIMOTHY WOODBRIDGE, D. D., of Spencer-town, N. Y., offered prayer, as follows:

ALMIGHTY AND EVERLASTING GOD,—Thou art terrible in majesty, and infinite in tender mercy. Thy kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations; and yet, amid this magnificence of unlimited empire, so assiduous is thy tenderness, that thou upholdest them that are fallen, and raisest up them that be bowed down. Glory to thy name, that thou hast stooped to our fallen race, and given us a Saviour to lift us up out of the ruins of the apostasy. ‘Thanks be unto God for this unspeakable gift.’ When we had broken off from our allegiance to God, and gone down into a land of exile, and involved ourselves in the bonds and fetters of a long night, thou didst not abandon this rebellious province of thy empire, but didst send down thy Son to seek and save the lost. We are penetrated with wonder and gratitude at that love which constrained thy Son to speed his way out of the sanctuary of heaven, and descend into our world, every mountain and valley of which were smoking with the abominations of sacrifices offered to idols. We are filled with wonder, that he should have pitched his tabernacle among men, that he should have gone in and out among us, that he should have opened his mouth wide to teach us the way to heaven, and that he should have at last breasted himself up to the agonies of the cross, to expiate human guilt and make reconciliation for sin, and bring in an everlasting righteous-

ness. We adore thee for this stupendous transaction of grace and truth, which has taken place for our salvation. We adore thee that thou hast had a church in the world from the earliest period in the history of sin, and we rejoice that thy church has been a righteous church, and that even in the darkest seasons she has been enabled, by strength derived from her living Head in heaven, to shed around her the light of her holy life and her holy doctrines far into the veil of the surrounding night.

We bless thee that thou hast brought thy church into this land, and planted here a noble vine. Thou hast defended and watered this vine, and prospered it so that its boughs extend to the sea, and its branches to the rivers; the hills are covered with the goodly shade thereof, and the whole land filled with its fruit. We thank thee that our pious ancestors brought hither the ark of God, and guarded it with their tears and prayers; and though they were not permitted, in thy providence, to lift up their mighty voices in the wilderness of the heathen world, they were guided to lay here, deep and strong, the foundations of many generations. Thanks to thy name, that when thy church had long slumbered over the miseries of the heathen world, thou wast graciously pleased to raise up a youthful band connected with this seat of learning, who pondered deeply on the command of their ascending Saviour, 'Go and preach the Gospel to all nations,' and grasped by faith his gracious promise, 'Lo! I am with you alway, to the end of the world.'

We thank thee that thou didst give to these young men great enlargedness of heart, and great comprehension of purpose, and that with all their fervor of spirit, they combined soundness of judgment; and we recognize God's good Spirit in inclining them to come to these grounds which we to-day dedicate, and commune with each other and with the God of Missions in earnest prayer for the spread of the Gospel to the ends of the earth. We thank thee that here, with God's help and blessing, they prayed into existence the great cause of Missions to the Heathen. We thank thee for the holy associations and reminiscences which linger about these grounds which have been consecrated by the tears and prayers of men who would not let thee go except thou turned and blessed them. These grounds we set apart as a memorial of these men, and we consecrate them to the high interests of Missions. We glorify thee that thou didst endow these young men with indomitable resolution and perse-



verance, and inclined them to communicate their views and their feelings to others, and especially to their fathers in the ministry, so that, with thy blessing, the missionary fire spread from heart to heart, and was kindled in many a bosom.

We render unto thee our earnest thanksgiving, that this youthful band found favor in the eyes of their fathers in the ministry, who, in solemn convocation, instituted an efficient organization to carry the Gospel to the ends of the earth ; and we adore thee for the smile of thy providence which has rested on this great association. Thou hast greatly blessed it, by enlarging its resources and crowning its efforts with success. Thou hast furnished able and faithful missionaries to go forth into benighted lands, and enabled them to move up and down in the dark places of the world as living columns of living light, and many a desert spot has been made verdant by their coming, and the wilderness and solitary place have budded and blossomed like the rose. We pray God to continue to bless this missionary institution, and its missionaries, who are now belting the globe. Wherever they tread, let light spring up in their footsteps ; and wherever they are seen, may they be eminent examples of the excellence of Christianity, and living epistles of the living God, plainly read of every man. Cheer and sustain every missionary in all his privations. Shield him from every danger and deliver him out of every trouble.

Bless this literary institution which thou hast so often honored by the descent of thy Spirit, and made a school for training so many devoted ministers of the Gospel. Let it be glorious while the sun and moon shall endure, and let thy selectest influences visit and rest upon it.

Again we commend to thee these hallowed grounds, which were long ago consecrated by prayers and tears. Make them a lasting blessing to thy Church by the memories and associations which linger around them ; and when, in coming time, pilgrims shall visit them to refresh their hearts with the hallowed reminiscences which here throng around the mind, then sanctify to all such visitors these sacred recollections ; and when they go down from these heights in Zion, may their faces shine like the face of Moses when he descended from the mount of God.

And now, Almighty Father, we pray thee to bless every association that exists in any department of the Church for the diffusion of

the Gospel. Let them all preach Christ and him crucified, mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. Bless every effort to make known the Lord Jesus among men. Let all who hold Christ as their living head in all things, join their hands in an everlasting league of love and friendship, against the empire of sin and darkness ; and with God's blessing upon their combined pressure, may every fabric of superstition and idolatry fall to the ground.

Will God graciously smile on the occasion and purpose for which we are to-day assembled. Let a new impulse be given to the cause of Missions, and let this Jubilee constitute a new era in the progress of the Christian faith ; and when the pale and thoughtful missionary, tending his watch-fire upon the dark frontiers, or down in the deep recesses of the heathen world, shall look back to this place and this day, may he be cheered and invigorated in his labor of love, and inspired with new confidence and energy by what God has done from the small beginnings on this hallowed scene, remembering how the handful of corn in the earth on the top of the mountains is made to shake like Lebanon.

Oh ! bring around that blessed time, which we know is coming, and which we believe by the lights of prophecy and the indications of thy providence is not afar off, when none shall have need to say to his neighbor or his brother, Know the Lord, for all shall know thee, from the least unto the greatest, and the shout of salvation shall thunder through the temple of God. Hasten onward the time when the song of victory and deliverance shall ascend from earth to heaven : “ Now is come salvation, and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ ; Alleluiah, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth for ever. Amen and Amen.”

The following stanzas were sung to the tune of Pleyel's Hymn :

Saw ye not the cloud arise,  
Little as a human hand ?  
Now it spreads along the skies—  
Hangs o'er all the thirsty land.

Lo ! the promise of a shower,  
Drops already from above ;

But the Lord will shortly pour  
All the Spirit of his love.

When he first the work begun,  
Small and feeble was the day ;  
Now the word doth swiftly run,  
Now it wins its widening way.

See how great a flame aspires,  
Kindled by a spark of grace !  
Jesus' love the nations fires,  
Sets the kingdoms on a blaze.

MR. FIELD : " The audience will now hear the Jubilee Address, prepared by Professor ALBERT HOPKINS, of this College." Prof. Hopkins then rose, and delivered the following

#### A D D R E S S .

It was our purpose, Brethren and Friends, to celebrate this Jubilee in the grove, near whose margin Mills and his associates met to pray, and devise plans for the evangelization of the world. With this grove some of you are familiar ; some have now for the first time visited it ; and a more propitious sky may enable others to do so before leaving the place. It seems providential, whilst the surrounding woodlands have been crowded back to the mountain slopes, that this grove should have survived in the midst of the valley. Though often changing hands, it has stood, like a sentinel still on duty, as though charged with some sacred trust. The secrets of the church are sometimes deposited with nature. Men fade away ; their footsteps make paths in the green grass, or rustle in autumn leaves, and are gone, whilst nature subsists, the mute depository of those scenes which have transpired in her silent fields, by her winding streams, or in her solemn shades. Hence it is that not the ' storied urn ' alone has

power to recall the memory of the past, but woods and winds, among whose echoes and pulsations the prayers and songs of the pious dead are still living and breathing. Those prayers, uttered in whispers in solitary places, are not lost. They are still in the atmosphere. All-comprehending nature has got them ; and when a moral purpose is to be answered by it, they will speak again.

Said I to Mr. Green, Can you identify the spot where that prayer meeting was held ? I can, said he, if a certain grove is standing. That grove, as has been already hinted, yet stands ; and the Alumni of this College have decreed that it shall continue to stand, not in its present form, but restored to its former estate, and more than restored. This grove will remain till the millennium ; and if it may not abide the ordeal of that day which “ shall be on all the cedars of Lebanon, that are high and lifted up, and on all the oaks of Bashan,”—it will be sufficient for us that it stands as long as any of the groves stand.

We turn now to an object of greater interest, viz., the haystack, which stood near the margin of the grove. There were two of these, we are informed ; but it was under the northernmost one that Mills and his associates took sanctuary from the shower. That south stack had a marketable value of so many dollars per ton—it was fodder, and nothing more ; but the north stack has acquired a wide fame, and is destined to acquire a fame still wider. It has already been mentioned in distant islands, and “ in the lands that Kedar doth inhabit ;” and it will continue to be mentioned while the growing empire of Christ wins its widening way. It is destined to be more celebrated, probably, than any other haystack in the universe ; it is so now.

This stack I shall be expected, I presume, to make the theme of my discourse. The occasion suggests the text ; and in handling it, I shall speak, first, of the times of the haystack ; secondly, of the men of the haystack ; thirdly, of the relation of those times and men to the problem of the

age ; and fourthly, of the position in which we stand, and our duties with reference to the same problem.

By the *times of the haystack*, we understand the closing years of the last century and the opening years of this. Of these times our fathers, who lived and acted in them, some of whom through a kind Providence are present, might tell us, and we trust will, before the day closes. With the leading features of those times, however, we are all, by tradition or history, to some extent familiar. And how shall we characterize them ? They were evidently peculiar, critical, formative. The age was one of development, of bold experiments and startling combinations, both morally and socially. The political sky, too, was stormy and portentous, almost beyond precedent in the history of nations. The successful close of our own revolutionary struggle was inspiring men with hope for the future. The friends of human progress and human liberty began to feel that a better day was dawning. Their bright visions seemed now on the eve of being realized. They gathered strength to look fairly in the face those hoary forms of usurpation, both civil and ecclesiastical, which had hitherto shielded themselves under a divine right, and branded as sacrilege all questioning of their prerogatives. This spirit of free inquiry was one in itself of happy augury, which might have issued favorably both for the interests of religion and government. But to secure this result, a type of character was needed, which neither the leaders nor the subjects of that movement possessed. Where the education, the discipline and the moulding influence of this Bible are absent, a spirit of free inquiry in politics will degenerate into radicalism ; and the same spirit, applied to religion, will be liable and likely to issue in universal skepticism and downright infidelity ; yes, and atheism itself. It was because Rome had failed to educate her children in the principles of this book, that the leaders of the first French Revolution were incompetent to the solution of those problems which they proposed to themselves. A spirit which might have been directed to



salutary ends, had the requisite moral conditions been present, passed quite beyond the control of those who had excited and fanned it in its beginnings. It became contagious. It spread like an epidemic among the masses. It passed not only beyond the control of those who first evoked it, but all the restraints of law, and all the sanctions of religion became like straws darted against the trade-winds, to lay and quell this revolutionary storm.

This crisis is one of the highest interest, whether regarded as an act in the grand drama of history, as the unrolling of a new scene in the scroll of Providence, or as the breaking of a prophetic seal. In its threefold aspect, as a political, social and religious movement, it is not strange that the men of that day should have regarded it as symbolized by the three unclean spirits portrayed in the Revelation.

For us, who are the Alumni of this institution, a peculiar interest attaches to this movement—this striking and eventful crisis. Its opening year gave birth to our Alma Mater—this now venerable institution, whose adopted children we are. It is not without some emotion, and some degree of honest pride, that we see her launching her frail bark on such an unquiet sea. How adventurously and gallantly she pushes out, when the winds are rising, and the elements entering into such new and fearful combinations! We see, at once, that this little sail moves under the promptings of a bold, self-reliant, and manly heart. The storm strikes her as she is leaving port; it tests her timbers well; but the experiment only proves her sea-worthy. Few of us are aware, probably, of the severity of the ordeal to which this institution was subjected, at its very outset, from those deadly principles then let loose upon society, and which were sapping every where the foundations of moral as well as political order. I have in my hands a document illustrative of this point—a document of considerable historical interest, especially to the Alumni, and also of general interest, as illustrating the spirit of the times of which we are speaking.

“I entered Williams College,” says the writer, “the year it was incorporated. I entered the first Freshman Class ever in that College. Two classes, however, entered in advance at the same time that our class entered Freshman—a Sophomore of three members, and a Junior Class of four. Respecting the religious state of things in the College, during my residence in it, I have no very favorable account to give. It was the time of the French Revolution, which was, at that time, very popular with almost all the members of College, and with almost all people in that part of the country. French liberty and French philosophy poured in upon us like a deluge, and seemed to sweep almost every thing serious before it. The spirit of ridicule and abuse ran so high, that no one dared manifest seriousness, only those whom God had truly made serious.”

This extract furnishes a striking commentary on the language of a recent and very able writer. Speaking of the first French Revolution, he says, “Every vein and artery of the social system, and that in all lands, felt that tremendous throb at the heart of the world. Thrones, senates, churches felt it. Nay, to pursue the metaphor, we might say that every smallest capillary to which blood could circulate was affected, every unobserved assemblage, every college coterie, every family circle.”

But parallel with this entire series of events, synchronizing with it in the outset, and keeping pace with it in its onward progress, was another series—a movement of a different order, diverse altogether in its spirit and in its issues. For the origin of this movement we are not to look to the great centres of civilization, or to the action of great bodies, civil or ecclesiastical. But we are to look to private individuals, to plain, humble men, little in the esteem of the world, and still less in their own esteem. We are to look to the quiet vales and hills of New England—to some sequestered country church, or to that still more humble and retired spot from which so many good influences

have emanated, the country school-house. The good people are assembling, at early candle-light, bringing their lights with them. The meeting is full and very still ; there is that evidence and seal of the divine Presence which the Prophet witnessed at Horeb when he wrapped himself in his mantle and stood in the cave's mouth. There are no powerful reasonings, no overwhelming appeals ; but there is an influence more penetrating than logic, more persuasive than eloquence. It is seen and felt in that lowly assembly, that the "kingdom of God is not in word, but in power"; the suppressed sigh, the anxious countenance, the gathering tear betoken the presence of that divine Agent whose office it is to reprove, convince and regenerate.

It was whilst his claims were discarded, and his very being called in question, that God thus began to challenge his rights :

" Whilst the foe becomes more daring,  
 Whilst he enters like a flood,  
 God the Saviour is preparing  
 Means to spread his truth abroad ;

means, relatively to the end in view, like the barley-cake that tumbled into the host of Midian ; yet, as we shall presently see, "mighty to the pulling down of strongholds."

Commencing in Litchfield County, and the adjoining portions of this State, under the ministrations of the Vice President of this College now present, the work spread rapidly in the western portion of New England ; was carried southward by Alexander (afterwards the venerable Dr. Alexander of Princeton) and others ; and west and northward, in New York, and the new settlements of Vermont, by the individual to whom I have already referred as the first Freshman in this College, and who was also, I have reason to believe, the first missionary ever sent out in this country by a regularly organized missionary society. If I am mistaken, probably some of the older brethren will correct me. The name of the individual was Jedediah Bushnell, better known as Father Bush-

nell. This excellent man, in connection with Seth Williston, received, so far as I can ascertain, the first appointment under the Connecticut Missionary Society. They were both under appointment at the beginning of this century. Indeed, one striking feature of the revival which was then spreading, was the missionary spirit which followed everywhere in its train.\*

Such, in brief, were the times of the haystack. In consulting the history of those times, you will look in vain to see portrayed the series of events last adverted to. You will find in those histories, adequately and graphically depicted, all that was outward, all that blazed and dazzled. The broad current and mighty sweep of the surface-tide is laid down in those charts ; but no note is taken of the deep under-current. Yet we now see, and the world is beginning to see, that it was the under-current—the spiritual and religious element—which gave to those times their true signifi-

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\* The great Revival towards the close of the last century was not second, probably, in power, and in its remote consequences far exceeded, that in Whitefield's day. The time has now come when the history of that Revival should be written. In referring to its origin, I said that the young clergyman, under whose ministrations the work first became visible, was sitting upon the stage. Dr. Griffin, in describing the Revival under his ministrations at New Hartford, says that the attention of the people was first arrested by extraordinary appearances in West Simsbury. In the account of this Revival in Simsbury, given by the pastor, Rev. Jeremiah Hallock, it is said that the work first appeared, visibly, in the forenoon of the Sabbath, a young clergyman of a neighboring State supplying the pulpit, that day, by way of exchange.—In the life of Hallock by Yale, it is said that this young clergyman was Rev. T. M. Cooley, of Granville. That the leading instruments in this Revival, Mills, Gillet, Robbins, Hallock, Hyde and others should have had their attention directed to this institution, remote and difficult of access to most of them—an institution then in its infancy, and offering very moderate facilities to those who resorted to it—is a fact which we can only refer to the sovereign ordering of God. Certain it is, that had their minds been otherwise directed, our Jubilee would not have been held. "In the spring of 1801," says Dr. Griffin, "the College received an important change, from the accession to the Freshman Class of four young men from the Revivals in Litchfield County. In this way the influence of the new era gradually crept upon the College ; which, from that time, began to rise up to the sacred distinction of being the birth-place of American missions."

cance. As in those dissolving views which the artist shows us, there are two pictures on the canvas at once, but, while all eyes are gazing upon the one, it gradually fades, and gives place to that which underlies it, now brightening up and occupying the field of view ; so here, the visible glory of events, but lately so stirring, which seemed, in their day, to be the only events, is fast passing away, and that co-ordinate spiritual movement, too obscure to be noticed in its beginnings, seen then, if at all, only in dim outline, is growing in brightness, supplanting and eclipsing the scene which preceded it, and becoming the cynosure of all eyes.

But times are of interest mainly through those who are actors in them. We come then to our second head,—*the men of the haystack*. It is not probable that these men have been over-estimated. We cannot think too highly of a really good man. But these were not only good men ; they possessed also certain qualities which fitted them to act in a very critical and important juncture. In them were combined certain high virtues which rarely co-exist. They were remarkable for their zeal, and not less remarkable for their prudence. With great enthusiasm they united sound judgment. As is usual with youthful minds, hope was strongly developed ; but it was balanced by caution. With native impulses prompting them to look for immediate results, they had the grace of patient waiting. Their powers of theorizing and planning were of a very high order ; particularly was this true of Mills, whose mind was evidently highly constructive. The men of the haystack were remarkable for the comprehension and breadth of their views, and at the same time they were men of detail. With a lively and suggestive imagination, they possessed those qualities of sterling common sense, not the least precious part of that legacy which our New England youth have inherited from their Puritan ancestry.

But in describing the men of the haystack, we must add something to all this ; yes, and a great deal, or our delineation



tion will be sadly defective. I observe, then, that these were persons of enlarged philanthropy. The trammels of sect were too narrow to confine them. They held, in its broadest sense, the great doctrine of the brotherhood of man. They had enlarged views of the capabilities of the gospel, of its moral adaptations as a universal remedy for the woes and guilt of man. They were men of faith. Their convictions were strong, not only in reference to the capabilities of Christianity, but in reference to its actual triumphs. The few rays which then gilded the distant summits, were to them ample pledges of day. Nay, had there been no visible pledges, a "Thus saith the Lord" would have been a sufficient guarantee.

But there is one crowning excellence wanting, which the men of the haystack possessed in an eminent degree. They were men of deeds. Others had sympathized with the heathen. They *acted*. Ever since the days of Doddridge it had been said in sacred song—

O when shall Afric's sable sons  
Enjoy the heavenly light?

But Mills went to Africa! Many pious youth had prayed that God would give to his Son the heathen for his inheritance; but Hall, and Richards, and Rice, "executed a mission to the heathen in their own persons."\*

Such were the men of the haystack. Such in aim, and such in act, was that band of young men who, fifty years ago

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\* The characteristic last referred to, might have been illustrated at greater length, had time allowed. Witness the measures they adopted to excite a missionary zeal in other colleges, also their efforts to arouse the community at large. Among the most effective and well-timed of these was the republication of Dr. Griffin's Sermon before the General Assembly at Philadelphia, preached just a year previous. They judged, and doubtless with good reason, that no more effective means of exciting general interest could be devised, than a wide circulation of that eloquent and powerful appeal. This step introduced them favorably to Dr. Griffin, who stood ready afterwards, at Andover, in connection with Drs. Worcester, Spring, Morse, and others, to give them the right hand of fellowship, and bid them Godspeed.

this very week,\* as we believe, retiring from College walls, came over into this grove to pray. But an impending storm drove them under the haystack. There it was, as the showers were falling around them, and peals of thunder were echoing along these mountain ranges, that they bowed in prayer to Him who makes "the winds his messengers, and his ministers flames of fire," and who had pledged his sacred word that he would "set his King upon his holy hill of Zion." As the Lord's remembrancers, they felt that they could not keep silence, nor give him any rest, till he should "establish, and till he should make Jerusalem a praise in the earth."

\* As the date of the first prayer meeting has been called in question, the following extract of a letter from Hon. Byram Green, dated July 10, 1856, is subjoined.

"When I was at Williamstown, two years ago last June, Mr. Smedley inquired of me if I knew the time and place, when and where, the prayer meeting was held under the haystack. The place was familiar to my mind; but I was not certain, as to the time; whether it was in the year 1806 or 1807. But before I left the town, I came to the conclusion, that it was the latter part of July, or the former part of August, 1806. I came to that conclusion from the following memorials.

"It was the uniform practice, while I was at College, for the Freshman Class to occupy the first and second floors, in the West College, and the Sophomores, the third and fourth. Mills and Loomis, at that time, occupied a room next to the stairs, on the second floor, the east side of the College. Lyman Barrett and myself, occupied the north-west corner room, on the third floor. Hence I must have been, at that time, a Sophomore, and Mills, a Freshman. I am satisfied, from these memorials, that this is certainly the Jubilee of the haystack.

"The Reverend Doctors, whom you name, in your note of the 5th, must have formed their opinion of the date, in discussion, from an examination of the annual catalogues of 1805 and 1806. Mills's name is not in the catalogue of 1805; it first appeared in the catalogue which was printed in the autumn or winter of 1806. The Doctors have noticed that fact, and infer from it, that Mills entered College in the fall of 1806, and of course was not in Williamstown the previous summer; and hence very naturally conclude, that we are mistaken one year in our date. But Mills came to the College at the commencement of the summer term, June, 1806. He studied and recited with the Freshman Class, and at the August examination, he was examined with that Class, and admitted as a member, and his name appeared in the next catalogue, 1806, for the first time."

And who shall say that we do wrong in commemorating such faith, that we are guilty of hero-worship in coming out into this grove and meditating on such virtues. Such worship is not idolatry; it is yielding to an irrepressible dictate of our nature, which we may reason against, but cannot quell—a principle which forbids us to look with indifference on those scenes and places which have been the theatre of great struggles, the birth-place of great thoughts, and the cradle of great enterprises. God forbid that we should do violence to an impulse which leads us to clothe with sacredness even inanimate things, associated with deeds of charity and pity, with high sacrifices for the good of man and the glory of the Redeemer.

*The bearing of the times and the men of the haystack on the great problem of this age—the conversion of the entire world to Christ*—is our third head. And the bearing is obvious and decisive. Most of the little band who met here to pray, as we are aware, were not permitted long to continue “by reason of death.” Their individual life was lost, and yet we feel the beating of their strong hearts here to-day. They live in the words which they uttered. A manuscript letter of Mills, kindly loaned for this occasion by the Society of Inquiry at Andover, well illustrates the spirit of the writer, and contains some of his memorable words. Intent on the object which lay nearest his heart, Mills visited New Haven, and there, at the room of his friend, Edwin Dwight, became acquainted with Henry Obookiah, who had lately arrived from the Sandwich Islands, and whom Mr. Dwight had befriended. Mills offered him a home at his father’s house. With this explanation the letter will speak for itself.

“Obookiah was at this time without a home, without a place to eat or sleep. The poor and almost friendless Hawaiian would sit down disconsolate, and the honest tears flowed freely down his sun-burnt face. Since this plan, already related, has been fixed upon, he has appeared cheerful, and feels quite at ease. I propose to leave town in two weeks

with this native of the South to accompany me to Torrington, where I intend to place him under the care of those whose benevolence is without a bond to check, or a limit to confine it. Here I intend he shall stay until next spring, if he is contented, and I trust he will be. Thus, you see, he is likely to be fairly fixed by my side. What does this mean? Brother Hall, do you understand it? Shall he be sent back, unsupported, to attempt to reclaim his countrymen? Shall we not, rather, consider these Southern islands as a proper place for establishing a mission? Not that I would give up the heathen tribes to the Westward. I trust we shall be able to establish more than one mission in a short time, at least in a few years. I mean, that God will enable us to extend our views and labors farther than we have before contemplated. We ought not to look only to the heathen on our own continent. We ought to direct our attention to that place where we may, to human appearance, do the most good, and where the difficulties are the least. We are to look to the climate, established prejudices, the acquirement of languages, means of subsistence, &c. &c. All these things, I apprehend, must be considered.

“The field is almost boundless, in every part of which there ought to be missionaries. In the language of an eminent writer, but I must say he is of another country, ‘O that we could enter at a thousand gates, that every limb were a tongue, and every tongue a trumpet, to spread the joyful sound.’ The man of Macedonia cries, ‘Come over and help us.’ This voice is heard from the North and the South, from the East and the West. O that we might glow with an ardent desire to preach the gospel, altogether irresistible. The spirit of burning hath gone forth. The camp is in motion. The Levites, we trust, are about to bear the vessel, and the great Commander to say, ‘Go forward.’ Let us, my dear B., rely with the most impartial confidence on those great, eternal, precious promises, contained in the word of God, Mark x. 29.

“Be strong, therefore, and let not your hands be weak, for your work shall be rewarded. Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty, with thy glory, and thy majesty, and in thy majesty ride prosperously, because of truth and meekness and righteousness,—for the heathen shall be given to Christ for an inheritance, &c. &c. Let us exclaim with the poet,

‘Come, then, and, added to thy many crowns,  
Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth,  
Thou who alone art worthy! It was thine  
By ancient covenant, e’er Nature’s birth;  
And thou hast made it thine by purchase since;  
And o’erpaid its value with thy blood.’ Amen and Amen.”\*

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\* The above extract was read by Mr. David Scudder, theological student at Andover. Our Society of Inquiry had no original manuscript of Mills to present on the occasion, much to their regret. But this lack is now supplied, in a manner somewhat singular and interesting. Last evening, (August 31,) a small package reached me from the Sandwich Islands, containing two manuscript sermons of Father Mills, of Torrington, also an original letter from the son, Samuel J. Mills, dated at Andover, in which is contained the *germ of the American Bible Society*. Thirdly, the Pocket Compass belonging to Mills. It was a matter of no small interest, on opening it, to see the little needle trending to the pole—not having been touched, probably, by a magnet, since it guided Mills in his wanderings in Africa nearly forty years ago.

The donor, Rev. Samuel C. Damon, seaman’s chaplain at Honolulu, having heard of our Park and haystack movement, sent on these interesting relics to the Mills Society, together with *five dollars*, constituting himself, his lady, and their three boys, stockholders in the Park. Our friends from abroad, who may see this pamphlet, need not be deterred from taking stock, under the idea that it is too late. For after the Park is paid for, (\$1.875 towards the \$2.500 originally due, having been now paid in,) the no less needful work of planting and embellishing must go on, and that for a considerable time, if we intend to make it, as we do, the finest Park in America.

It should, perhaps, have been mentioned above, that the Andover brethren sent up to the Jubilee, together with the letter of Mills, a copy of the Constitution of the Society, formed here by him and his associates, and transferred, afterwards, to Andover. This document, written in cypher, was handed by the President of the day to Dr. Cox; but neither he nor any of the Daniels on the stage were able to decypher it.



Said Gordon Hall, on receiving a flattering invitation to settle in the ministry, (and never, remarks Dr. Porter, can I forget with what a glistening eye and firm accent this youthful pioneer of foreign missions, full of faith and the Holy Ghost, said it,) "No! I must not settle in any parish in Christendom. Others will be left, whose health or pre-engagements require them to stay at home; but I can sleep on the ground, can endure hunger and hardship; God calls me to the heathen;—wo to me if I preach not the gospel to the heathen." Such language justifies the declaration of Mills, that "Hall was ordained and stamped to be a missionary by the sovereign hand of God."

I will now repeat to you some of the words of Richards. Richards came down to us from Plainfield, where his pastor, the venerable Mr. Hallock, for a series of years, fitted young men for College, giving them good mental training, and what was of greater value, the influence of a most excellent example. Such training will account, in part at least, for a character like that of James Richards. He was one of the five under the haystack; and in connection with Hall declined to affix his name to that celebrated document, presented by Judson, Nott, Mills and Newell, to the Association at Bradford, for fear that, if more than four candidates presented themselves, the churches would be intimidated, and thus might be led to withhold their aid altogether.

The words of Richards, which I shall give, are few but precious. They are his dying words—not before repeated, so far as I know, in the hearing of American Christians. "I am writing," says the Rev. Mr. Sanders, in a letter recently received, "by the grave of James Richards. Though I look upon it, and walk by its side every day, I always feel that I am upon hallowed ground. A whole generation has passed away since he rested from his labors. Even before I was born, the wild flowers of Tillipally had shed their fragrance upon his grave. Thirty-three years of wet season and dry, have thirty-three times clothed these fields with living green,

and as often have they been laid bare beneath a scorching sun. But the influence of the good man still remains. Only a few days ago, I was going from house to house, in our village, and met a man whom I asked if he remembered Mr. Richards. ‘Oh! yes,’ he replied, ‘I was present when he died, and heard his last words.’ ‘What did he say?’ ‘Oh! what glories I see,’ was his reply. I was deeply interested in a description of the death of Richards, at the meeting of the American Board at Oswego, by our late father Poor; but I get a higher and nobler view of his character, when mingling with those for whom he labored, and in whose minds his last words are still fresh. His life and death were every way worthy an associate of Samuel J. Mills.

“I see by American papers that you have found the identical spot where Mills, Richards and company were wont to pray, and that it has become the property of Williams College. Thinking that you would be interested in seeing the monument which stands upon Richards’s grave, I have had a sketch of it taken, and send it herewith. It is now our wet season, so that the grave is covered with green grass and wild flowers. The tree is a Margosa. The monument itself is very ordinary, made of chunam, or common mortar, and did not probably exceed five dollars in expense. The drawing is not good, in every respect; it gives, however, a better appearance than the original. Upon it is the following inscription, viz:

IN MEMORY OF

The Rev. JAMES RICHARDS, A. M.

American Missionary,

Who died August 3d, 1822, aged 36 years and 3 months.

One of the projectors of the first missions from his country,

He gave himself to the work.

A physician both to the soul and body,

He was

In health laborious,

In sickness patient,

In death triumphant.

He is not; for God took him.

“I enclose a leaf from the Margosa, and a tiny flower from the grave.”

Those men live in their conservative influence on the churches at home. Without specifically intending it, they applied a corrective at the point of greatest exposure. “Pride, idleness and fullness of bread,” these are the millstones which drag down a prosperous church. Our danger is from plethora and stagnation; and had not the men of the haystack opened veins and sluices for our surplus wealth and means of luxury to flow off in fertilizing streams to others, moral congestion would have ensued as a matter of necessity. The medical faculty resort less to phlebotomy than they once did. This may be wise in them, but in the social body this practice cannot be dropped—cease to bleed here, and the patient dies.

The men of whom we speak live in the seasoning effect which they exerted on our higher institutions of learning. We are told that the end of education is discipline, and under the shield of this plausible theory we come to feel that men are educated when they are well drilled, when we can turn out thorough linguists, able naturalists and astute metaphysicians; but if, whilst discipline is not relaxed, we can incorporate into our mental training the influence of great thoughts,—if, whilst the logical faculties and powers of observation and discrimination are educated, and even taxed within proper limits, our youth can feel, at the same time, that great benevolent and holy enterprises await their support, and call loudly for their co-operation,—who does not perceive the immense advantage of an educational system combining such elements, regarded simply as a means of mental expansion. Exercise our young men to grapple with the great problems of the age, and let them feel that, if their education is good for any thing, it is to aid in the solution of these problems, and you have applied a mighty stimulus to the entire machinery of the mind—the man feels, now, that he has found an object worthy of himself. You have not only secured

the highest development intellectually but morally. Dissuaves from vice and idleness will not now be called for. In reaching the greater good, you have secured all that is subordinate. It is not by charters and legal instruments that we can inscribe on the walls of our institutions, "Christo et ecclesiæ ;" but by filling their halls with young men imbued with a spirit of holy enterprise, the representatives and successors of those who, fifty years ago, on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons, used to retire to this grove and the meadows by yonder stream, to pray for a perishing world. Woe be to our institutions when they come to feel that education consists in mere scholarship, when they cease to apply those elements of growth and mental expansion which have just been referred to, to those whom they profess to indoctrinate and train for action in an age like this.

The men of the haystack taught a dull, material age, the value of ideas ; that an age is glorious, not in proportion to its material wealth, but in proportion as it finds its life in thought and principles ; in proportion as it is swayed by them and is the exponent of them. With such examples to stimulate them, be not surprised if New England young men are found willing to traverse half a continent, and encounter bowie knives and border ruffians, for the sake of principles !

These men live in those forms of associated benevolence, now spreading like a net-work over the American church, and which have all ramified out from that slender filament woven under the haystack.

It only remains, now, to apply the subject, which we propose to do, fourthly, *by considering our relation to the movement whose origin we have been contemplating.* It is a fitting time to do this, brought as we are by a singular coincidence, it would now seem, to the very week, perhaps the very day which closes a period of fifty years, a cycle originally of divine appointment, the oldest of all the cycles—old when the cycle of Meton and the Olympiads of the Greeks

were young. It was foreseen by the divine wisdom that various abuses would be liable to creep in, which would need to be rectified as often as once in fifty years. The machinery of society would then require to be looked over. It would be time to wind up the clock and start anew. The Jubilee thus set limits to the encroachments of selfishness, and revealed the judgment of God in reference to fraud, injustice and oppression. It was a period of adjustment and rectification. It was more than this. It placed the succeeding age on higher vantage ground, whence the great experiment of human progress could be renewed under better auspices, with the lights of past experience to guide, and its beacons to warn.

Under what new aspects, then, does the problem of the haystack present itself, now that half a century has rolled away? From our present vantage ground, what new modes of attack are we prepared to recommend to those who are now preparing themselves for the conflict? The problem remains the same—the question is, whether any new light can be thrown on the mode of its solution. Certainly there is new light. Every discovery in science is so much available power towards replenishing, subduing and subjugating the world to God. It is in vain for us, brethren, to suppose that we can unlink religion from the general cause of human progress and the arts of life—as though religion were an independent and heavenly power, disdaining all handmaids, and not needing the appliances of civilization to accelerate its march. If this were so, why did the wisdom of God select the crowning, culminating epoch of ancient civilization as the starting point of Christianity?—and that, too, when there were gifts of healing, gifts of tongues, and interpretation of tongues? We do not suppose, indeed, that the divine form of our blessed religion needs to be bolstered up by philosophy, science or art; to halt on crutches of human workmanship, or remain a helpless cripple. There is in Christianity a vitalizing, central force, like that which reigns



in the human body, which seizes on the particles of ordinary matter, wrests them from the grasp of those chemical affinities which naturally bind them, and subordinates them to the various functions and ends of the animal; and yet this vital force, in which the dignity and power of man as a physical being may be said to reside, is not independent of materials and circumstances. We detract nothing from the mystery and dignity of this force when we allow that materials stinted in measure, or unduly combined, may give us a dwarfed or monstrous form, in place of the beautiful symmetry of a perfect body. So the honor of religion, the maintenance of its essential dignity and divinity, does not require an absolute independence of human agency. Indeed; every discovery which gives expansion to human agency, furnishes a new condition on which wider results may be predicated. What disparagement is it to Christianity to employ the printing press? Who does not see that this product of human invention, whilst it leaves the vital religious force intact, gives enlargement to the sphere over which it operates? The same may be said of steam. What was this gigantic power in the days of the haystack, and where was it? It was grinding in mills, and pumping in mines. The first rail-road car moved in 1806, (the summer of the haystack,) in Wales; and it was in the latter part of the same year, that the engine was transported by Fulton, destined for his grand experiment on the Hudson, which settled the practicability of steam navigation. This great revolutionizing force received its commission to break down the mountains and fill up the valleys just as "swift messengers" were preparing to go forth among all nations. And if there are forces in nature, yet latent and occult, as doubtless there are many such in her vast laboratory, the time of their development will be when their energies are called for by the unfoldings of Providence, and the exigencies of the church. These forces, developed by human reason and applied by human skill, become potent engines of moral, as well as physical power. Those wonder-

ful achievements of the human intellect, embodied in the great circle of the exact sciences, the labor of rigid and profound analysts,—these are not to be set down for nothing, as not entering into the conditions of victory in the great struggle now waging with the empire of darkness. We must preach to the nations from that elevated stand-point to which we are raised by a profounder science than heathenism ever gave birth to, and by applications of science to art, in which we wield and control the great forces of nature to purposes of utility which they never dreamed of. It will not do to approach the astronomer of India with tables less perfect than his own. But if we can show him that ours come down to seconds, where his reach to hours—if the great dial-plate in the heavens tallies with our chronometers, he will come to us to get his regulated. He may not, at once ; we must give time for pride and vanity to die slowly and respectably—but he will be obliged to come. And so our natural philosophers and engineers must present not abstract principles, illustrated by diagrams, but *working models*, and the nations will come to respect our philosophy through our arts. This has occurred to some extent, already, as Mr. Winslow told us the other night. Those old stolid Brahmins, buried in their philosophic repose, affected to despise Europeans, till the snort of the steam-horse was heard among them, and they found they had to gather up their long togas and “scamper out of the way.” Then they began to feel some respect for Christian civilization.

These people need to be waked up. They need to have their minds galvanized. If a man doesn't know that the world turns on its axis—if he supposes it is poised on a turtle's back—if he imagines thunder to be the yawling and scratching of a great black cat, and lightning the flashing of her eyes, as we are told the Japanese do,—such a man needs to be taken hold of, and have his intellects shaken to pieces ; or at least shaken to purpose. What can you make out of men wedded to such puerilities and crudities—such degrad-

ing theories, in reference to this sublime and beautiful system—this “Cosmos!”

Now in what way—and this is the problem we wish to propose—in what way can we make our entire civilization, the outgrowth of our Christianity, our science, our art, our refinement, our perfected systems of civil and social order, with the domestic virtues, yes, all the holy charities of home,—how can we bring these great teachers together, so that the nations can learn their lessons and profit by them?

The way is simple. It is to go forth in an *associated capacity*, bearing all these things in our hands; to transport a working model of what we recommend, and what we would re-produce; set it down where it can be examined, and let it tell its own story. When we wish to annex a broad realm to the area of freedom, what do we do? Do we send a few ministers to explain the principles of liberty there? No! we send colonies of men, women and children there, who hate slavery. This is good policy. It is not only good policy, but it is absolutely vital to the success of the enterprise. And the same policy will be found not less good, when applied to an enterprise infinitely more arduous. We must make the whole force of our civilization bear on the conversion of the world to God. Our steam engines and our ploughs must preach; but, if they do so, they must be wielded and managed by skillful hands. Patient, *dexterous* and *pious* young men must volunteer to use them. Abbott Lawrence said, that what Cambridge wanted was the sons of the yeomanry. Yes, and one who has a higher claim, the Lord of Cambridge and our Lord, wants them, and they are well qualified to go. Understand me, my friends, I do not hold it necessary that men should study ten years before they are fit to teach the heathen. Any of our good New England farmers or tradesmen, with a thorough common school education, are qualified to be missionaries, and the best kind of missionaries too; especially in Papal and Mohammedan countries, where the cloth of a man's coat renders him an

object of suspicion, and every benevolent effort is resolved, at once, into a spirit of proselytism. Such persons, if they are pious, are qualified not only to teach, but to preach in a very high sense; they are qualified to preach by example, and that is the most effective kind of preaching. How many of us were converted by preaching in the technical sense? Very few. It was through the effects which we saw wrought by religion embodied in character, rather than inculcated by precept, that we were won over. Why was Paul so anxious to work at tent-making, and earn his living by handicraft? Why, but because he saw the immense influence of such a course? When we preach through our industry, our frugality, and our honesty, this is loud preaching, and men do not need to go to College to preach in this way. Let it be seen, let the nations see, that the religion which we inculcate makes much of the homely, every-day virtues, that charity, benevolence, humanity and kindness are among its common, every-day fruits. Let them witness the order of a well-regulated Christian family. Let them see a model kitchen, (and such a woman as I could name moving about in it,) and much would be gained. If good housewifery is not a part of religion, neatness, tidiness, economy and all the little numberless comforts of home,—if they are not a part of Christianity, why do they not abound among the heathen nations? These, too, should enter into our means; every thing which is the legitimate outgrowth of Christianity should preach. It has come to be fashionable to speak of civilization and Christianity as antagonistical forces. A greater mistake could not be made; as though Christian civilization were not a part of Christianity itself—the natural outgrowth and expression of it. The times demand an expansion in our methods like that now suggested. Such a movement would no more than meet the language of Mills, who, in a letter I think to Hall, says, “I wish we could break out upon the heathen like the Irish rebellion, forty thousand strong.” So much did this idea of an independent associated movement interest the minds of

our young men three years ago, that they were willing to raise five hundred dollars, out of their abundant poverty, to send out a suitable person to explore and locate for them.

Do we propose then, it may be asked, to dispense with missionaries expressly trained and educated for the work. This is not proposed; such men we must have. We would have men, and the means of training them for their work, which we have not now. The Seminary at Andover was originally intended to meet this case. This Seminary sprung up in the days of the haystack. It was only a few months after the meeting held here, in the month of December, 1806, that Dr. Spring, having received some pledges in favor of a Theological Academy, went to Salem to present the cause to Mr. Norris, a rich merchant residing there. Mr. Norris at first declined giving. Having made his wealth in India, he felt bound to contribute something in that direction. On being told, however, that in giving to Andover he was virtually giving to the cause of missions, (for how could they hear without a preacher?) he gave ten thousand dollars on the spot; to which thirty thousand dollars were afterwards added by Mrs. Norris. It seems to have been zeal for the cause of missions, primarily and mainly, which prompted these large benefactions. It was soon found, however, that Andover, so far from meeting the wants of the heathen world, was quite inadequate to supply the home demand. Other kindred seminaries sprung up, and the missionary revival losing by degrees its strength, the theological element predominated, and the missionary element became less prominent. So that, now, no one of these institutions, that I am aware, professes to furnish any specific preparation to those having the missionary work in view. Look, for a moment, at the operation of the present system. A student, whose heart God has touched, and who feels like Hall, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel to the heathen," spends two or three years in his preparatory course—then four years in College—then three years in Seminary—and in all this not



one particle of discipline or instruction has he received, different from that of a candidate for a church in Boston or Brooklyn.

Now he repairs to some distant, perhaps to some tropical clime. He finds himself afar off in a heathen land, ignorant of the people with whom he is to labor, ignorant of the language in which he is to speak and preach. Now his specific preparation to be a missionary commences; and it commences under very unfavorable circumstances. His health, originally perhaps not firm, is suffering from the wear and tear of a long and tedious voyage. A debilitating climate makes new draughts on his constitution. He commences the study of a language, the acquisition of which is the work of years; and before he is able fluently to speak it, the seeds of disease are deeply imbedded in his frame. He drags through his work with difficulty, or perhaps, yields a quick and easy prey to death. What I have now said, supposes that he finds the accommodations of home where he is to commence his labors; but often this is not so.

Says a devoted missionary, now in the African field, "I know not how it is in other countries; but, here, we are obliged to spend a great amount of our time and strength in secular affairs. We must be 'Jack at all trades,' carpenter, blacksmith, cabinet maker, miller, farmer, tailor, harness maker, and every thing else. When do we get any time for study? We do not find it. We now wear our lives away, doing, for the most part, those things any uneducated man might do as well or better than we. \* \* \* But these are not the worst evils of the present system. We are in this country, alone, in the midst of heathen, in culture, in manners, in feelings and actions, scarce above the beasts of the field. We long for, we need society. We are, perhaps, discouraged and in despair, because we need to see congenial faces, and hear familiar voices. From what I have seen of mission-life, I am persuaded that more missionaries lose their health, return home, or go down to an early grave from this

cause, than from almost any other. You will make your own inferences from these statements. You will see they have a bearing on your scheme." One would be quite surprised to count up the number of missionaries who have been compelled to return, either from a failure of their own health, or that of their families.

Now can a remedy be applied to the evils which have been referred to? The remedy for one important class of them lies in the colonization scheme, which is thus recommended not only by all the reasons above stated, but by this urgent one, brought out in the letter I have just read. The remedy for another portion of the embarrassments incidental to the missionary work, which seems to me to be possible, I will now explain; and in order to do this, let me lay before you some facts—facts which are patent, but which may not have been pondered in their bearing on the missionary enterprise. I remark, then, that men are to be found in the midst of us, who are well versed in the languages of the unconverted nations. The Chinese and the Japanese languages and dialects, spoken by a third of the human family, might be thoroughly taught among us. The Burmese and cognate tongues, the Tamil, the Sanscrit and the Arabic have been mastered, not merely as written, but what is still more important, as spoken languages. The same is true of many tongues less widely spoken; and not only is this so, but those who have this knowledge, are familiar with the manners, and customs, and religious systems of all these nations. They have entered into these points practically, and made them matter of profound study.

Who are the persons referred to, do you ask? They are missionaries driven back by stress of weather. The knowledge of these men is not theoretical, like that of the dead languages, acquired in the schools, but knowledge obtained at the fountain-head, acquired by familiar intercourse, during half a lifetime, with heathen nations. I take it upon myself to say, that there is abroad in the land more profound ac-

quaintance with the living nations and the living tongues, than Oxford, or Cambridge, or any foreign University can boast of.

And where are these men, the depositories of all this learning? They are keeping small boarding-schools. No longer fit for full service, they are supplying vacant pulpits, here and there; they are eking out a precarious living for themselves and families, in second and third-rate parishes. They are moving in spheres where their acquisitions, made at such cost of treasure and of time, are actually buried!

If these statements are correct, are we not ripe for a new movement? Is there not room, is there not a call for communities organized with this intent, independent and self-supporting, to go forth bearing with them all the incidental blessings of Christianity, domestic, civil and social, but especially bearing with them *Christianity* itself? And, as subsidiary to this, might we not bring together a vast amount of available knowledge and experience, to aid, at least, the leading members of such communities or colonies, in preparation for their work? The time seems to have come, when the great missionary work should be inaugurated as first and foremost in its claims. It should not be subordinated to systems of speculative theology. It should assume the dignity of an independent movement, and command the means and facilities requisite to its own development. The light now diffused throughout the land should be concentrated at some point. It should no longer be hid under a bushel, but shine for those who need its guidance and its warmth.

Let me sketch, briefly, the outlines of an institution such as the exigencies of the time seem to demand. Aiming at special and peculiar ends, it would not take its type precisely from any existing model. Such an institution should be an exponent of the living present, in contradistinction from the dead past. It should teach all the living tongues. These tongues are speedily to become the vehicle of Christian thought; praises are to be sung, prayers offered and Christian ideas

expounded in them. A great company of nations is shortly to be introduced to our fellowship—as says the Prophet, “Who are these that fly as a cloud and as doves to their windows?” We are concerned to know them, to know their institutions, their systems of philosophy and religion, of metaphysics and of science, their habits and temperaments, their geography and forms of government. There ought to be, somewhere in Christendom, near the great central heart which is to throw its pulses of life out among the nations, *a grand depository of knowledge, in everything which pertains to the living present, of those nations on whom we are to act*—whose errors we are to combat, whose false science we are to expose, and whose false systems we are to supplant by a purer faith.

Secondly. In such an institution, not only should there be instruction in the points just referred to, but *Nature*, as a part of the living present, should be taught. Some of our theological students know less of the works of God at the end, than they did at the beginning of their course. The development, in such cases, is unhealthy and one-sided; and it is well if it is not skeptical. Such need to come in contact with great Nature—to feel the beatings of her large heart, and thus keep their minds healthy, as well as their bodies. We should need a chair (if any one could fill it) whose province it should be to interpret Nature as a system of law, especially in its religious aspects. The nicer adaptations of matter, and the higher relations of science, should now be made familiar, as a means not merely of intellectual, but of religious expansion.

Thirdly. The theology demanded by the times, the only theology consonant with the spirit of the present movement, is the theology of the Bible. We want a school for teaching the word of God. And the teachers in this school should be men like Apollos, “mighty in the Scriptures;” and like him who, “while Apollos abode at Corinth, having passed through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus, and finding cer-

tain disciples there, said to them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost?"—Bible men; men filled with the Holy Ghost. Such teachers are needed, and such an institution is needed. "No one," says Professor Stuart, in his last address, "No one, who has any adequate sense of the dangers of the church in this country, can refrain from the most sincere and ardent wish that some wealthy and noble-hearted Christians would make themselves immortal in the churches, by founding and establishing a Seminary, on an adequate pecuniary basis, the sole object of which should be to teach, to explain, and to defend the word of God. Let there be a sacred spot found, where the richest contributions of wealth and science shall aid the student, in his efforts to scan the Infinite mind."

In such an institution there would be a *prophetical chair*. That portion of the Scripture, which takes such immediate hold of the living present and the immediate future, would not be neglected as it now is. Who would fill such a chair? Who would be competent to show the interlacings of current events with those that are shortly to come to pass? Who would apply the key of experience to the lock of prophecy, unfolding to us the great doors of the opening age, and giving us a view of the scenes which lie next in order in the grand march and mystery of Providence? This is a practical question, a question appropriate to the hour, standing, as we do, just at the eve of important and high prophetic dates. "How is it," says Christ, "that ye do not discern this time?" As much as to say, it concerns you to do so. If you are to meet its demands, you must not confound it with other times—times whose characteristics, and consequently whose responsibilities, are widely different. The wise men of Issachar "had understanding of the times," to know what Israel ought to do. But who will locate this time? If a crisis is approaching, who will define its character? Every thing indicates impending change. Never was the world farther from an equilibrium than now; or, if you please, never was its equilibrium more unstable. What



irreconcilable theories of social order ; what angry clouds skirt the political sky ! How widely different those systems of faith which divide the Christian world ! What accumulated materials of conflict, change and revolution are garnered up in the elements around us ! We need now, if ever, men of discernment in "the times," guided to a right interpretation of them ; not by the false beacons of profane history, or the flickering light of mere outward signs ; but by the "testimony of Jesus, which is the spirit of prophecy ; unto which we do well to take heed, as unto a light shining in a dark place."

The plans above suggested will require of course, in their details, much consideration and much wisdom ; if, however, the suggestions, in the main, meet your approval, would it not be well to take some measures, on the spot, with a view to give body and form to them. We are assembled, not to "build the tombs of the prophets," but to carry out their principles ; to give permanence and, if it may be, expansion to their thoughts. If we have caught their falling mantles, let us, as the men of the haystack did, anticipate the demands of the age about to open on us, an age which seems likely to be eventful and critical beyond any that has gone before it.

Let us mark the occasion, if not by this, at least by some great charity, worthy of the hour, worthy of the men whose representatives we are, and worthy of that growing empire whose completed triumphs we hope to share, when the great trumpet is blown, announcing a higher Jubilee than this—a joyful gathering of the long-lost, disinherited tribes, with the fullness of the Gentile nations—a day when not the affairs of a single commonwealth only, but "all things"\* shall be adjusted and rectified.

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\* Acts iii. 21.

The following hymn was sung to the tune of  
Lenox ;

Blow ye the trumpet, blow  
The gladly solemn sound ;  
Let all the nations know,  
To earth's remotest bound,  
The year of jubilee is come ;  
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home.

Exalt the Lamb of God,  
The sin-atoning Lamb ;  
Redemption through his blood  
Through all the world proclaim !  
The year of jubilee is come ;  
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home.

The gospel trumpet hear,  
The news of pardoning grace ;  
Ye happy souls draw near,  
Behold your Saviour's face ;  
The year of jubilee is come ;  
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home.

Jesus, our great High Priest,  
Has full atonement made ;  
Ye weary spirits rest,  
Ye mourning souls, be glad.  
The year of jubilee is come ;  
Return, ye ransomed sinners, home.

A recess of fifteen minutes.

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The exercises were recommenced by singing the  
following stanzas, to the tune of Coronation :

All hail the power of Jesus' name ;  
Let angels prostrate fall ;  
Bring forth the royal diadem,  
And crown him—Lord of all.

Ye chosen seed of Israel's race,  
 Ye ransomed from the fall,  
 Hail him who saves you by his grace,  
 And crown him—Lord of all.

Sinners, whose love can ne'er forget  
 The wormwood and the gall ;  
 Go, spread your trophies at his feet,  
 And crown him—Lord of all.

Let every kindred, every tribe  
 On this terrestrial ball,  
 To him all majesty ascribe,  
 And crown him Lord of all.

REV. CHESTER DEWEY, D. D., LL. D., of Rochester, N. Y., who was a teacher in Williams College from 1808 to 1827, led in prayer.

MR. FIELD. “ The speakers whom we have invited to address you, are representative men. The first to be heard is, of course, the representative of our Alma Mater. You will therefore now hear the honored President of this cherished institution, MARK HOPKINS.” Rev. Mark Hopkins, D. D., spoke as follows :

This occasion, Mr. Chairman, draws its life from its connection with the kingdom of Christ, and must mark an era in the progress of the missionary cause. It shows the hold which that cause has on the sentiments and the affections of men. The consecration of a memorial such as we set apart to-day, has no respect to the more immediate and coarser utilities of life. It is a flowering out of the inner and more subtle life ; it is the perfume of that life ; it is the offering up of incense ; it is the breaking of an alabaster box of

ointment, very precious, and pouring it out in sympathy with the Saviour and in honor of him. Him we rejoice that we may thus honor. Only as we honor Him will this occasion avail anything. Not, we trust, with any spirit of pride, or of vainglory, is this offering made ; but with gratitude, with humility, with adoring wonder at the ways of Him who, from the mustard-seed planted here fifty years ago, has caused to grow so great a tree ; who, with the little leaven that here began to work, has so leavened the nations.

But while the great interest of the occasion is thus drawn from its connection with the kingdom of Christ, it yet has a connection with this College ; and that is the special ground on which I am now called to address you.

No service can be rendered to education so great as to bring it into a closer and more vital connection with religion, and through that, with some form of great and heroic action. But the educating power of an institution is not solely from what that institution is at any given moment—from its buildings, its apparatus, its libraries, its teachers ; it also lies much in the influences of nature and of society around it ; in the memories of the past, and in its connection with great interests and events. No man worth educating, ever passed through this College without being in part educated by these great mountains. Greylock is an educator. They are of a style and an order of architecture that is very ancient, and, though they cost nothing, are worth more than any ever devised by man. We do not wish to educate merely the intellect, but also the moral nature ; to control the associations and to reach the springs of action. Surely there must be a legitimate use of association in education, not superstitious or idolatrous ; and we wish to associate literature and science with all that is beautiful and grand in nature, and all that is pure and elevating in religion. We wish to link in minds of the highest culture, sentiments of veneration and honor with humble prayer, and with devotion to the cause of Christ. Oh, Sir, if this could but be, if indolence and vice could but

be banished from this College, if there could be here two hundred and twenty young men, fully receiving the influences of nature which God has spread around them, and fully yielding themselves to the power of that religion which he has revealed, I would not exchange my position for any one upon earth.

All this we may not hope, but something we may; and whence, if not from linking more and more, as we here hope to do, educated mind with Christian effort?

Let, then, this memorial be permanent. Let the plan that has been drawn be realized. Let there be here an Arboretum with every tree and shrub that will grow in this latitude. Let every missionary station have a memorial, of some kind, on some part of these grounds. Let the beauties of nature, and the attractions of science, and the associations connected with the missionary work, be here combined as they may be, as they can be on scarcely any other spot, and we may surely hope there will be in all this an educating power. Who can tell what thronging thoughts, what clustering associations, what high resolves there may be, as these walks shall be trodden, now by the solitary muser, and now by those whose hearts shall burn within them as they commune together concerning the things of the kingdom of Christ? May we not hope that here the purpose shall be formed by many to take up the sickle and reap in that harvest whose field is the world? May there not be many who shall kneel on yonder spot, and pray as Mills and his associates prayed, and devote themselves to the cause of God and man as they devoted themselves? So may it be. The cause of Christ is the great central interest in this world. For that I wish this College to stand. Because of this memorial I hope it may better serve that cause—may be more what a College ought to be—and therefore it is, that, in the name of the College, I thank you, Mr. Chairman, and you, brethren Alumni, for what you have now so generously done. I thank all the donors and friends, for what they have done. As an investment for



education, it will be worth more than it has cost ; as an out-pouring of affectionate regard for the missionary work, as the solitary public memorial on the face of the earth in honor of the highest form of self-sacrifice and heroic effort, its value and its power cannot be estimated. Its influence will be felt to the remotest missionary station, and will mingle, not imperceptibly, with those that shall swell the ultimate triumphs of the Redeemer.

MR. FIELD. "Next in order is the Rev. RUFUS ANDERSON, Senior Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the representative of that great Missionary Corporation which had its origin in the influences here begun, and which, having since gone on steadily increasing year by year, has now its posts in every part of the habitable globe ; posts more powerful than frowning fortresses ; posts of Christian warfare, centres of knowledge and civilization ; points of radiating light." Rev. Dr. Anderson responded as follows :

MR. CHAIRMAN :—Less than a year ago, it was my privilege to stand on the site of Antioch, where the first foreign missionaries received their special designation from the Holy Ghost. This historical association was to me the principal charm of that beautiful and interesting spot. Next to Jerusalem, and the Sea of Galilee, I have most pleasure in the recollection of Antioch. But where am I now ? The mountains yonder are not ranges of Lebanon, nor is yonder stream the Orontes. We are met in the new world. The historical events we commemorate occurred within the memory of some of us. Nevertheless they are important, and have and will have a place on the historic page. And they

make this, rather than any and all other places, the *Antioch* of our western hemisphere.

We may not claim, that the *foreign missionary spirit* in our American churches had its first development here. The proof is ample that it had not. But, so far as my own researches have gone, the first *personal consecrations* to the work of effecting missions among foreign heathen nations, were here. Here the Holy Ghost made the first visible separations of men in this country, for the foreign work whereto he had called them. The first observable rill of the stream of American missionaries, which has gone on swelling until now, issued just on this spot; and I am thankful the spot has been so well identified, and is so convenient of access, and withal so beautiful; and that it has now been secured and consecrated as a permanent memorial.

The development and result of this movement meet our reasonable wishes. Samuel J. Mills rests near the shores of Africa. The grave of James Richards I saw in Ceylon. Gordon Hall sleeps among the Mahrattas of Western India. Hall died young; but a life of rare and consistent devotedness, illustrated by noble exhibitions of talent, give him a place in the highest rank of missionaries.

The AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS had its origin in the desire and request of young men of the Andover Seminary, including those just named, to be sent abroad as missionaries. These two things stand in the immediate relation of cause and effect. I am also persuaded, that the forming of the '*Society of BRETHREN*' here in this College, in September, 1808,—before even the *conversion* of Dr. Judson,—and its removal to the Andover Seminary early in 1810, or sooner, had much to do, by its weekly conferences and prayers, in maturing the plans of its members. Its leading object, indeed, as we are assured, "was so to operate on the public mind as to lead to the formation of a Missionary Society." And its members corresponded on this subject with the men, who actually became the founders of the American Board.

In my exploration of the archives of this Board, nothing has impressed me more forcibly, than the evidence they furnish of the want of visible openings for missionaries in the heathen world, less than fifty years ago. No positive Instructions had the five brethren first sent forth, as to their fields of labor. Their designation was simply to INDIA, with the hope of their gaining a foothold somewhere on its broad surface. I presume that now we could designate five hundred missionaries in different parts of India, easier than our fathers could those five, with the world of heathendom before them.

And this leads me to say, that, as yet, the prospects of the missionary enterprise are more favorably affected by the openings, facilities, and means for doing the work, (that is, by the direct results of God's providence,) than by the actual planting of churches; though we are not without promising results of this nature. Almost every war and revolution, for the past fifty years, every discovery and invention, steam-boats, railroads, telegraphs, involving together the cost of millions of lives and thousands of millions of money, have in some form or other been used by Providence to prepare the way to enlighten and convert the world. The embarrassment of Missionary Societies now, is not to find places for missionaries, but men for the places.

Since the 10th of February, 1812, the American Board has sent forth into the heathen world 358 ordained missionaries, 26 medical missionaries not ordained, 138 lay helpers, and 616 female assistants; making one thousand one hundred and thirty-eight sent from this country. The native helpers employed would swell the number, from the beginning, to 1,738.

The missionaries of the Board, now in the field, are 167 ordained ministers, 29 laymen, and 224 females; making 420 in all. Adding the native helpers, the number exceeds 700.

The receipts of the Board in its first year (1811) were

\$1,000. Last year, they were \$310,000. The amount contributed from the beginning to this Board, exceeds \$6,800,000.

Following the lead of Providence, how widely have these missionaries been dispersed over the world ! We find them among the tribes of our western wilderness,—on the Sandwich Islands,—in Micronesia,—along the coast of China,—in Ceylon,—in Southern and Western India,—among the Nestorians of Persia,—the Syrians of Mesopotamia,—the Arabs of Lebanon,—the Armenians of Turkey,—the Greeks,—and in Southern and Western Africa.

There is not time even to glance at the history of any of these missions. They stand connected with the great system of efforts prosecuted by evangelical Christians of every name,—a greater and more powerful evangelical body, than was ever before on the earth, and a mightier system of evangelical means, than was ever before put in operation by the Christian church. The missions of this Board are part and parcel of this great and mighty system. And, with rare exceptions, the whole are one in object, one in operation, one in spirit ; with barely enough of the *animus* of sectarianism to propagate the sects ; building up a growing denomination of Christians,—the only denomination, as I am informed, for which the language of the Sandwich Islands has yet a name,—*the kingdom of Christ*. *That*, Sir, is what our now glorified brethren prayed for under the haystack ; and God grant that that kingdom may soon fill the whole world.

I have alluded to the remarkable and most expressive bearing, which God's providential government is seen to have on the missionary enterprise. We are not to suppose, that the Most High has in any degree relaxed his hand, since the Old Testament times, in the government of the world. He now controls the movements of the nations so as to help, and not to hinder, his people in their efforts to extend his kingdom ; and a close observation of diplomatic, commercial and civil history, since the events occurred which

we are this day commemorating, will leave no need of some inspired sage to show the world to be full of this controlling influence.

Now that the 'fullness of time' is drawing near, we begin to see more and more of those grand operations of the divine Spirit, which characterized the first age of the Christian church. For an instance, the Acts of the Apostles furnish no more remarkable triumph of the cross, than is presented to our admiring view at the *Sandwich Islands*. Why, Sir, this very year, the government of that young Christian nation, after paying some \$40,000 for the support of schools for the native youth and children, pledged \$10,000 towards the endowment of a College at those Islands, for the children of missionaries and other foreign residents. And so ready are those native Christians to help us in sending the gospel to the insular world beyond them, defraying indeed the greater part of the expense, that the Prudential Committee have felt obliged to begin the building of a missionary ship, to be sent out and wholly employed in this service. And the call in the *Armenian* mission is not now met by an appropriation even of \$60,000 for the year. I remember, when walking with the venerated JEREMIAH EVARTS, many years ago, he said, with emphasis of manner, "Some of us may live to see the time when the receipts of the Board shall be ten thousand dollars a month!" My own feeling then was, it will be long first. But it was not. And now, more than half of that sum is demanded by a single prosperous mission, which was not in existence when the remark was made. The Board has come to need considerably more than \$25,000 a month, in order merely to live. I suppose, Sir, we shall seem to those who come after us to be advancing with but a slow progress. But, looking simply at what has been accomplished, we must all feel like exclaiming, 'What hath God wrought!' There is no longer need of praying, that the valleys may be exalted and the mountains and hills brought low, but that the Spirit may



be poured out upon all flesh. Sir, when the next Jubilee of Fifty Years is celebrated *here*,—and it doubtless will be,—how delightful to think what wonders of grace will then be recorded !

MR. FIELD. “One of the most numerous denominations of Christians in the United States, if not the most numerous of all, is the Baptist. This body is distinguished not only by its piety, but by its missionary spirit, it having always maintained its independent missionary establishments. Its representative here to-day is a former Governor of this Commonwealth, known to you all, GEORGE N. BRIGGS.”

Hon. George N. Briggs, LL. D., of Pittsfield, Mass., commenced by alluding to his connection with the American Baptist Missionary Union, of which he is President ; and expressed his interest in all missionary enterprises, by whatever denomination of Christians prosecuted. He continued and said :

A day or two ago, taking up a programme of these proceedings, I was surprised to find my name among the prophets. But as this was strictly a religious affair, and as I was a layman, I was quite content that it should be so. I am satisfied that in the performance of public Christian duties it has become too much the custom to put every thing upon the clergy. This is not as it should be. By participating with them on such occasions, we should aid and strengthen them in the performance of their high and appropriate duties. The layman as well as the clergyman should daily, by precept and example, preach the gospel. This is the appropriate mission of every disciple of Christ. The

lawyer should preach at the bar, the physician at the bedside of his patient, the mechanic in his shop, the farmer in his field, and the laborer at his work. Each should visibly bear the yoke of his Master, and testify devotion to his service by imitating him in 'going about, and doing good.'

This is an impressive Christian occasion, widely different in its character from those which welcome the conqueror, or rend the air with shouts to the party leader. Fifty years ago, those five young men whose names have been uttered here with such affectionate pathos, met on that retired spot in the Hoosick valley to *pray*. The mention of those prayers has touched me more than all things else which have been said here to-day. How deeply, O how deeply the destiny of those young and faithful disciples of Jesus was involved in the prayers which went up from their hearts to the Ruler of the Universe. And who can tell what, in the economy of divine Providence, will be the influence of those earnest and sincere prayers upon the destiny of the human race. Their names, then humble and obscure, have been given to immortality.

The wish to be remembered and the love of fame, are innate in the heart of man. I would address myself to the young men of this College now before me, who are anxious for a name that shall live when they are gone, and ask them to turn their thoughts to the scenes around that haystack, which have been the theme of this day's discussion. Let them reflect what an intelligent and fixed resolution to obey God, and be useful to man, strengthened by ardent, humble prayer, have done for those who participated in them. Let them recollect that the Bible declares, "*The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance,*" "*but the name of the wicked shall rot.*"

The names of Mills, and Richards, and their associates, will live and be revered by the wise and good amongst men, when the name of Napoleon and the bloody list of conquerors to which he belongs, will be remembered only as the slaughterers of their race.

MR. FIELD. "In the foremost rank of churches which have firmly maintained the right of conscience, is the Church of Holland. Its history is full of interest and instruction. In the fatherland it struggled, suffered and triumphed. In our country its branches have flourished and borne good fruit. It is honored of all for its doctrines and its disciples. And we honor it, also, because it took by the beard Philip the Second and the Duke of Alva. That church is not absent from our ceremonies to-day. We have with us one of its honored ministers, the Rev. ISAAC N. WYCKOFF, of Albany, who will now speak for it." Rev. Dr. Wyckoff responded as follows :

MR. CHAIRMAN :—In the midst of such a galaxy of talent and piety, and such a full representation of the interest and spirit of missions—particularly as the time appropriated to these interesting exercises is necessarily so brief—and more especially as there are several brethren here who ought to be heard, because they belong to that noble corps who have fought the battle of truth on the territory of error and falsehood—I have felt, and do feel, as if my little contribution might easily be dispensed with ; and I would do nothing but listen and enjoy. Nevertheless, as a worthy friend of mine, and your fellow-laborer on the Committee, claimed some testimony from me, as a representative of the good old Dutch Church in America, I accept the charge of the Committee with all appropriate acknowledgment. And, Sir, I may humbly claim, that the church of my fathers has not only a deep stake in the peculiar relations of this occasion, but had, perhaps, quite a distinguished instrumentality in producing them. If that instrumentality did not suggest, it doubtless

greatly promoted the purpose of that enterprise which was formed under the shelter of the haystack. Among the exercises of that remarkable occasion, a sermon by the Rev. Dr. John H. Livingston, of the Reformed Dutch Church, on the subject of the coming glory of the gospel, from the glorious text, "I saw a mighty angel flying through the midst of heaven," &c., was read and earnestly meditated. This sermon, which in force and beauty has perhaps no superior in the English language, greatly encouraged and fired the minds of Mills and his companions. As a pupil of that venerable professor, and as a Dutchman "to the manor born," I feel that it is both a right and a privilege to lift up my voice in the midst of those who magnify this providence.

But, Sir, what can one say, on such an occasion as this, but echo the expression of the universal feeling, that this is the greatest day, and the grandest scene, and the most spirit-stirring association, that we have ever seen, or may hope to see for a long time to come. This day, Sir, if I am rightly informed, is the semi-centennial anniversary of the glorious inception of our American Foreign Missionary enterprise. Fifty years ago, there were watchers in this valley of hope, who were peering over the dark mountains to see whether any sign of heavenly light began to appear. These hearts were startled and fired as they saw, or thought they saw, a feeble dawn of the day of salvation to the heathen breaking athwart the gloomy skies. It was a star of hope to their minds, and they could not rest till they went and told their brethren what things they had seen, and besought that they might be sent to explore the dark places of the earth. Their enthusiasm kindled some confidence in the minds of others; and they were sent, a feeble band, to contend with the mighty forces of heathenism. The marvelous effect of that spark of missionary fire, both at home and abroad, we are met to celebrate this day. And, Sir, what can we do, what can we say this day, but to lift up our hands with wonder and grat-

itude, and cry, "What hath God wrought?" "A little one has become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation."

Behold the effect at home! Then a few young men, unknown to fame, meditated the sublime enterprise of destroying the kingdom of Satan on earth. Touched by the kindling, spreading impulse, we have here, to-day, representatives from many States, from many denominations, from many missions. We have here the sages and great men of the country, the advocates of law, the doctors of divinity, the mighty minds of the nation. Abroad, we have shaken the foundations of the Satanic empire; we have made Moloch to tremble; we have broken the adamantine chain of caste; we have set up beacon-lights on the shores of perdition, and on the mountains of error. We have, at least, made the darkness visible every where, and created beautiful centres of light in some places that before were dark as Erebus. We have seen the presages of victory. We have heard voices, as from heaven, saying, *Go forward and conquer*. Yes, Sir, there are already kingdoms redeemed and Christianized by this instrumentality—a great Christian literature created in the once unwritten jargon of heathen accents. We have conquered the primary difficulties. Our Jonathans and their armor-bearers have reached the summit of the rock, and the enemy must fall.

Oh, Sir, if God has wrought such things by us in the incipient half-century when all was doubtful experiment, what will we do in the next half-century, now the tactics are well learned and the forces are well drilled. If, to-day, you need a tent to cover ten thousand people who rejoice in what the Lord has done, you will then need a tent that shall cover all the Mission Park, to accommodate the thronging multitudes who will gather here, to join in the shout,

"Jehovah has triumph'd, the people are free."

If another fifty years shall widen the missionary field in the same geometrical ratio as the past fifty years has done, then



shall heathenism and false religion scarcely retain a province in the whole wide world. And, Mr. President, why may we not expect that the ratio of our missionary expansion shall be even more than geometrical. Its spirit is creative and heliocentric. Oh it carries man upward to the source of light. It is amazingly attractive and provocative. Think, again, What has it already done? As from Jerusalem the glad tidings of redemption flew throughout all the countries, so from this consecrated missionary field has gone forth an influence that waked up the dormant energies of many churches and innumerable souls. Without presenting exact statistics, I may venture to affirm, that the mighty and praiseworthy hosts of Presbyterianism, the multitudes of Baptist brethren, the armies of Methodist pioneers, and religionists of all names and stripes in our country, have either been set in motion, or received a tenfold impetus from the spirit and labors of our American Board.

And I take particular occasion to rejoice and thank God, that this example has reached the steady and unexcitable heart of my own ancient, blessed Dutch denomination, and given to my church an impulse that will never cease to be felt. Standing aloof and inaccessible to the many wild isms of the day, she felt that there was neither superstition nor fanaticism, in concurring with the missionary spirit of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Sir, we feel that we owe much to the American Board. Never should we have rejoiced over our Scudders, Pohlmanns, Dotys and Talmages, had not your Mills, Judsons, Newells, set the great example of missionary abnegation and zeal. For long years would it have been impracticable for our small division of the sacramental host to march out to the field of battle, had she not been pioneered and protected by your advance-guard, and to a considerable degree provisioned from your military chest. Yes, Sir, we are happy in recording our acknowledgment to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

But, Sir, your zeal and success have stirred up new thoughts in the minds of some ardent brethren among us. What think you? Taught by your wisdom and inspired by your courage, they talk, even now, of going alone into the wilderness of heathendom, or somewhere in sight of your watch-fires, to pitch a camp on their own account. For myself, I have not yet consented to this bold adventure. I am not persuaded that it would be good policy. I prefer to remain in good company. A child should not even seem to be ungrateful to its mother. But I know and am persuaded, that you would say with the utmost cordiality, in the view of such a bold adventure, ‘If you can do more good among the heathen; if you can hew a wider path abroad; or if you can raise a more numerous company, or a bolder and more zealous spirit at home, by going alone, or separately into the work, then, in the name of souls that are perishing, in the name of our common Lord and Master, go in peace; and may Heaven prosper your enterprise.’ I echo, Sir, God’s will be done, and I will go with my brethren; their God is my God, and their work my work.

But while this missionary flotilla of the American Board has its machinery so sound and perfect, and while under the great Commander of the winds and waves, a noble son of my church is the commodore, I do not wish to cut the cable that holds our craft in company. And I would fervently add, beloved brethren, whether alongside or not, I will always look with veneration and love upon the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and will never cease to cry,

Good old ship, freighted with the world’s salvation, On,  
fly before the wind; Heaven favor thee with an open sea  
and a smacking breeze. AMEN.

MR. FIELD. “There are no sects here to-day.  
There are branches of the one Christian church,

whose members are scattered throughout the Christian world. Of these churches are the Church of England, and its daughter in the United States. One of their clergy is here, the Rev. STEPHEN H. TYNG, who will now address you; a minister of that ancient church, at whose altars our forefathers wedded their brides, and at whose fonts their children received the holy rite of baptism." Rev. Dr. Tyng, of New York replied :

I am much obliged to you, Sir, for your friendly notice of the Episcopal Church as the "ancient Church." But I do not appear in any sense before you as a representative of that Church. I much doubt whether I should be generally considered by them as a suitable representative of their body at any time, and particularly now. The Tyngs are rather at a discount there just now. But I trust I may come as a member and representative of that much more ancient Church, the elect, spiritual Church of the Lord Jesus, established in the ancient settlements of his own covenant; that Church which excludes none who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; that Church which embraces all in every nation who fear God and work righteousness. This would seem to be an occasion on which we might all forget that we belong to any other body than this.

I am happy to make my first visit to this beautiful valley on such an occasion as this, and rejoiced when I received your unexpected invitation to embrace the opportunity of meeting so many Christian brethren on this spot. Though the weather has driven us out of the park where we expected to meet, I could not allow it to prevent my visiting the spot this morning. I went there to contemplate for myself the beautiful scene, and strive to awaken myself with some of its recollections. It struck me there was something highly illustrative in a missionary park for a missionary memorial.

It seems a clear type of that free salvation in the Lord Jesus Christ, which is especially the theme and the power of the missionary work. A field enclosed, but open to the entrance of all, in which all have an equal right; and the beauties and comforts of which, all who please may equally enjoy. This free salvation—open, unconditional pardon for all who will receive it—is the great missionary message. It is to be connected in this work with no Church authorities or separations, with no Gerizims or Jerusalems. We are to go out and proclaim to all mankind unlimited deliverance in the blood of Christ to all who will accept it. The Missionary Gospel is “a garden enclosed,” but not exclusive; inviting everybody, shutting out nobody. Your park will be an appropriate memorial of the fact. And well might all improve its use and enjoyment in the thought, My right to the blessings of the Gospel is just as free, and the Gospel that I am to proclaim ought to be just as freely offered. I may have it, and everybody may have it, without money and without price. The Father seeketh such to worship him.

I was much interested in the thought which you suggested, Sir, in your opening address this morning, of the planting there of a specimen tree from every clime in which the missionary message is delivered, that will grow in our climate. This is also our great work, to plant for the Lord, in every land, “trees of righteousness, that he may be glorified.” I trust that all our work may be the planting of the Lord. But when you suggested this thought, it recalled the disappointment to my mind which I felt this morning on the ground. I had thought your park extended to the river-side, and, like the walks on the Cherwell and the Cam in our motherland, your future youth were to have the river beauties before them too. But I see you have shut the river out, and have left no chance for water-plants; no token that the abundance of the sea is to be converted unto Christ. Now, Sir, I would say, Go buy the residue of this field down to the margin of the river, before your own improvements have aroused the

selfish cupidity of the property-holders around you. Spread out an ample surface for your memorial trees, and an ample provision for the walks and meditations of your future missionaries.

I was quite struck, too, with the thought, while your jubilee orator was addressing us, of the propriety of the haystack as a memorial of our missionary work. I would keep the haystack always there. Not an iron haystack, as my reverend friend, Dr. Wyckoff, proposes. He must remember, that for iron the Lord will bring silver. There is no iron in the kingdom of God. I would have a real haystack, renewed when needful. It is a beautiful emblem. The missionary work is the harvest-work of the world. We are gathering in the Lord's harvest. We are building the Lord's haystack. We gather from every field, to combine in one common assemblage. And, ah, who can tell from what field the various straws come, but the Lord alone. They are all alike. George Whitefield called out once, "Father Abraham, have you any Episcopalians in heaven? No. Have you any Methodists there? No. Have you any Baptists there? No. What have you then? Nothing but Christians." This is the character of our work. Missionaries belong to no Church, but the Lord's whole Church. Who ever thinks in reading the Life of Martyn, for whom a Congregationalist has now furnished a sepulchre, that he was an Episcopalian? or the Life of Judson, that he was a Baptist? We feel a common property in this harvest-work. The straws are all alike when they get into the haystack. Let us never be satisfied to cock up our little rakings of hay, and leave them in the field to mould and mildew in separation. No, Sir! A final haystack, but no separate haycocks! Bring it all home, and let us build our haystack together, gathered from every field, by every hand, in sunshine and in rain, and sing our harvest-song over the finished work which the Lord has been pleased to do for us all. We have no differences in this work. We have one great message to deliver, one great



work to accomplish, one great harvest to reap. A free salvation for sinners in the blood of Jesus, the only-begotten Son of God, is our message. The gathering of converted souls to Christ is our work. The building of a spiritual Church with new-born souls, in the enclosures of grace and glory, is our final harvest. It is a glorious work. And your memoirs of it are here most appropriate and striking.

But the peculiar purpose of this day's celebration leads us all to a consideration of the history connected with it. Every class of Christians in this country must acknowledge their obligations to the noble Association whose missionary work is particularly remembered here. It was the first, the original foreign missionary work in our land, and it gave inducement and reason for all the rest. We also acknowledge, in the Episcopal Church, our engagement in the great work to have been excited and awakened by it. But I cannot forget, either, the obligations under which that Society is to the previous efforts of the Church of England. I remember Dr. Porter, of Andover, said in his sermon before the American Education Society, in a beautiful reference to this subject,—“Had not her Horne, with trumpet tongue, aroused the energies of a slumbering Church, and her Buchanan lifted the pall which covered the millions of India, your Millses and your Warrens would never have set foot on pagan ground.” This is a work in which all the people of God are so interwoven and united together, that it is very difficult to strike the proportion of their mutual obligations. The past has been thus far most encouraging and triumphant. The prospect of the future is still more so. We have a range of openings before us, and an accumulation of opportunities for successful exertion, which will tax all the energies of the whole Christian body. Let us be faithful, earnest, and united in the work before us. This dim but cheerful day is a happy emblem for us. If it is not clear sunshine, neither is it darkness. And rich and full clouds of blessings are hanging over us, ready to fertilize and bless our whole scene and labors.

I was much interested in the prospective views of the problem to be solved by us, as presented by the orator of this day. I acknowledge with him the importance of spreading a Christian civilization, and of not dissevering Christianity from civilization. I will not deny that there is a danger of this separation, against which we are to guard. But I much more fear the confounding of the two, and the mistaking of civilization for Christianity. I think there is an alarming tendency to this—a disposition to look at the temporal elevation of a savage community, and a melioration of the outward and social evils of the present life, as a real extension and operation of the Gospel. The preacher at home, and the missionary abroad, are both exposed to this delusion; and we must guard against it. Let us never mistake the progress of outward advancement in the present life, for that real conversion of soul which is still indispensable for the salvation of another. The slumbers of the sinful soul cannot be “awakened by the snorting of the iron horse.” I would agree to the importance of spreading what our orator has called “a model kitchen.” And since he says he knows a woman who could show them how to work it, I will say I know one too, for I have tried her for these near five-and-twenty years. Christian female influence, in all its departments, is most important in our work. But I would especially have that influence which David says is “bubbling up of a good matter, and speaks of the things concerning the King,” as naturally and as easily as the steam arises from the spout of her own tea-kettle in the model kitchen. We cannot overvalue the importance of Christian family influence. I have wondered that no speaker to-day has thought of Mills’s answer to his father’s remonstrance against his missionary plans: “Father, your prayers have led me to it.”

But we must watch especially over a pure and simple message of the life-giving Gospel. The word of power, the word which giveth life to the soul, is the message of a crucified Christ—“the faithful saying, that Christ Jesus came into

the world to save sinners ;” that which the dying Dr. Alexander said was now “all his theology.” We want a far more simple and constant preaching of the Gospel every where. And this is especially the missionary message. Let our missionary societies urge and guard this point with increasing earnestness. We shall never triumph in our Master’s cause but in preaching simply our Master’s word. This is the message which the Holy Ghost will bless for the conversion of the world, and this alone. My judgment of the solution of our problem would be, to call back the whole Christian Church to the Acts of the Apostles, and send the message out again in the simplicity of Christ, and with the demonstration of the power of the Holy Ghost ; and then expect and allow all possible advancement of civilization to follow in the train of this divine truth. I hope I may not be considered wanting in respect, in this expression of opinion. But I felt, while I listened to the earnest eloquence of to-day, that there was a danger of mistake on that other side also, which ought not to be forgotten. In listening to-day to the interesting history of the haystack meeting, my mind recalled a similar meeting which was held at Andover in 1811. On a Fast day, six young men, members of the Academy, went together during the hour’s intermission into a wood behind the Old South meeting-house, and there, around an old stump of a tree, knelt down together in united prayer. The meeting was without forethought or appointment. These young men had no particular connection with each other. But their history has been interesting in their subsequent course. They were Samuel Green, who early died in the ministry at Boston ; Daniel Temple, who passed his ministry in the Mediterranean, and a few years since came home to die at Woburn, in the room in which he was born ; Asa Cummings, so long the editor of the Christian Mirror, who has lately departed in the State of Maine ; William Goodell, now the faithful and beloved missionary in Constantinople ; Alva Woods, late President of the University of Alabama, and Professor in

Brown University ; and myself, still surviving—that is, four Congregationalists, a Baptist, and an Episcopalian. We knelt together in love and prayer on that day. We have tried, I trust, to glorify our common Master in our different ministries since. All of us have ministered the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ according to our opportunities, I humbly trust, acceptably in his sight. And thus, when our earthly work shall have been completed, I doubt not we shall meet in perfect harmony and love before his throne. There may we all meet, to give all the glory of our work to Him who sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever. And I am persuaded, Sir, that the more we cultivate this spirit of union and love, the more we shall imitate our Master's pattern, and the happier, and the holier, and the more useful we shall be in his service. The promotion of this spirit, I trust, will be one of the tendencies of the celebration of this day.

The following lines, composed for the occasion by MRS. MARY BENJAMIN, widow of the late Nathan Benjamin, long a missionary at Constantinople, were then sung to the tune of the Missionary Hymn.

Just fifty years are numbered,  
 Since, where we meet to-day,  
 A little band of Christians  
 Were gathered oft to pray ;  
 A youthful band and feeble,  
 Nor wealth nor fame was theirs ;  
 Yet here with God they wrestled,  
 And mighty were their prayers.

No earthly schemes or wishes  
 Those young disciples swayed,  
 And led their feet so frequent  
 To seek this quiet shade ;

But deep within their bosoms,  
 A holy flame burned bright,  
 Which soon 'round earth's broad circle  
 Should shed its glorious light.

The love that moved the Saviour,  
 That drew him from the sky,  
 Moved them with tenderest pity,  
 O'er heathen woes to sigh ;  
 They yearned with quenchless ardor,  
 Their Master's steps to tread,  
 And bear his parting message  
 To lands with death o'erspread.

Now pause we here a moment  
 That sacred group to see ;  
 Not bending 'neath the covert  
 Of some o'erarching tree ;  
 A haystack forms their shadow,  
 From careless eyes to screen,  
 Their roof 's the clear blue heaven,  
 Their carpet, earth's broad green.

Do not glad angels hover  
 On folded wing around ?  
 Bends not the Saviour's presence  
 Above this hallowed ground ?  
 Are not the prayers here uttered,  
 So fervent and sincere,  
 Breathed from each pleader's spirit  
 Into his listening ear ?

Where 's now that band of brothers ?  
 Some found an early grave  
 Afar from home and kindred,  
 Where India's palm trees wave ;  
 But Ocean's pitying surges  
 A requiem long have wept  
 Above the dreary chamber  
 Where Mills's dust has slept.



Let *us* inscribe their tablet  
 In holy thoughts and aim,  
 In high and earnest effort  
 To spread the Saviour's name ;  
 To keep the sacred beacon  
 They kindled, burning bright,  
 Till lesser flames shall vanish  
 In full Millennial light.

O ! watch there not around us  
 A glorious train to-day,  
 Of those who caught their mantle  
 And walked their holy way ?  
 And hear we not their voices  
 Call us from sloth to rise,  
 To follow in their footsteps,  
 And meet them in the skies ?

MR. FIELD. "The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the venerable mother of noble men and noble institutions, is represented here by one of her former Governors, himself an example of her best sons. EMORY WASHBURN, of Worcester, an alumnus of this institution, will now, I trust, let us hear something from him, on behalf of his State." Hon. Emory Washburn, LL. D., then replied :

MR. CHAIRMAN :—In yielding to your call to say something in behalf of Massachusetts, I feel half inclined to complain that she has been postponed to the Empire State, after the eloquent address from one of her most gifted sons, to which we have just listened with so much delight. [Dr. TYNG. The gentleman ought to remember that he is alluding to one as much a native of Massachusetts as himself.]—I accept the correction, Mr. Chairman ; but it by no means relieves my embarrassment, when I remember that I am obliged to follow a gentleman who, like yourself, has added

to the native qualities of a Massachusetts man the training and accomplishments of the great metropolis of our country.

But, Sir, standing upon this spot, surrounded by its hallowed associations, with all the memories which the day and the occasion are calculated to awaken, one can hardly keep silent in the presence of this crowded assembly, even at the hazard of doing injustice to the subject and himself.

No one can contemplate, for a moment, the history of the missionary enterprise in this country, without being struck by the economy of divine Providence in the instruments by which the great work of Christianizing the Pagan world was here conceived and undertaken. Friendless, feeble, unknown to the world, yet urged on by a power and an inspiration of which history only here and there furnishes examples, they gave the first impulse to an enterprise, compared with which the conquests of an Alexander or a Genghis Khan were but the work of a day. It was Providence working out anew its great designs, by the humblest of instrumentalities. It was Moses tending Jethro's flock on Mount Horeb. It was a son of Zebedee casting his net upon the Sea of Galilee. It was Peter the Hermit at the Council of Clermont.

And as we trace the progress of this enterprise, we are struck by the mighty truth that, few and feeble as were the men who went forth in what the world looked upon as a vain effort to arouse the nations of heathendom, they were able to accomplish what could never have been done by the entire nation itself, with all its treasures and navies and armies. They meddled not with the power of crowned heads. They threatened no revolution by violence. They awakened no jealousies of the civil power. They penetrated where our armies could not march. They planted institutions, and reared the fruits of moral culture, among nations which war might decimate, but could never conquer into Christianity.

I know it is often asked, What have our missionaries, in fact, accomplished? Where are the fruits of so much labor,

and so much treasure expended? As if old nations were to be educated, old prejudices eradicated, old superstitions banished in a day! Let me compare this missionary enterprise with some of the most renowned schemes of ambition which are recorded on the pages of history, and see with how much truth men speak of failure and disappointment in view of it. There is a coincidence, at least in time, between it and one of these historic events, that must strike the most casual observer.

In the memorable year 1812, on the 24th of February, that treaty was entered into between Bonaparte and Prussia, that had for its object the conquest of Russia with its sixty millions of people. Five days only previous to that event, two young men embarked, with their wives, at Salem, to go forth as soldiers of the cross to war with the powers of darkness among the hundred millions that thronged the plains and cities of the East. Each were preparing for a war of conquest; one by the sword, the other by the Bible.

Let us follow, for a moment, the career of these two forces, if indeed one of them be not too powerless to be put in contrast with the other. It is the 23d of June. The united armies of France and Spain, of Italy and Germany, are assembled on the banks of the Neimen. Language fails to describe, in adequate terms, the splendor and magnificence of that array of armed men. Five hundred thousand of the choicest troops in the world, who had gathered laurels at the Pyramids, or at Wagram and Austerlitz and Jena, are to pass that river on the morrow, with pennons flying, with arms glittering in the sunlight, and, moving at the measure of bugle and trumpet and swelling note of martial music, under the lead of the greatest soldier the world had ever seen, resolved upon conquest and victory. Six days only before that, the little vessel that bore Newell and Judson let go her anchor in the harbor of Calcutta. On the shore of the Neimen stood a few scattered troops of Russia, to oppose the passage of the grand army. On the shore of India

stood a Christian Governor, backed by the whole power of the East India Company, to repel the invasion of these two tempest-tost, toil-worn missionaries of the cross.

Now, Sir, let us close the volume of history here, and read from the lessons of human experience the fate of these two expeditions. Victory has undoubtedly again perched upon the standard of this conqueror in a hundred battles, while discomfiture and defeat only await this wild and visionary scheme of overthrowing the idols of a pagan world.

I open that volume again, at the end of eight months. It is February, 1813. One of the two whom we had left at Calcutta, after escaping to the Isle of France, where that noble-hearted wife, so worthy to be the pioneer in the mission cause, had put on the robes of immortality, has at last returned and set down, solitary and alone, to begin his work amidst the thronging dwellers in Ceylon.

But where is that army that, eight months ago, had entered the Russian empire, to conquer and possess it? I look for it in vain. Scattered, broken, discomfited, destroyed, the last straggler of all that mighty host has followed in their retreat the scarce twenty thousand panic-stricken wretches, whom cold and hunger and the sword of the Cossack have spared to tell their dismal tale of suffering and defeat.

This brief chapter of the history of a single year, needs no comment to enforce its own moral. Nor does it stop here. I look again for that leader and his army, and I see him brought home from his prison, in the midst of the ocean, to repose in state beneath the dome of the church of the Invalids, while here and there some old and decrepid soldier of his grand army is listlessly sitting and musing over the memories of the past.

I turn, again, to the other of these two enterprises; and though the early pioneers in the work are sleeping, Mills in the bosom of the mighty deep, some beneath the palm groves of India, and some in the green valleys of the Pacific isles, I see the enterprise which they inaugurated still going on in

triumph. It has become the enterprise of the age, while yet some of its early champions are spared to witness its widening field of influence and success. I cast my eyes over the field of missionary operations, and I find nearly seven hundred laborers stationed in more than one hundred and eighty different localities, under the guidance of a Board possessing neither official rank nor power, who in 1812 could command an income of only twelve thousand dollars, now wielding a revenue greater than that of some of the European States, and making their cause felt and respected in every quarter of the globe. Well, then, may the sons of Williams dedicate this spot to the memory of their associates, Mills and Richards and Hall. Well may American Christians gather around it. Well may the returned missionary come up hither, to rekindle his zeal, and renew his vows of fidelity in the work in which he is engaged. We rear here, it is true, no monument of art. The men and the occasion need none. This scene, this spot, are in far better harmony as monuments, than bronze or marble, though moulded by the hand of art and genius. The leaf-buds, in yonder grove, where those pioneers met and prayed, bursting, when the winter is over, into the rich verdure of Summer, and putting on, at length, the gorgeous livery of Autumn with its ripening fruits, are far more fitting emblems of that enterprise whose earliest bud was developed here, but the last of whose immortal fruits shall be gathered only when the Cross shall wave in triumph over a redeemed world.

MR. FIELD. "Napoleon once said that Constantinople was the centre of the world. The American Board has done well to make it a missionary station, and we shall hear of it from one of its missionaries, the Rev. ELIAS RIGGS, who has been there in the service. That city has been the centre of vast naval and military operations during the



past two years, and great results have followed from them. But of all the influences at work among the eastern populations, that of the Christian missionary is certainly none of the least, and time, I think, will show that it is one of the greatest." Rev. Elias Riggs, D. D., of Constantinople, who for twenty-four years has been a missionary to the Armenians, then said :

MR. CHAIRMAN :—When the ancient people of God had been brought safely to the eastern shore of the Red Sea, there went up a joyous song from the thousands of Israel, saying,

“ Sing ye unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously ;  
The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.”

But before they could be permitted to sing that song of triumph, they must stand in very different circumstances on the western shore of the same sea. Behold them there, in straits and terror ; a mountain barrier on their right, the wilderness on their left, the sea before them, and the chariots and horsemen of Pharaoh behind ! But what was the word of the Lord by Moses to that terror-stricken host ? “ Stand still, and see the salvation of our God, which he will show you to-day.”

Similar has been the experience of the mission with which it is my privilege to be connected ; in the beginning, straits, anxieties and dangers ; subsequently, enlargement, deliverance and rejoicing ; and at every step we could only say, “ It is the Lord’s doing.”

We have, indeed, been permitted, and we account it our highest privilege, to *work together with Him* ; to preach the glorious gospel, to translate and publish the Bible, tracts and evangelical books, and to train some “ faithful men who may

be able to teach others also." But after all, we have felt, and have often exclaimed, that *the work was of God*. One illustration of this truth is found in the fact, that the most rapid development of the great reformation going on among the Armenians, has been at some of our newest stations. The largest church and the largest congregation, within the bounds of our mission, are at Aintab, a city two days' journey north of Aleppo, and scarcely known to our churches in this country, until recently, even by name. Well do I remember when, in our mission meeting at Constantinople, only nine or ten years ago, discussing the subject of occupying that station, we seriously doubted whether the first missionary should venture to reside in that wild and apparently unsafe region, or should take up his residence at Aleppo, and reach over as best he might, and labor at arm's length for the dwellers in Aintab! And now, what do we see? In that same place, although the first missionary who went there was driven away with stoning, there is now a living church of one hundred and sixty-seven members, in the judgment of charity new creatures in Christ Jesus, a stated congregation of seven hundred or eight hundred, and a church edifice capable of containing a thousand hearers, and often filled to overflowing with serious and attentive listeners to the words of eternal life!

The question has been asked whether the progress of the recent war affected the missionaries or their work unfavorably. To this I reply, that personally we were not exposed to danger. We looked on and saw the immense preparations of the allied powers. We saw the passage of fleets and armies to the scene of combat. We witnessed reviews of the allied forces, and saw their regiments depart in their completeness and pride; and in some instances we saw their shattered fragments return after the campaign. But in the immediate vicinity of the capital there was no fighting. In respect to our work I should say that, on the whole, the progress of the

war rather promoted than hindered it, and that in many ways which time forbids me even to enumerate.

You have heard, Sir, with interest and with hope, of the publication of an edict last Spring, by the Sultan of Turkey, announcing a variety of reforms in the administration of his government, and especially proclaiming the principle of entire religious toleration. All these reforms were proposed by the Ambassadors of Great Britain, France and Austria, and accepted and adopted by the government of Turkey. When some of my associates called, soon after the promulgation of that edict, on Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the British Ambassador, to congratulate him on the success of his efforts in the cause of religious liberty, he evinced sincere and profound emotion ; and, raising his hands toward heaven in thankful acknowledgment, said, "*God has done it.*" "When," said he, "we proposed those twenty points of reform, I anticipated that some of them would be accepted, some rejected, and some debated and delayed ; in short, that we should see *some progress*. But they were all adopted, without exception and without delay. *God has done it.*"

I need not add, Sir, that we heartily sympathize in this view with the honored representative of Great Britain, whose untiring efforts have been given for so many years to the cause of religious liberty in Turkey.

One of the reforms inaugurated by the recent edict, is the admission of the testimony of non-mussulmans in courts of justice. Hitherto the murderer even, might escape the vengeance due to his crime, if only he were a Mohammedan and the witnesses against him not. I have myself known an instance of this kind. But an escape from justice on such technical grounds will no longer be tolerated.

But, Sir, towering high above all the other points in importance, stands the grand principle of religious liberty. The edict plainly declares that no man shall be molested on account of his religious opinions, or on account of *changing*

*his religion.* And here permit me to remark, that an error has been committed in the French and English versions of the very sentence of this edict, more important than all the rest put together. In those translations that sentence is made tamely to read, "No man shall be compelled to change his religion." And many of our English and American editors have said, after reading the document, that the death penalty was not expressly abrogated. Now the fact is that the original Turkish of this passage reads literally thus: "In the matter of a man's changing his sect or his religion, no compulsion shall be used toward him." It was designedly so worded as to mean that neither could any man be compelled to change, nor prevented by violence from changing his religion or his sect. And it is universally so understood by Mussulman readers.

I have myself seen, Sir, years ago, the head of a man severed from his body and both exposed for three days to the gaze of the populace in a public street of Constantinople, for the crime of having left the Mohammedan and professed the Christian religion; and an official notice was posted on the wall near by, declaring that he had suffered the penalty of *apostasy*. I trust such a sight will not again be witnessed in that city.

Now, Sir, when we reflect that this awful penalty was inflicted in pursuance of a settled policy of the Mohammedan system, a policy founded in unmistakable declarations of the Koran itself, we may well attribute the recent change to the wonder-working power of Him who ruleth among the nations.

The question has been asked, whether the reforms thus promulgated will be carried out. I reply, Sir, that in my opinion the government of the Sultan is entirely sincere in this matter, being fully persuaded that no other course remains for Turkey but to pursue and complete a system of European reform. It is no doubt equally true, that the great mass of government officers throughout the country do not

understand and love these reforms. As an instrument under Providence for carrying them into practice, I look with most hope to the steady vigilance and co-operation of the British Ambassador. However, a great point has been gained in the promulgation of these principles before the Turkish community and before the world.

One remark more. The Austrian and French Ambassadors united with the British in proposing these reforms. You cannot fail, Sir, to have remarked that in doing so they were demanding a wider and more complete religious toleration in Turkey than either of their emperors is willing to concede in his own dominions. Can we refuse to see, in the providence which has led them to take this step, the hand of Him who governs all for his church, and who said to Zion two thousand five hundred years ago, "The sons of strangers shall build up thy walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee!"

MR. FIELD. "We have heard the report of a missionary. I will now ask the Rev. Mr. Poor to chant some verses in the Tamil, that we may hear the language spoken by the people among whom Richards labored and died." Rev. D. W. Poor, of Newark, N. J., son of the Rev. Dr. Poor, so long a missionary in Ceylon, came forward and said:

MR. CHAIRMAN:—In accepting your invitation, I wish to protest, at the outset, against being considered as offering myself a candidate for the Professorship of Tamil in that new institution which we have heard so eloquently delineated by the orator of the day. I am no Tamil scholar; and I conceive my duty will be fully discharged, if I contribute to the entertainment of this audience a specimen or two of my native tongue, which memory still *préserves* among the



reminiscences of my boyhood. The first I will repeat is a bit of poetry, quoted from a Hindoo work in a tract we used to circulate. It is a curious illustration of analogical reasoning, which I would commend to the special attention of the President of this College, as connected with the themes he is wont to discourse upon. The purport of it is to disprove the after existence of the soul.

Here the verse was repeated.

The meaning of the verse is as follows:—As milk once drawn never enters the udder again, as butter once churned never turns to milk again, as a broken conch-shell never can be made to sound again, so man, once dead, never returns to life again! This is heathen Tamil.

As a specimen of Christian Tamil, I will give the Doxology with which our services were sometimes concluded.

This being sung, was followed by the Lord's Prayer, at the special request of the Chairman.

MR. FIELD. "There is a missionary station, as you well know, on the island of Ceylon. The Rev. MIRON WINSLOW was long a laborious and devoted missionary there; and as he is now returned from that island of cinnamon groves, I must beg him to give you his report." Mr. Winslow, who has been among the heathen of India for thirty-seven years, responded:

MR. CHAIRMAN:—I appear principally as a witness, to give my testimony. This has been my chief employment for nearly thirty-seven years among the heathen. We have heard of the men of the haystack. I had the privilege of personal acquaintance with two of them, Mills and Richards.

It has been mentioned here, that Mills was a missionary because of his father's prayers. It may be known to many, that he was a Christian in answer to the prayers of his mother. If there were men of the haystack, there were women of the closet. Mills was a careless youth of sixteen, at school. He returned home at a vacation. His mother had prayed much for him, and was pained to see in him no evidence of real anxiety concerning his soul. She spoke with him most earnestly as well as affectionately. When he left one morning to return to school, she went to her closet, resolving that, God giving her grace, she would persevere in prayer until she had evidence that her petition was accepted. There is such a thing as the "prayer of faith," indited by God, when he is about to grant the blessing asked. Such a prayer was offered by this Christian mother, who prayed as only such a mother can pray, and again "travailed in birth" for her son, that Christ might be formed in him. She at length left her closet with the assurance that her supplication had entered into the ears of her Father in heaven.

At that very hour, her before thoughtless son was passing a grove, and suddenly felt constrained to turn into it, and pray. He did so ; and, as it would seem, for the first time in his life poured out his heart before God, in the name of his great Intercessor. From that time he began a new life—the life of an incipient Christian missionary. This is mentioned for the encouragement of mothers, for they are called upon to give up their children to the Lord, as did the mother of Mills, even should he call son or daughter to go far away to the Gentiles.

I also knew James Richards, and for nearly four years had the privilege of laboring with him in the same mission-field. His worth has not been fully understood. It was my privilege to write the epitaph upon his tomb, which has been read here to-day ; and I can testify it contains no exaggeration.

In him appeared, emphatically, the "beauty of holiness."

I stood by when a sweet infant of his, nine months old, breathed its last. With the utmost composure he said, as he saw the last struggle of the precious darling, "It now fills just the place designed for it from all eternity." He could ask no more.

On his own dying bed, not many hours before his departure, he said to me, in speaking of the duty and privilege of praising God, "I have sometimes had as much joy in praising God here, as this poor body could bear, yes, as much as this poor body could bear; but when I *see* Jesus, then I shall sing, Oh, then I shall sing;" and with his eyes turned upward, so as almost to penetrate the world of spirits, and his countenance beaming with celestial radiance, he raised his weak frame from the bed, as though struggling to fly to heaven.

Such was the spirit of praise of one of the men of the haystack; and such is the spirit we all need. It was their prayerful, thankful spirit which brought down the blessing of Heaven on their humble efforts. They felt that the heavens above them were a great whispering gallery, in which every note rising from their hearts to their lips was concentrated, and would enter the ear of the Lord of Sabaoth.

We have now reached a new era. "The year of Jubilee is come." "Then let us anew our journey pursue." I trust a new impulse will be given to the cause of missions this day. We all need a new baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire, that we may really live for the conversion of the world—that each one may bear in mind that he is to be in the world as Christ was in the world, for the very purpose of bringing it back to God. We need to feel a *present duty*. This is the great want of humanity. It is the foundation of idolatry, for the heathen must have a god whom they can see.

We have a God who has been seen in human flesh. Oh, how unlike the idols of the heathen; and he has said to his church, "Lo, I am with you alway." I can testify that He is faithful that promised. "Not one thing hath failed of all

the good things which the Lord God spake concerning us ; all have come to pass." I have found in returning home, the hundredfold promised for this life—a hundred fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters, in place of those left ; and every where open houses and open hearts. I would, therefore, encourage all to believe that we have a God at hand and not afar off. A God around us and in us. Oh, let us be strong in him, and in the power of his might. Let us really live as *believing* that every thing here is to be estimated by its influence on our everlasting destinies—as it takes hold on eternity.

In reference to the missionary work in India, there is not time to speak. The obstacles are great. There is a hereditary priesthood ; an ancient and extended literature ; immemorial and time-indurated custom ; the iron and adamant barrier of caste ; a cruel, but fascinating superstition, controlling every action ; and inconceivable love of sin. But prayer has been made. The good done has been in full proportion to the means employed. There are more than one hundred thousand nominal Christians in India, and many of them, no doubt, are real Christians. In the missions of the American Board there are about four thousand in the congregations, and more than one thousand in the churches, and many of them have come through great persecution. I have had some taken from me by force, and put into irons and imprisoned. But I have seen the Spirit of God poured out upon the schools there, as manifestly as here, and the same grace operating in the conversion of the Hindoo, which has been effectual in my native country. We have received at Madras more than one hundred to the church, have built two convenient church edifices, by subscription ; have a high school of two hundred and fifty lads in English, and male and female vernacular schools, with nearly twice as many more. About twelve have been baptized from the schools, including those taken away by force and received to the church at other stations. Many not con-

verted have been useful, and some not baptized have, we hope, been saved in a dying hour. I have the privilege of preaching in Madras to more than five hundred, on Sabbath mornings, and have a Sunday school of nearly four hundred children and youth. In other places are rural congregations which any of you would like to join, though seated on the ground. Great changes have taken place in the weakening of the bands of caste, and lessening the influence of the brahminic superstition. There is an extended *preparatory work*. The masses of ice have lost much of their congenial frost, and are honey-combed. They need only the breath of heaven to dissolve them at any moment.

I would say, then, to the graduating class of this College, and to other members of it, "Come with us, and we will show you good." We need men, in the conflict. A sergeant's guard could not have taken Sevastopol. If half the pastors in New England should leave their people and go to India, it would be an immense gain there; perhaps in the end, with the blessing of God to bring forward others to supply their place, it would be no loss here. At any rate, we need to go forth in much greater numbers than heretofore; as we have been told that Mills said, "like the Irish rebellion, forty thousand strong." I do not know whether the entire plan, so ably set before us by Professor Hopkins, is feasible or not; but *something must be done* more worthy of the object than has yet been attempted. As Miss Mary Lyon used to say, we should help in four ways, all indicated by words beginning with the letter *p*; by *prayer*, by the *purse*, by *proxy*, and in *person*.

MR. FIELD. "Gordon Hall, a graduate of this College, and one of the earliest missionaries, perished in the service, leaving us the example of a well-spent missionary life. His son, the Rev. GORDON HALL, is here, and I shall ask him



to address you as the representative of his father." Rev. Gordon Hall, of Northampton, Mass., then said :

MR. CHAIRMAN :—It is not my privilege to appear before you as an alumnus of Williams College, and yet I cannot but think that an institution which is the Alma Mater of the father, must own some relationship to the son.

While appreciating, therefore, the courtesy which has invited me here, and remembering that I am here not for my own sake, but as the representative of one whom this College is pleased to number among her sons—here perhaps, because a question has been asked like that of David, "Is there yet any that is left of the house of Saul, that I may show him kindness for Jonathan's sake?"—while thus fully sensible that I am here by courtesy, still, may I not claim a certain right to be here? It seems to me that I have a right to mingle in these scenes which would have rejoiced the heart of him whose name I bear. Methinks I have a right to look upon these hills and fields which were dear to him, to tread where he trod, to love those grounds and walls where his name still lingers, to love my father's brethren, and call them my kindred, to claim adoption from his Alma Mater, (which I gratefully acknowledge as tendered to me this day,) and as his heir, to claim that portion of her benediction to which he would be entitled.

May I not urge another claim, also, to participate in the festivities of this your high day,—this day which brings to mind the origin of the American Board? Doubtless it must be conceded that I am connected with the American Board, as the son of one who helped to pray it into existence and strength, who prayed for it, and gave to it his services and his life, until his Master called him to a mission above and to the ministries of heaven. Honored and blessed be those men in whose hearts God planted *the germ* of this great undertaking. The secret of the Lord was with them, and

all nations shall yet call them blessed. But blessed also those who tended and nurtured this enterprise in its feebleness, who identified themselves with it when even churches and pastors deemed it premature and visionary. Blessed those who were true to it in its humiliation and struggles; who then loved it, hoped for it, prayed for it, acted and suffered for it, unto whom the Lord could say, "Ye did it unto me." Blessed then many whose names have not been mentioned here to-day; many a lowly man of faith, many a humble, praying female whom the world knoweth not, but whose record is on high.

I am not here, to-day, from any foreign missionary field. The providence of God appeared, in my view, to bid me do what my constitution and health might allow in this Christian land. And perhaps, for this very reason, that I have never gone abroad, I may the more appropriately speak a word to those who are among us from a foreign service. As we mark your frames, complexions and features, giving evidence of toil and exposure in unfriendly climes, we thank you for these seals of your discipleship and fidelity to Christ, these marks of the Lord Jesus which you bear about in your bodies, incurred, not by toil for mammon in some land of gold, but by following the unselfish, benevolent life of Him who came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many. I am sure that I express the sentiments of my brethren in the ministry, when I say, We thank you for your example of devotion and perseverance. We thank you for your presence here to-day, and your earnest words. After hearing these words, and looking into your faces, and taking you by the hand, we will go to our fields of labor, stimulated by your example, to remember you more earnestly, to pray for you more fervently, to commend your cause more faithfully to the sympathy and aid of our churches. And as you return to your distant homes, you shall scarce know which is the greater, the blessing you carry to the heathen, or the benediction of quickened

love and zeal you leave behind you among your brethren of these churches.

It may well be supposed that I am interested in the movement which is making to purchase the meadow where Mills and his associates prayed, and to preserve it as consecrated ground. If Bunker Hill deserves its monument as one of the opening scenes of the revolutionary conflict, then should this spot be marked, whither is traced an organization destined to revolutionize nations. If the Turk and the Russian will contend for their holy places, then should we vie with each other in our love and reverence for this hallowed spot. This is one of earth's holy places. From here has gone forth a power greater than from any battle-field or council-chamber. Let these acres be the possession of Williams College, whose sons have consecrated them. Let them be enclosed and held sacred; and let some fitting monument set forth that which gives them glory. Let the students of this institution, in coming years, tread these grounds to breathe a hallowed atmosphere, to be sensible of high communings and heavenly sympathies. Nay, pardon me, Trustees of this College, and gentlemen of the Faculty, and honored Alumni, pardon me when I say that this is not your property—not wholly yours, and it never can be. Every missionary and every lover of missions will claim that they have property here; that this is Christ's ground, and they are joint-heirs with Christ. The graduate of Yale and of Amherst shall tread these grounds, and claim that they have property here. The Christian scholar from our Eastern and from our Western institutions, and many from the old world, shall yet tread these grounds and claim that they have property here. The Christian student shall open his heart to the associations of this place, and go hence a holier and a stronger man. And the weary missionary, revisiting his native land, after meditating here, shall go away refreshed and strengthened. Here, doubtless, will a missionary spirit be breathed into many a heart, and upon many a heart will a new baptism of that spirit be here poured out.

Bear with me while I add one thought more. We are not here to glorify men or places or institutions—but God. Those holy, praying men, whose names are so prominent before us to-day, could they speak in our ears, would say, ‘Not unto us, not unto us, to God give glory.’

And that meadow—beautiful as it is, there are others that might challenge comparison with it in respect to natural features. Why then should that be the favored and chosen spot to which the origin of the American Board must be traced? ‘Even so Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.’

And the American Board itself—‘From a little one it has become a thousand, and from a small one a strong nation.’ ‘Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord.’

And this seat of learning—Why should it be among her sons that this immense and growing evangelical enterprise took its rise? Because here God gave his unction from on high.

To God, then, we commend this ground, that it may ever yield a harvest of sanctifying memories and quickening impulses.

To God we commend this honored and beloved institution, that it may raise up a long succession of able and faithful men to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ.

To God we commend the American Board, that it may do its work with ever-increasing devotion and success, till the promised day come, when none shall say to his neighbor, ‘Know ye the Lord,’ for all shall know him from the least unto the greatest.

MR. FIELD. “A friend of Samuel J. Mills, who forty years ago was in frequent intercourse with him, has come to join us in our services to-day, and brought with him notes of conversations he

then had with his friend, which I am sure will interest you. I shall ask him to come forward and give us these notes, and some account of Mills.”

HENRY HILL, Esq., of Boston, for thirty-two years Treasurer of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, said:

MR. CHAIRMAN:—Instead of occupying five minutes, I ought to apologize for standing here one moment; for I have not the honor to be a graduate nor a returned missionary; although, through the favor of God, I have had the honor and the privilege and the happiness, in years past, from time to time, of extending a cup of cold water to one and another of the noble missionary band.

It did not occur to me, until quite recently, that I had ever had any connection whatever with any one of the men of the haystack. But I hold in my hand a copy of a few words which I noted down about forty years ago. They relate to Samuel J. Mills, and are as follows:

“New York,”—where I then resided,—“Oct. 10, 1816. I called on Mr. Mills a few evenings since; and after sitting some time with him at his boarding-house, we walked in Broadway until half-past ten. The burden of his discourse was missionary exertions, missionary services, missionary labors.

“This evening, on our way from prayer meeting, my sister and I called on him, and he handed me some papers which he had previously offered for my perusal. Among others was, ‘A Word for Christ and the Heathen.’

“New York, Nov. 19, 1816. Mr. Mills has returned to the city and handed me a Report. He will, in a few days, commence another tour to the South and West.

“Baltimore, Dec. 19, 1816. I have found Mr. Mills and spent the evening with him. He goes to Washington to-morrow morning.”

The object of Mr. Mills, in our interviews, was to press upon my conscience the question of my becoming a mission-



ary. And he did his work thoroughly. But he found me with some mercantile entanglements. I was then twenty-two years of age, and I was about to embark for South America, for commercial purposes. So, before we parted, he said to me, with a sweet smile which I well remember, "I hope you will be a missionary man." And, Sir, I have not been entirely disobedient to what now seems to me to have been a sort of heavenly vision. And my life has been made so happy by endeavoring, in some measure, to act in accordance with the hope expressed by him, that I would recommend, most heartily, to these young men, and to those who are older, and to all, to follow the advice and imitate the example of Samuel J. Mills, who was himself emphatically a *missionary man*.

MR. FIELD. "The Sandwich Islands mission has been one of the most successful of all the missions undertaken from America. Its results are most palpable, in the social and political condition of that interesting group of islands, so near our own shores, and so likely at some future time to become a part of our political system. Let me ask you now to hear the Rev. E. W. CLARK, one of their missionaries." Mr. Clark, for the last twenty-nine years a missionary at the Sandwich Islands, responded as follows :

MR. CHAIRMAN:—I need not say that my feelings have been deeply interested on this occasion. Nearly a year ago, when, in the distant islands of the sea, I first heard of this intended gathering, my heart beat with a desire to be present on this occasion ; but, separated as I then was many thousand miles from this consecrated spot, I little expected that such a privilege would be granted.

It is now more than thirty years since I first became con-

nected with the little 'Society of Brethren' which was first formed here, and whose existence was, for many years, unknown to the outer world. It was a society formed, not to aid in *sending* the gospel to the heathen, but to effect a mission to the heathen in its own members. All who united with it became pledged to go personally to the heathen, unless Providence hedged up the way.

While a member of the Seminary at Andover, if any one thing more than another impelled me strongly towards the work, in which it has been my privilege so long to labor, and in which I hope still to labor until called to a higher sphere, it was reading the manuscript records and correspondence of this Society of Brethren. Among this correspondence was the letter which has been read before us to-day. These records and a part of this correspondence were first written in cipher, as the Brethren did not think the time had come to divulge fully their plans to the world.

What do we already behold, as the result of these small beginnings? It has been my privilege to witness some of these results in the islands of the great Pacific. Time will not allow me to go into detail. I can only say, that I have there witnessed a nation of barbarians transformed into a state of comparative Christian civilization. The bloody keau has been exchanged for the Christian temple, and the implements of savage warfare for the implements of civilized life. And the nation is now fast advancing in the graces of the Christian religion, and in every kind of useful knowledge.

And more than this, they have caught the spirit which animated the brethren who met at the haystack, and are going forth to regions beyond, diffusing abroad to other islands the same blessings which they have received in answer to the prayers and efforts here set in motion.

It is fitting that there should be here some memorial to commemorate the beginnings of this great work, which is to go on, until every island and every continent shall be vocal with the praises of Him whom to know is life eternal!

MR. FIELD. "We have another missionary returned from Ceylon, the Rev. Mr. HOISINGTON, who will, I trust, speak for himself." Rev. Henry R. Hoisington, of Williamstown, Mass., who has labored as a missionary in Ceylon some twenty years, said :

MR. CHAIRMAN:—We have spoken of the stream that had its rise in these heights of Zion. I have been down into the low lands of earth, and stood on the banks of that stream as it flowed far hence. Not like the sacred, the fabled Ganges, which flows from Siva's locks, in his own Kâilâsam, and thence makes its way across our crescent moon, and bursts forth from the snow-capped Himâlaya of Northern India. No,—it is "the river of God," on the banks of which grow the trees whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. There, under its transforming influence, have I seen the little heathen girl, wild in her appearance as the goats of the desert mountain, tamed and converted ; and have seen her develop into the beauty and loveliness of Christian life—shining in the centre of a Christian family as a light in a dark place. There, too, have I seen the little Tamil lad rise up into Christian and civilized life ; and, in a few short years, stand forth as a herald of the cross, or the advocate of right, in a way that would do honor to our pulpits, or to any bar of justice in this land. Did time permit, I should like to speak more particularly of the blessed influences of this stream as it flows onward. Its results shall be seen in that glorious Jubilee in the New Jerusalem above. May you, Sir,—may we all be there, to share in that blessed Jubilee.

MR. FIELD. "The Oberlin Institute, a well known literary institution of Ohio, is fitly represented on this occasion by a beloved and distin-

guished alumnus of our College, the Rev. JOHN MORGAN, of whom I may speak as the friend of many years, and whose presence with us is most grateful to more than one. We hope now to hear from him." Professor Morgan said in answer :

MR. CHAIRMAN :—In answer to your too friendly call, I should count it a high privilege to say a few words ; but the interest of this great occasion, and the brilliancy and greatness of the ideas to which we have all listened with breathless attention, have really almost extinguished what little light belonged to my thoughts, and even driven them quite out of my mind. And so affecting a pathos has wrought in the utterances of the speakers that I feel overwhelmed—have experienced annihilation—or rather, as our brethren from India might say, *absorption*.

My friend, the President, has called me out as one among the representatives of other institutions. An alumnus of this College, I have been engaged for twenty years in laying the foundations of an institution whose fundamental principle in the education of youth is, to make religion paramount ; literature and science, not the less valued, subordinate ; in short, to educate youth into such men as the humble heroes of the haystack. Perhaps we may have somewhat indulged the supposition that we were trying to do this more devotedly and more thoroughly than most other schools and colleges ; but the spirit that has manifested itself to-day, in the officers and friends of my Alma Mater, will send me back to my western work with no conceit of superiority, but stronger in the purpose to make the promotion of piety supreme in the business of education. And when I tell my colleagues of the scenes of this day, I shall with satisfaction see them inspired with renewed zeal by a generous emulation. It is fit that the young Western emigrant child should learn of the venerable Eastern mother.

MR. FIELD then called upon Rev. W. FREDERIC WILLIAMS, who has been a missionary in Assyria for seven years, and he responded by repeating the Lord's Prayer in Arabic.

MR. FIELD asked the attention of the audience to the singing of Bishop Heber's Missionary Hymn, in the language of the Sandwich Islands, by Rev. HIRAM BINGHAM, one of the pioneers of the Hawaiian Mission. Mr. Bingham said:

MR. CHAIRMAN:—A single stanza will probably suffice. A delightful part of the duty of the foreign missionary is to teach the heathen to sing the songs of Zion, in honor of the glorious Redeemer of the nations, who justly claims the songs of all the earth. I propose to sing a part of the Missionary Hymn, translated into the Hawaiian language, and often sung by the people there, at their Monthly Concert meetings, when they pray for the prosperity of this cause, and contribute freely for extending the gospel to other countries. I will give you the third verse.

He then sung in Hawaiian, much to the acceptance of the audience, the verse commencing, "Shall we, whose souls are lighted," to the tune of the Missionary Hymn.

Pe-hea la ke ho-o-le  
 Ka-kou i ao-iä mai,  
 I ka-na-ka po-u-li,  
 Ia la-ma e o-la'i;  
 Ke O-la, o ke O-la  
 Hoö-la-ha ae ka-kou,  
 I lo-he i ka Me-si-a,  
 A e hu-li ko ke ao.



At this period, *time* failed, though speakers abounded, and the audience were in the spirit; and all joined in singing to the tune of "Old Hundred" the following:

Jesus shall reign where'er the sun,  
Does his successive journeys run;  
His kingdom stretch from shore to shore,  
Till moons shall wax and wane no more.

Behold the islands with their kings;  
And Europe her best tribute brings;  
From North to South the princes meet,  
To pay their homage at his feet.

There Persia, glorious to behold—  
There India shines in Eastern gold;  
And barbarous nations, at his word,  
Submit and bow, and own their Lord.

Let every creature rise and bring  
Peculiar honors to their King;  
Angels descend with songs again,  
And earth repeat the long AMEN.

The Benediction was pronounced by the Rev.  
SAMUEL H. COX, D. D., of Owego, N. Y.

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## NOTICE.

With the leave of Providence, there will be a Missionary Prayer-meeting at the Haystack, on the morning of Commencement day, August, 1857, at sunrise. Friends of missions are invited to be present. This is intended to be the first in a series of meetings, to be held annually at the same hour and place.

## APPENDIX.

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WE insert the following Letter from Hon. CHARLES A. DEWEY, LL. D., who has been a Trustee of Williams College for thirty-two years, containing a tribute to Rev. Dr. GRIFFIN, which he intended to have given, had his health permitted.

HON. D. D. FIELD,

*Dear Sir,*—I deeply regret that I am unable to be present at the meeting of the Alumni of the College, to be held on the morrow, and to comply with the request, that, as one of the “older graduates,” I would address the meeting.

This Missionary Jubilee, and the events it is designed to commemorate, are matters of deep interest to every Christian philanthropist. But to those long connected with Williams College, and who feel deeply interested in all that appertains to its past history, as well as its future usefulness, this day is of special interest, commemorating, as it does, events directly connected with this institution. These incidents, hardly known in their day, and certainly little noticed, are now the acknowledged germ of that great instrumentality in civilizing and Christianizing the heathen world, the “American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.”

The warm spirit of devotion to their Alma Mater, which now so generally pervades the hearts of the Alumni of Williams College, is doing for her a noble work, and one destined to tell on her future progress.

You have, at your recent annual gathering of the Alumni and friends of the institution, performed a duty too long neglected, that of securing the erection of a monument to the memory of the

gallant Colonel WILLIAMS, the founder of the College, upon the spot where he fell in the service of his country. This has been done, and will ever be a remembrance, alike of the patriotic founder, and the College that bears his honored name.

As friends of the College, and on the broader ground of friends of the great cause of missions to the heathen world, we are now called to another duty, that of perpetuating the memory of the men, and their deeds, who at this institution, and on this ground, commenced those movements which have resulted in the extended missionary operations of the American Board. Here, if any where, should the names of our own MILLS, HALL and RICHARDS be held in grateful remembrance.

In contemplating these early days in the history of our Foreign Missions, another honored name is never to be forgotten. Such was the direct connection of Rev. Dr. GRIFFIN, with the movements of Mills and Hall, that the history of these incipient steps of this youthful band would be but imperfectly written, without alluding to the influence resulting from his counsels and his pen. He was one of the fathers of the church, to whom they went for counsel, to whom they breathed forth those thoughts yet concealed from the world, and by whom they were strengthened and encouraged in the great work they were meditating. When they would prepare the minds of their fellow-men for this noble work of benevolence, they republished, and circulated extensively the "Missionary Sermon" of Dr. Griffin. The association of Dr. Griffin with this Christian enterprise in its earlier stages, and his knowledge of the place and the scenes that occurred here in 1806-7, were subsequently of great moment to this institution.

In 1821, Dr. Griffin was invited to the presidency of this institution. It was not then, as now, all sunshine and prosperity. Others more timid, and less acquainted with its early history, would have declined the responsibilities he assumed in the state of the College at that time. But Dr. Griffin had the full belief that this College was not an institution to become extinct, or to shine with a dim light—that on the contrary, in its early history, he had the evidence of the divine favor upon the institution, and that it was destined greatly to prosper, and to be the acknowledged instrument of great good to the cause of Christianity and sound learning.

How fully has this been already realized, and how great the occasion for a day of Jubilee for our Alma Mater, and especially for the good she has been instrumental in accomplishing, through her sons, Mills, Hall and Richards, those pioneers in the great work of Foreign Missions.

Yours very truly,

CHARLES A. DEWEY.

*Northampton, August 4, 1856.*

We also take the liberty of adding the following extracts from a letter of the Rev. Dr. Cox, which appeared in the New York Evangelist, soon after the Jubilee, at which he was present.

\* \* \* \* "It is my own opinion, that, under God, GRIFFIN was the proper author, the real originator, of the whole matter of commemoration, in reference to the scenes and the men of the HAYSTACK! But for him, the whole of it would have been serenely anchored amid the sunk reefs of oblivion. \* \* \*

"That Institution [Williams College] was born, I think, in my own natal year, 1793. It has had, if I mistake not, four Presidents—all men of note and mark—Rev. Drs. Fitch, Moore, Griffin, Hopkins. Moore alone, I knew not. With Griffin, my friend, my paternal counsellor,—that man whose gifted magnanimity of character was appropriately symbolized in the gigantic proportions of his person,—with him I was intimate, with reason I esteemed and loved him. If I preached for him often, he paid me for it—in censures and criticisms, that left me his grateful debtor; as I never saw any thing in them worse than love and wisdom and learning, the kind faithfulness of a patriarchal oversight, eminently Paulian and good! He conferred with me in 1821, when about acceding to the Presidency of Williams College. And what so swayed him in its favor? He had other offers, in different and distant directions. It was—religion in general; and the memories of the HAYSTACK in particular! From the time of his accession, it was his frequent theme, if not his hobby, in public and in private. To myself, not to speak of many others, he was full, frequent, and fresh, on that topic, always. He religiously viewed MISSIONS with almost prophetic vision; and wrote of them, as it were with a quill

plucked from the pinion of the Apocalyptic angel, *having the everlasting gospel to preach*, and soaring in mid-heaven as he pursued his flight. At the Commencement in 1828, I was present, and heard him preach—in his sermon adverting to Mills, and his prayers, and the haystack, and the resulting American Board of Missions. Griffin it was that rescued it all from inevitable Lethe, else its early tomb. \* \* \* \* Ye sons of Williams, be sure to remember, by the next semi-centennial publication occurrent, and mention it too, that GRIFFIN it was that started to posterity the salutary memories of the men of the haystack.”

There were many returned missionaries present, who could not take part in the exercises, for want of time. We have not been able to get a full list:—among them were Rev. Cyrus T. Mills, from Ceylon; Rev. Ozro French, from Bombay; and Rev. Henry Rankin, from China, a missionary of the Presbyterian Board.

The following account of a meeting of some of them may be of interest. It was drawn up by one of those present.

After the close of Commencement exercises, on the sixth of August, by invitation of Prof. Lincoln, the returned missionaries met at his house, and enjoyed an hour of social and religious intercourse, reviewing scenes of missionary life, looking forward to future labors and trials, and imploring the divine blessing on the missionary enterprise. They were obligingly entertained by Mrs. Lincoln.

Still later, the same evening, there was a meeting of missionaries from the Sandwich Islands, and their children who were then in the place. They met and spent the evening at the house of Mrs. Crane. As a remarkable fact, the number present amounted to twenty-three, viz.

Mr. Bingham and daughter, and a daughter of Mr. Thurston, or the two youngest daughters of the first two ordained missionaries sent to the Sandwich Islands in 1819.

Mr. and Mrs. Clark, about to return, and a daughter.

Mr. and Mrs. Baldwin, soon to return, and a son and daughter.

Mrs. Dr. Judd, a son and two daughters about to return.

Mrs. Diell, formerly of the Seamen's Chaplaincy there.



A daughter of Mr. Richards.

A son and daughter of Mr. Coan.

A son of Mr. Lyman.

A son of Mr. Lyons.

A son of Mr. Alexander.

A son of Mr. Gulick, brother of Dr. Gulick of Micronesia ; and

A son of Mr. Chamberlain.

Rev. Miron Winslow, from India, and other friends were also present.

These children of the missionaries, all arrived at maturity, are most of them endeavoring to finish their education at our schools and Colleges, with a view to active usefulness, at the Islands or elsewhere. Some, however, were well educated at the Islands, where a College is now established, for the children of missionaries and others in that quarter. This was a delightful interview. There was speaking and agreeable singing in Hawaiian and English, one of the Misses Judd presiding at the piano-forte, and the others carrying three or four parts. Letters were read and communications made from the Sandwich Islands and Micronesia ; and measures were taken to secure a correspondence and co-operation between the class of the missionary sons and daughters who are in this country from the Islands, and those who remain there and are united in a "missionary society" for supporting some one or more of their own number, in carrying the gospel to heathen tribes. The next annual meeting of this kind is expected to be at New Haven, Ct., at the time of the Yale College Commencement, 1857. The mission and the nation were commended by prayer to the great Benefactor who has ever borne that mission as on eagle's wings, and whose word to the propagators of his gospel, "Go, teach all nations"—"Lo, I am with you always," is of divine authority and unchanging truth.



THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE  
OF A  
NATURAL RHETORIC:  
An Address,  
DELIVERED ON THE OCCASION  
OF HIS  
INAUGURATION TO THE CHAIR OF  
SACRED RHETORIC AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY,  
IN THE  
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT AUBURN,  
JUNE 16, 1852.

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BY REV. W. G. T. SHEDD.

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AUBURN, N. Y.  
J. C. IVISON & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.  
1852.



## ADDRESS.

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THERE is no greater or more striking contrast, than exists between a thing that is alive, and a thing that is dead ; between a product of nature, and a product of mechanism ; between a thing which has a principle within it, and a “thing of shreds and patches.” The human mind notices this contrast between the various objects that come before it, the quicker and the more sharply, because it is itself a living thing, and because its own operations are unifying, organizing, and vivifying, in their nature. We sometimes speak of the mechanism of the human understanding, and of a mechanizing process as going on within it. But this language is metaphorical, and employed to denote the uniformity and certainty of intellectual processes, rather than their real nature. Man is a living soul, and there is no action anywhere, or in any thing, that is more truly and purely vital, more entirely diverse from and hostile to the mechanical and the dead, than the genuine action of the human mind. Hence it is, that the mind notices this contrary quality and characteristic in an object, with the rapidity of instinct, and starts back from it with a sort of organic recoil. Life detects death, and shrinks from death instantaneously. Nature abhors Art and artifice, as decidedly as, according to the old philosophy, it abhors a vacuum.

This distinction between the natural and the artificial, furnishes a clue to the difference which runs through all the productions of man, and reveals the secret of their excellence or their defects. How often and how spontaneously do we



sum up our whole admiration of a work by saying, "it is natural," and our whole dislike by the words, "it is artificial?" The naturalness and life-likeness in the one case, are the spring of all that has pleased us; the formality and artifice in the other, are the source of all that has repelled or disgusted us. Even when we go no further in our criticism, this general statement of conformity or oppugnancy to Nature, seems to be a sufficient criticism. And with good reason. For, if a production has nature, has life in it, it has real and permanent excellence. It has the germ and root of all excellencies. And if it has not nature or life in it—if it is a mechanical, or artificial, or a formal thing—it has the elements of all defects and all faults in it.

\* It will be noticed here, that we have used the term Art in its more common and bad sense of contrariety to Nature, and not in that technical and best signification of the word, which implies the oneness and unison of the two. For, true Art—Fine Art—has Nature in it, and the genuine artist, be he painter, or poet, or orator, is one who paints, or sings, or speaks, with a natural freedom and freshness. Hence it is, that we are impressed by the great productions of Fine Art, in the same way that we are by the works of Nature. A painting, warm from the easel of Claude Lorraine, appeals to what is alive in us, in the same genial way that a vernal landscape does. An oration from a clear brain, a beating heart, and a glowing lip, produces effects analogous to those of light, and fire, and the electric currents. In this way, a mysterious union is found to exist between outward nature and that inward nature in the soul of man, which we call genius; and in this way we see that there is no essential difference between Nature and Art.

But in the other and more common sense of the term Art—and the sense in which we shall employ it at this time—there is no such mystic union and unison between it and Nature.

It is its very contrary ; so much so, that the one kills and expels the other ; so much so, that, as we have said, the one affords a universal test of the faultiness, and the other of the excellence of the productions of the human mind, in all departments of effort. For the Natural is the true, while the Artificial is the false. Truth is the inmost essence of that principle by which a production of the human mind is so organized and vitalized, as to make a fresh and powerful impression. Whenever, in any department of effort, the human mind has reached the truth, and is able to give a simple and sincere expression to it, we find the product full of nature, full of life, full of freshness, full of impression. This, and this ultimately, is the plain secret of the charm in every work of genius and of power. In every instance, the influence which sways the observer, or the hearer, or the reader, is the influence of the veritable reality—of the real and the simple truth. The Artificial, on the contrary, is the false. Examine any formal production whatever, and we shall be brought back in the end to a pretence—to a falsehood. The mind of the author is not filled with the truth, and yet he pretends to an utterance of the truth. Its working is not genial and spontaneous like that of nature, and yet he must give out that it is. From the beginning to the end of the process, therefore, an artificial production is essentially untrue, unreal, and hence unnatural.

We have thus briefly directed attention to this very common distinction between the Natural and the Artificial, and to the ground of it, for the purpose of introducing the general topic upon which we propose to speak on this occasion : which is,

THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF A NATURAL RHETORIC, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE WORK OF THE PREACHER.

There is no branch of knowledge so liable to an artificial method, as that of Rhetoric. Strictly defined, it is, indeed,

as Milton calls it, an instrumental art, and hence, from its very nature, its appropriate subject-matter is the form of a discourse. While Philosophy, and History, and Theology, are properly occupied with the substance of human composition—with truth itself and thought itself—to Rhetoric is left the humbler task of putting this material into a form suited to it. Hence, it is evident, that by the very nature and definition of Rhetoric, this department of knowledge and of discipline is liable to formalism and artificiality. While the mind is carried by the solid, material branches of education, further and further into the very substance of truth itself—while History, and Philosophy, and Theology, by their very structure and contents, tend to deepen and strengthen the mental processes, Rhetoric, in common with the whole department of Fine Art, seems to induce superficiality and formality. And when a bad tendency seems to receive aid from a legitimate department of human knowledge, it is no wonder that it should gain ground until it convert the whole department into its own nature. Hence, as matter of fact, there is no branch of knowledge—no part of a general system of education—so much infected, in all ages, with the merely formal, the merely hollow, the merely artificial, and the totally lifeless, as Rhetoric. The epigram which Ausonius wrote under the portrait of the Rhetorician, Rufus, might, with too much truth, be applied to the Rhetorician generally:

Ipse rhetor, est imago imaginis.\*

The need, therefore, of a Rhetoric that educates like nature, and not artificially—a Rhetoric that *organizes* and *vitalizes* the material that is made over to it for purposes of form—is apparent at first glance. Without such a method of expression, the influence of the solid branches of educa-

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\* Ausonii Epig. LI.

tion themselves, is neutralized. However full of fresh and original thought the mind may be, if it has been trained up in a mode of presenting it, that is in its own nature artificial and destructive of life, the freshness and originality will all disappear in the process of imparting it to another mind. A Rhetoric that is conformed to nature and to truth, is needed, therefore, in order that the department itself, may be co-ordinate with those higher departments of knowledge in which the foundation of mental education is laid. Without such a concurrence with the material branches of education, such a merely formal and instrumental branch as that of Rhetoric, is useless, and worse than useless. For it only diverts the mind from the thought to the expression, without any gain to the latter, and to the positive detriment of the former.

Rhetoric, therefore, can be a truly educating and influential department, only in proportion as it is organizing in its fundamental character. In order to this, it must be grounded first of all in logic, or the laws of thinking, and so become not a mere collection of rules for the structure and decoration of single sentences, but a habit and process of the human mind. The Rhetorician must make his first sacrifice to the austerer muses. In an emblematic series by one of the early Florentine engravers, Rhetoric is represented by a female figure of dignified and commanding deportment, with a helmet surmounted by a regal crown on her head, and a naked sword in her right hand. And so it should be. Softness and grace, and beauty, must be supported by strength and prowess; the golden and jewelled crown must be defended by the iron helmet and the steel sword. A rhetorical mind, therefore, in the best and proper sense of the term, is at bottom a constructive mind—a mind capable of methodizing and organizing its acquisitions and reflections into forms of symmetry and strength, and in a greater or less degree of beauty. It

is a mind which, in the effort to express itself, begins from within and works outward, and whose product is, for this reason, characterized by the unity and thorough organization of a product of Nature. Such an example, was the mind of Demosthenes, and such a product is the Oration for the Crown. The oratorical power of this great master is primarily a constructive ability—an ability to arrange and methodize. Take away this deeply-running and vigorous force by which the various parts of the discourse—the whole *materiel* of the plan and division—are compelled and compacted together, and this orator falls into the same class with the Gorgiases and the false Rhetoricians of all ages. Take away the *organization* of the Oration for the Crown, and a style and diction a hundred fold more brilliant and gorgeous than that which now clothes it, would not save it from the fate of the false Rhetoric of all ages.

Such again, for example, was the mind of the Apostle Paul, and such the character of his Rhetoric. Those short epistles, which like godliness are profitable for all things, and ought to be as closely studied by the sermonizer as they are by the theologian—are as jointed and linked in their parts as the human frame itself, and as continuous in the flow of their trains of thought, as the current of a river. The mind of this great first preacher to the Gentiles—this great first sermonizer to cultivated and sceptical Paganism—was also an organizing mind. How naturally does Christian doctrine, as it comes forth from this intellect, whose native characteristics were not destroyed, but only heightened and purified by inspiration—how naturally and inevitably does Christian truth take on forms that are fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, statements that are at once logic and Rhetoric—and satisfy both the reason and the feelings. For does not the profoundest theologian study the Epistle to the Romans to find ultimate and absolute



statements in sacred science, and does not the most unlettered Christian read and pray over this same epistle, that his devotions may be kindled and his heart made better? Does not, to use the illustration of the Christian Father—does not the lamb find a fording place and the elephant a swimming place in this mighty unremitting stream?

This thoroughness in the elaboration of the principal ideas of a discourse, and this closeness in compacting them into the unity of a plan, is, therefore, a prime power in eloquence, and it is that which connects Rhetoric with all the other departments of human knowledge, or rather makes it the organ by and through which these find a full and noble expression. For, contemplated from this point of view, what is the orator but a man of culture, who is able to *tell* in round and full tones what he knows; and what is oratory but the art whereby the acquisitions and reflections of the general human mind are *communicated* to the present and the future. We cannot, therefore, taking this view of the nature of Rhetoric, as essentially organizing in its character, separate it from the higher departments of History, or Philosophy, or Theology, but must regard it as co-ordinate and concurrent with them. The rhetorical process is to go on in education, along with these other processes of acquisition and information and reflection, so that the final result shall be a mind not only disciplined inwardly, but manifested outwardly to other minds—so that there shall be not only an intellect full of thought, and a heart beating with feeling, and an imagination glowing with imagery, but a living expression of them all, in forms of unity and simplicity, and beauty and grandeur. In this way, Rhetoric really becomes what it was once claimed to be, the very crown and completion of all culture, and the rhetorical discipline, the last accomplishment in the process of education, when the man becomes prepared to take the stand on the orator's bema—before his

fellow men, and dares to attempt a transfer of his consciousness into them.

A *second* characteristic of a natural Rhetoric is the *amplifying* power. If Rhetoric should stop with the mere organizing of thought, it might be difficult to distinguish it from logic. But this organizing power in the Rhetorician, is accompanied by another ability which is more purely oratorical. We mean the ability to dwell amply upon an idea until it has unfolded all its folds, and lays off richly in broad, full view. We mean the ability to melt the hard solid ore with so thorough and glowing a heat, that it will run and spread like water. We mean the ability to enlarge and illustrate upon a condensed and cubic idea, until its contents spread out into a wide expanse for the career of the imagination and the play of the feelings.

This union of an organizing with an amplifying power, may be said to be the whole of Rhetoric. He who should combine both in perfect proportions, would be the ideal orator of Cicero. For while the former power presents truth in its clear and connected form for the understanding, the latter transmutes it into its imaginative and impassioned forms, and the product of these two powers, when they are blended into one living energy, is Eloquence. For Eloquence, among the many definitions that have been given, is the union of Philosophy and Poetry, in order to a practical end. When, therefore, the logical organization is clothed upon with the imaginative and impassioned amplification, there arises "a combination and a form indeed"—a mental product adapted more than all others, to move and influence the human mind.

But we shall see still more clearly into the essential characteristics of a Natural Rhetoric, by passing, as we now do, after this brief analysis, to the *second part* of our discourse, which proposes to treat of the worth and importance of such a Rhetoric to the preacher.

I. And in the first place, a natural as distinguished from an artificial Rhetoric, is of the highest worth to the preacher, because it is *fruitful*.

The preacher is one who, from the nature of his calling, is obliged to originate a certain amount of thought within a limited period of time, which is constantly and uniformly recurring. One day in every seven, as regularly as the motion of the globe brings it around, he is compelled to address his fellow men upon the very highest themes, in a manner and to an extent that will secure their attention and interest. No profession, consequently makes such a steady and unintermittent draught upon the resources of the mind as the clerical, and no man so much needs the aid of a fertile and fruitful method of discoursing as the Christian preacher. Besides this great amount of thinking and composition that is required of him, he is moreover shut up to a comparatively small number of topics, and cannot derive that assistance from variety of subjects, and novelty in circumstances, which the secular orator avails himself of so readily. The truths of Christianity are few and simple, and though they are richer and more inexhaustible than all others; they furnish little that is novel or striking. The power that is in them to interest and move men, must be educed from their simple and solid substance, and not from their great number or variety. The preacher may, it is true, be able to maintain a sort of interest in his hearers by the biographical, or geographical, or archaeological or historical, or literary accompaniments of the Scriptures, but his permanent influence and power over them as a preacher, must come from his ability to develop clearly, profoundly and freshly, a few simple and unadorned doctrines. Far be it from me to undervalue the importance of that training and study by which we are introduced into that elder and oriental world, in which the Bible had its origin, and with whose scenery, manners and customs, and modes of living and

thinking, it will be connected to the end of time. No student of the Scriptures, and especially no sacred orator, can make himself too much at home in the gorgeous East; too familiar with that Hebrew spirit which colors like blood the whole Bible—New Testament as well as Old Testament—but at the same time he should remember that all this knowledge is but a means to an end—that he cannot as a preacher of the Word, rely upon this as the last source whence he is to derive subject matter for his thinking and discourse year after year, but must by it all be carried down to deeper and more perennial fountains—to the few infinite facts and the few infinite truths of Christianity.

The need, therefore, of a Rhetorical method, that is in its own nature fertile and fruitful, is plain. And what other ability can succeed but that organizing and amplifying power which we have seen to be the substance of the Rhetoric of Nature as the contrary of Art. Through the former of these, the preacher's mind is led into the inmost structure and fabric of the individual doctrine, and so of the whole Christian system; and through the latter he is enabled to unroll and display the endless richness of the contents. It is safe to say that a mind which has once acquired this natural method of developing and presenting Christian truth, cannot be exhausted. No matter how much drain may be made upon it—no matter how often it may be called upon to preach the “things new and old”—it cannot be made dry. The more it is drawn from, the more salient and bulging is the fullness with which it wells up and pours over. For this *organic* method is the key and the clue. He who is master of it—he with whom it has become a mental habit and process—will find the treasures of wisdom and knowledge in the Scriptures, opening readily and richly to him. He will find his mind habitually in the vein.

II. And this brings us to a second characteristic of a Natural Rhetoric, whereby it is of the greatest worth to the preacher, viz, that it is a *genial* and *invigorating* method. All the discipline of the human mind ought to minister to its enjoyment and its strength. That is a false method of discipline, by which the human mind is made to work by an ungenial effort, much more by spasms and convulsively. It was made to work like nature itself, calmly, cautiously, strongly, and happily. When, therefore, we find a system of training, resulting in a labored, anxious, intermittent and irksome activity, we may be sure that something is wrong in it. The fruits of all methods of discipline that conform to the nature of the human mind and the nature of truth, are freedom, boldness, continuety, and pleasure of execution. In this connection weakness and tedium are faults — sickness is sin.

But the mental method for which we are pleading, while making the most severe and constant draft upon the mental faculties, at the same time braces them and inspires them with power. The mind of the orator, in this slow organization and continuous amplification of the materials with which it is laboring, is itself affected by a reflex action. That truth — that divine truth — which the preacher is endeavoring to throw out, that it may renovate and edify the soul of a fellow being at the same time strikes in and invigorates his own mind, and swells his own heart with joy.

This feature — this genial vigor — in what we have styled a Natural Rhetoric, acquires additional importance, when we recur to the fact that has already been mentioned, viz, that inasmuch as Rhetoric is a formal or instrumental department, its influence is liable to become and too often has become, debilitating to the human mind. When this branch of discipline becomes artificial and mechanical in its character, by being severed too much from those profounder and more solid departments of human knowledge from whose root and fatness



it must derive all its nourishment and circulating juices—when Rhetoric degenerates into a mere collection of rules for the structure of sentences and the finish of expression—no studies or training will do more to diminish the resources of the mind, and to benumb and kill the vitality of the soul, than the Rhetorical. The eye is kept upon the form merely, and no mind individual or national, was ever made strong or fertile by the contemplation of mere form. The mind under such a tutorage works by rote instead of from an inward influence and an organic law. In reality, its action is a surface-action, which only irritates and tires out its powers. Perhaps the strongest objections that have been advanced against a Rhetorical course of instruction, find their support and force here. Men complain of the dryness and the want of geniality of a professed Rhetorician. The common mind is not satisfied with his studious artifice and his measured movements, but craves something more—it craves a robust and hearty utterance, a hale and lifesome method. Notice that it is not positively displeased with this precision and finish of the Rhetorician, but only with the lack of a genial impulse under it. It is its sins of omission that have brought Rhetoric into disrepute.

But when the training, under consideration, results in a genial and invigorating process, by which the profoundest thinking and the best feeling of the soul are discharged to the utmost, and yet the mind feels the more buoyant for it, and the stronger for it, all such objections vanish. There is, we are confident—there is a method of disciplining the mind in the direction of Rhetoric, and for the purposes of form and style, that does not in the least diminish the vigor and the healthiness of its natural processes. If there is not, then the department should be annihilated. If there can be no Rhetorical training in the schools, but such as is destructive of the freshness, and originality, and geniality of native impul-

ses and native utterances, then it were far better to leave the mind to its unpruned and tangled luxuriance—to let it wander at its own sweet will, and bear with its tedious windings and its endless eddies. Here and there, at least, there would be an onward movement, and the inspiration of a forward motion. But it is not so. For says Shakspeare:—

There is an Art which \* \* \* shares  
With great creating Nature.

There is a close and elaborate discipline which is in harmony with the poetry and the feeling and the eloquence of the human soul, and which, therefore, may be employed to evoke and express it. There is a Rhetoric which, when it has been wrought into the mind, and has become a spontaneous method and an instinctive habit with it, does not in the least impair the elasticity and vigor of nature, because in the phrase of the same great poet and master of form, from whom we have just quoted, “It is an Art that Nature makes, or rather an Art which itself is Nature.” Such a Rhetoric may, indeed, be defined to be an Art, or discipline, which enables man to be natural—an Art that simply develops the genuine and hearty qualities of the man himself—of the mind itself. For the purpose of all discipline in this direction is not to impose upon the mind a style of thought and expression unnatural and alien to it, but simply to aid the mind to be itself, and to show itself out in the most genuine and sincere manner. The Rhetorical Art is to join on upon the nature and constitution of the individual man, so that what is given by creation, and what is acquired by culture shall be homogeneous, mutually aiding and aided, reciprocally influencing and influenced. And let not this mental veracity—this truthfulness to a man’s individuality and mental structure—be thought to be an easy acquisition. It is really the last and highest accomplishment. It is a very difficult thing for a discourseser to be himself, genuinely and without affectation.

It is a still more difficult thing for an orator—a man who has come out before a listening and criticising auditory—to be himself, genuinely, fearlessly and without mannerism communicating himself to his auditors precisely as he really is. A simple and natural style, says Pascal, always strikes us with a sort of surprise—for while we are on the lookout for an *author*, we find a *man*—while we are expecting a formal *art*, we find a throbbing *heart*. This is really the highest grade of culture, and the point toward which it should always aim to bring Nature out, by means of art; and Rhetorical discipline, instead of leaving the pupil ten fold more formal and artificial than it found him, ought to send him out among men, the most artless, the most hearty, and the most genuine man of them all.

Now of what untold worth is such a mental method and habit to the preacher of the Word! On this method, literally and without a metaphor, the more he works the stronger he becomes; the more he toils the happier he is. He finds the invention and composition of discourse a means of self-culture and of self-enjoyment. He finds that that labor to which he has devoted his life, and to which, perhaps, in the outset, he went with something of a hireling's feeling, is no irksome task, but the source of the noblest and most buoyant happiness. That steady unintermittent drain upon his thought and his feeling, which he feared would soon exsiccate his brain and leave his heart dry as powder, he finds is only an outlet for the ever accumulating waters!

This invigorating and genial influence of the Rhetorical method, now under consideration, furthermore, is of special worth in the present state of the world. There never was a time when the general mind was so impatient of dullness as now. He who addresses audiences at the present day must be vigorous and invigorating, or he is nothing. Hence the temptation, which is too often yielded to by the sacred orator

to leave the legitimate field of Christian discourse and to range in that border land which skirts it, or perhaps to pass into a region of thought that is really profane and secular. The preacher feels the need of saying something fresh, vigorous and genial, and not being able to discourse in this style upon the old and standing themes of the Bible, he endeavors to christianize those secular and temporal themes with which the general mind is already too intensely occupied, that he may find in them subjects for entertaining and, as he thinks, original discourse. But this course, on the part of the Christian minister, must always end in the decline of spiritual religion, both in his own heart, and in that of the Church. Nothing, in the long run, is truly edifying to the Christian man or the Christian Church, that is not really religious. Nothing can renovate and sanctify the earthly mind, but that which is in its own nature spiritual and religious. Not that which resembles Christian truth, or which may be modified or affected by Christian truth, can convict of sin and convert to God, but only the substantial and real Christian truth itself. Nothing but material fire can be relied upon as a central sun—as a radiating centre.

The Christian preacher is thus shut up to the old and uniform system of Christianity in an age when, more than in any other, men are seeking for some new thing—when they are seeking and demanding stimulation, invigoration, animation, and impression. His only true course, therefore, is to find the new in the old—to become so penetrated with the spirit of Christianity, that he shall breathe it out from his own mind and heart, upon his congregation, in as fresh and fiery a tongue of flame as that which rested upon the disciples on the day of Pentecost—to enter so thoroughly into the genius and spirit of the Christian system, that it shall exhibit itself through him, with an originality and newness kindred to that of its first inspired preachers, and precisely like that which

characterizes the sermonizing of the Augustines and the Bernards, the Luthers and the Calvins, the Leightons, the Howes and the Edwardses, of the Church. What renders the sermons of these men so vivific and so invigorating to those who study them, and to the audiences who heard them? Not the variety or striking character of the topics, but the thoroughness with which the truth was conceived and elaborated in their minds—not an artificial Rhetoric, polishing and garnishing the outside of a subject in which the mind has no interest, and into the interior of which it has not penetrated—but an organizing Rhetoric, whereby the sermon shot up out of the great Christian system, like a bud out of the side of a great trunk, or a great limb, part and particle of the great whole—an amplifying Rhetoric whereby the sermon was the mere evolution of an involution—the swelling, bursting, leafing out, blossoming and fructuation of this bud.

III. And this brings us, in the third place, to the worth of this Rhetorical method to the preacher, because it is so closely connected with his *theological training and discipline*.

It is plain, from what has been said, that eloquent preaching cannot originate without profound theological knowledge. The eloquent preacher is simply the thorough theologian who has now gone out of his study, and up into the pulpit. In other words, eloquence in this, as well as in every other instance, is founded in knowledge. Cicero says that Socrates was wont to say that all men are eloquent enough on subjects whereon they have knowledge: a saying which re-appears in the common and homely rule for eloquence, “*Have something to say, and then say it.*”

Hence a Rhetorical training which does not sustain intimate relations to the general training and discipline of the pupil is worthless. At no point does an artificial Rhetoric betray itself so quickly and so certainly as here. We feel



that it has no intercommunication with the character and acquisitions of the individual. It is a foreign method, which he has adopted by a volition, and not a spontaneous one which has sprung up out of his character and culture and is in perfect sympathy with it. But the Rhetoric of nature has all the theological training of the preacher back of it as its support—beneath it, as its soil and nutriment. All that he has become by long years of study and reflection, goes to maintain him as a Rhetorician, so that his oratory is really the full and powerful display of what he is and has become by vigorous professional study. The Rhetoric is the man himself.

In this way, a showy and tawdry manner is inevitably avoided, as it always should be, by the preacher. It cannot be said of him, as it can of too many, “He is a *mere* Rhetorician.” For this professional study—this lofty and calm theological discipline, this solemn care of human souls, this sacred professional character—will all show themselves in his general style and manner, and preclude every thing ostentatious or gaudy, much more, every thing scenic or theatrical. The form will correspond to the matter. The matter being the most solemn and most weighty truth of God, the form will be the most chastened, the most symmetrical, and the most commanding manner of man.

And in this way, again, the rhetorical training of the preacher will exert a reflex influence upon his theological training. A true sacred Rhetoric is a sort of practical theology, and is so styled in some nomenclatures. It is a practical expansion and exhibition of a scientific system for the purpose of influencing the popular mind. When, therefore, it is well conceived and well handled, it exerts a reflex influence upon theological science itself, that is beneficial in the highest degree. It cannot, it is true, change the character and substance of the truth, but it can bring it out into dis-

inct consciousness. The effort to popularize scientific knowledge—the endeavor to put logic into the form of Rhetoric—imparts a clearness to conceptions, and a determination to opinions, that cannot be attained in the closet of the mere speculatist. Not until a man has endeavored to transfer his conceptions—not until he has pushed his way through the confusion and misunderstandings of another man's mind, and has tried to lodge his views in it—does he know the full significance and scope of even his own knowledge.

But especially is this action and re-action between theology and sacred Rhetoric of the highest worth to the preacher, because it results in a due mingling of the theoretic and the practical in his preaching. The desideratum in a sermon is such an exact proportion between doctrine and practice—such thorough fusion of these two elements—that the discourse at once instructs and impels; and he who supplies this desideratum in his sermonizing, is a powerful, influential and eloquent preacher. He may lack many other minor things, but he has the main thing; and in time these other minor things shall all be added unto him. In employing a Rhetoric that is at once organizing and amplifying in its nature and influence, the theological discipline and culture of the preacher are kept constantly growing and vigorous. Every sermon that is composed on this method, sets the whole body of his acquisitions into motion, and, like a bucket continually plunged down into a well and continually drawn up full and dripping, aerates a mass that would otherwise grow stagnant and putrid.

IV. Fourthly and finally, the worth of a Natural, as distinguished from an Artificial Rhetoric, is seen in the fact that it is connected, most intimately, *with the vital religion of the man and the preacher*. For no Rhetoric can be organizing and vivifying, that is not itself organic and alive. Only that

which has itself a living principle, can communicate life. Only that which is itself vigorous, can invigorate. The inmost essential principle, therefore, of a Rhetoric that is to be employed in the service of religion, must be this very religion itself: deep, vital piety in the soul of the sacred orator. Even the pagan Cato, and the pagan Quintilian after him, made goodness, integrity and uprightness of character the foundation of eloquence in a secular sphere, and for secular purposes. The orator, they said, is an upright man—first of all an *upright man*—who understands speaking. How much more true then is it, that Christian character is the font and origin of all Christian eloquence: that the sacred orator is a holy man—first of all a *holy man*—who understands speaking.

We shall not, surely, be suspected of wishing to undervalue or disparage a department to which we propose to consecrate our whole time and attention, and, therefore, we may with the more boldness say, that we have always cherished a proper respect for that theory which has been more in vogue in some other denominations than in our own—that the preacher is to speak as the spirit moves him. There is a great and solid truth at the bottom of it, and though the theory unquestionably does not need to be held up very particularly before an uneducated ministry, we think there is comparatively little danger in reminding the educated man—the man who has been trained by the rules and maxims of a formal and systematic culture—that the spring of all his power, as a Christian preacher, is a *living spring*. It is well for the sacred orator, who has passed through a long collegiate and professional training, and has been taught sermonizing as an art, to be reminded that the living principle which is to render all this culture of use for purposes of practical impression is vital godliness—that he will be able to assimilate all this material of Christian eloquence only in proportion as

he is a devout and holy man. Without this interior religious life in his soul, all his resources of intellect, of memory, and of imagination, will be unimpressive and ineffectual—the mere iron shields and gold ornaments that crush the powerless Tarpeia.

For the first and indispensable thing in every instance is *power*. Given an inward and a living power, and a basis for motion, action and impression is given. In every instance we come back to this ultimate point. There is a theory among philosophers, that this hard, material world, over which we stumble, and against which we strike, is at bottom two forces or powers, held in equilibrium; that when we get back to the reality of the hard and dull clod, upon which “the swain treads with clouted shoon,” we find it to be just as immaterial, just as mobile, and just as nimble, just as much a living energy, as the soul of man itself. Whether this be truth or not, within the sphere of matter, one thing is certain, that within the sphere of mind, we are brought back to forces—to fresh and living energies—in every instance in which the human soul makes an eloquent impression, or receives one. Examine an oration, secular or sacred, that actually moved the minds of men—a speech that obtained votes, or a sermon that, as we say, saved souls, and you find the ultimate cause of this eloquence, so far as man is concerned, to be a vital power in the orator. The same amount of instruction might have been imparted—the same general style and diction might have been employed in both cases—but if that eloquent *power* in the man had been wanting, there would have been no actuation of the hearer, and consequently, no eloquence.

It is, therefore, a great and crowning excellence of the Rhetorical method which we have been describing, that its lowest and longest roots strike down into the Christian character itself. It does not propose or expect to render the

preacher eloquent without personal religion. It tells him on the contrary, that although God is the creator and sovereign of the human soul, and can therefore render the truth preached by an unregenerate man, and in the most unfeeling irreligious manner, effectual to salvation, yet that *the preacher* must expect to see men moved by his discourses only in proportion as he is himself a spiritually-minded, solemn, and devout man. Here is the *power*, and here is its hiding place, so far as the finite agent is concerned. In that holy love of God and of the human soul, which Christianity enjoins and produces—in that religious affection of the soul, which takes its origin in the soul's regeneration—the preacher is to find the source of all his eloquence and impression as an orator, just as much as of his usefulness and happiness as a man and a Christian. Back to this last centre of all, do we trace all that is genuine, and powerful, and influential, in Pulpit Eloquence.

But by this is not meant merely that the preacher must be a man of zealous and fervid emotions. There is a species of eloquence, which springs out of easily excited sensibilities, and which oftentimes produces a great sensation in audiences of peculiar characteristics, and in some particular moods. But this eloquence of the flesh and the blood, without the brain—this eloquence of the animal, without the intellectual spirits—is very different from that deep-toned, that solemn, that commanding eloquence, which springs from the life of God in the soul of man. We feel the difference—all men feel the difference—between the impression made by an ardent but superficial emotion, and that made by a deep feeling; by the sustained, equable, and strong pulsation of religious affections, as distinguished from religious sensibilities. When a man of the latter stamp feels, we know that he feels upon good grounds and in reality—that this stir and movement of the affections is central and all-pervading in



him—that the eternal truth has taken hold of his emotive nature, moving the *whole* of it, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind. It is this moral earnestness of a man who habitually feels that religion is the chief concern for mortals here below—it is this profound consciousness of the perfections of God and of the worth of the human soul, which is the inmost principle of sacred eloquence—the *vis vivida vitæ* of the sacred orator.

I have thus, as briefly as possible, exhibited the principal features of what is conceived to be a true method in rhetorical instruction and discipline; not because they are new, or different from the views of the best Rhetoricians of all ages, but merely to vindicate the general spirit in which I would hope, by the blessing of God, to conduct the department of instruction committed to my care by the guardians of this Seminary. The department of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology, is one that from the nature of the case, is not called upon to impart very much positive information. Its function is rather to induce an intellectual method, to form a mental habit, to communicate a general spirit to the future clergyman. It is, therefore, a department of growing importance in this country, and in the present state of society and the Church. Perhaps the general tone and temper of the clerical profession was never a matter of more importance than now. The world, and this country especially, is guided more and more by the general tendencies of particular classes and professions. In politics, a party or class, that really *has* a tendency and maintains it persistently for a length of time, is sure in the end to draw large masses after it. In reforms, a class that is pervaded by a distinctive spirit which it sedulously preserves and maintains, is sure of a wide influence, finally. In literature, or philosophy, or theology, a school that has a marked and determined character of its own, and

keeps faith with it, will in the course of time be rewarded for its self-consistency by an increase in numbers and in power. In all these cases, and in all other cases, the steady continuous stream of a general tendency, sucks into its own volume all the float and drift, and carries it along with it. And the eye of the reflecting observer, as it ranges over the ocean of American society, can see these currents and tendencies, as plainly as the eye of the mariner sees the Gulf-stream.

How important then is any position which makes the occupant to contribute to the formation of a general spirit and temper, in so influential a class of men as the clerical ! Well may such an one say—who is sufficient for this thing ? For myself, I should shrink altogether from this toil, and this responsibility, did I not dare to hope that the providence of that Being, who is the sovereign controller of all tendencies and all movements in the universe, has led me hither. In his strength would I labor, and to Him would I reverently commend myself and this institution.

# CHARGE.

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BY REV. L. E. LATHROP, D. D.

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MY DEAR BROTHER:—

By your induction into the Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology in the Auburn Theological Seminary, your position is, as doubtless you feel it to be, one of profound interest and of high responsibility. The occasion is certainly appropriate for the utterance of words of counsel and encouragement from those by whom you have been designated to sustain the responsibilities which this position involves.

The choice which has been made implies a full conviction on the part of those who made it of your competency for the place you are called to occupy.

In giving you a special charge in relation to the department of instruction which is assigned to you, we would not be understood as assuming the prerogative of prescribing the exact course of instruction, or mode of teaching, you shall pursue, but as solemnly inculcating a faithful discharge of the duties of the office with which you have just been invested. Its privileges, prerogatives and emoluments are henceforth yours. Its results will be seen in the future developments of character which the sacred ministry shall assume, as moulded and modified in this institution which is to be the scene of your future labors. We hesitate not to say that the character of the ministry is very much depending upon the ability and success with which this department of instruction is con-

ducted. It is one of great prominence and importance in the training of the Christian ministry. It demands high qualifications, and involves solemn responsibilities.

The appellation which is given to it, is that of Sacred Rhetoric and Pastoral Theology. This is the prescribed and definite sphere of action which you are called to pursue.

And definiteness of aim in relation to it, is of much importance. Theology as a science, Biblical Criticism, Ecclesiastical History and Church Polity, are here to be taught by others. Yet an acquaintance with the subjects which belong to each of these great departments of instruction is of unquestionable importance in subserviency to a high degree of usefulness and success in this. But it is not in those departments that you are to give instruction, and it is not expected that you will encroach upon the prerogatives of those who are called to occupy them, but that you will devote your time and your efforts to the specific objects of what is made by your appointment, and by this ceremony of induction, to be henceforth your own appropriate sphere of action. The composition and delivery of sermons, and the manner of discharging the duties of the pastoral office, and all that appertains to the practical accomplishment of the work of the ministry, will be the objects of your immediate supervision and care.

The *materials* for the ministry may be gathered from the other departments of instruction, while the training for the actual execution of the work, to a large extent, belongs to this. The others make the theologian and the Biblical expositor and critic, while this makes the minister. Its object is to teach how to use the materials already gathered from the other departments, with the greatest usefulness and efficiency. It is to conduct the candidate for the ministry through a preparatory course of training and discipline in what the excellent Doddridge was pleased to call the *art of preaching*. Although this might seem to describe the work as partaking

too much of a *mechanical* aspect, yet it is nevertheless true that a work of such magnitude, demanding such high qualifications, and involving such solemn responsibilities as the Christian ministry, must necessarily require a careful and diligent training and preparation.

To prepare the ministry to make the most effectual presentation, or to give the most effective utterance to the truth, is the legitimate province of Sacred Rhetoric as a department of instruction. It involves the necessity of a right apprehension of the work to be accomplished by the ministry—of the truth to be proclaimed—and the manner in which it should be done.

The great end of the Christian ministry is to persuade men to become reconciled unto God; to obtain salvation by Jesus Christ and to glorify God by a life of devotion to his service. It is to increase the holiness and the consequent happiness of a race destined to immortality. The legitimate, paramount aim of the Christian pulpit is the glory of God in the salvation of men, whatever subordinate ends may be secured by it. "Never forget," says one of high renown in the sacred office, "that the end of a sermon is the salvation of the people." It was the first object of the ministry of the Apostles to make men Christians and so it should be now. It was with them an object of deep solicitude that men should become well informed, stable and useful Christians, and it should be equally so with the ministry of the present day.

The truth to be proclaimed is the truth of the Bible; given not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth. "Give me," says one of the most gifted and experienced occupants of the pulpit in our country, "give me the power of illustrating and enforcing God's truth, and I care not who has the treasures of human learning." Great advances in science and the arts do indeed distinguish this age, and these advances may furnish matter for new and more varied illustrations of religious



truth, and erect new fortresses of defence against the attacks of infidelity, and put into the hands of the ministry new weapons of aggression and assault. The ministry should be able to make these advances available for the furtherance of their great work. Yet it should be remembered that such progress has not added and cannot add anything to the power of the Gospel itself. It has disclosed no new way of enforcing its truths—it has discovered no new way to the kingdom of God. It is *the Gospel* itself, which is in advance of all other advances, that is to be preached among all nations, and is to be the power of God unto salvation.

The manner in which this truth is to be proclaimed, and in which these duties of the pastoral office are to be performed, belongs to the sphere of instruction in the department which you are to fill. It may not be your province to make men eloquent, but you may teach them what eloquence is and what it is not. There is much of truth in the language of one who says, "True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may conspire after it, they cannot reach it. It comes, if it comes at all, like the outbursting of a fountain from the earth—or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force."

You may cultivate a graceful and effective elocution as greatly subservient to the high purposes of the ministry. This is one of the objects of your special regard, and ought not to be undervalued. We all know its importance, and we speak of it to indicate our conviction of its value, and our desire that all the attention should be given to it which its intrinsic and relative importance demands.

We do not dissuade from, but would rather inculcate æs-

thetic culture and an adaptation to the taste and spirit and progress of the times. The adornments of Rhetoric are not to be rejected; the play of the imagination is not to be discarded; the figures and the flowers of a chastened and disciplined fancy may be legitimately employed, if done in subserviency to a higher object. They may secure attention, and open the way for the play of a more potent enginery which is to assail the heart and to bring it into subjection to the Prince of Peace.

While it is generally supposed that other professions are in a state of progression, it has been thought and often intimated, that the pulpit declines—that while more *beautiful* things are uttered from it than were once uttered, it has been declining in *energy*—that it has more touches of the German artists, but less of tenderness and love—that it has more of transcendentalism and less of Christianity. If these things are so, and if it be true that while, in some respects, the pulpit has made great and rapid advances, its *strength* has been insensibly and gradually decaying, it is a state of things which truly demands sober reflection, and it is a state of things which may demand your careful investigation, and a timely and diligent effort in your particular sphere of instruction for the application of a remedy.

Much has been said about elevating the standard of preaching, and of rendering it accordant with the spirit of the age. The attempt to do this, should be sedulously guarded with reference to an attending liability to depression instead of elevation. For, under this head, there is too much reason to believe that popular harangues and philosophical disquisitions have taken the place of a sober and earnest exhibition of divine truth—and a lax theology has supplanted the old landmarks of sound doctrine, and discourses affording men intellectual entertainment have been substituted for earnest and fervid appeals to the conscience and the heart. And hence the preaching of the times, it is often remarked, is less

scriptural than it has been in times past. This we regard as a defect of no inconsiderable magnitude, and has a claim upon your particular attention and regard. This is not the adaptation to the spirit of the age which is demanded, and which is legitimate and right, but is a mere accommodation to public taste and popular predilections.

At the same time, you will keep in view the difference between the nineteenth century and the centuries which have preceded it. You will bear it in mind that there is an element in preaching which is permanent and universal, and another which is variable and national. The former is founded upon the unchangeableness of the Gospel, and requires the same precepts to be delivered in all times and in all places. The other requires an adaptation to the necessities of our own age and country. Opinions and dispositions, favorable or unfavorable to the reception of the Gospel, belong to every age and people. The Christian orator is bound to study the innumerable wants of men, varying with time, place and other circumstances, and to adapt his instructions accordingly.

Materials for the confirmation of Christianity, may accumulate in every generation. Events in the history of individuals and families and nations, illustrative of the truth of Christianity, may be known to us, which were unknown to those who lived in an earlier day. Our ministry should be taught to avail themselves of the benefit to be derived from them.

The vices and passions of men acquire a force and prominence in one age which they do not in another. In all times there may be observed too much of a spirit of insubordination, which admits no superiority, and disregards salutary and healthful restraint—a spirit of innovation which overthrows everything, and builds up nothing—and a turbulent spirit which makes man love constant and feverish excitement, because he cannot live peaceably with himself. These

and other topics may deserve the attention of those who are in training for the sacred ministry, and to be exhibited with a direct reference to the opinions and manners of the age.

I will not here expatiate farther upon topics which have either a direct or more remote bearing upon the duties which belong to the sphere of action, upon which you are now entering. I cannot well do so, without seeming to encroach upon that field and the time which more appropriately belong to yourself. Let it be your object and your aim, to train the ministry which shall be here educated for their great work, to be an evangelical, a scriptural and earnest ministry, thoroughly furnished by that Word which is given by the inspiration of God.

We welcome you to this field of labor with the utmost cordiality, and pray that your devotion to it may be attended with a large measure of success. We welcome you to our sanctuaries and our pulpits—and the ministers and churches here represented invite your effective co-operation in building up the Redeemer's kingdom.

In behalf of the Faculty, Commissioners and Trustees of the Seminary, and of the brethren in the ministry, I give to you an assurance of their friendly and firm support in all appropriate circumstances. From an experience of fifteen years, while ministering in the place in which I now stand, I do not hesitate to congratulate you on the prospect of being associated with a community of ministerial brethren and a body of christians of so much excellence and worth. Sustained and cheered by the sympathies and prayers of an honored Christian brotherhood, and looking up for guidance and strength to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, the results of your labors, we confidently trust, will be seen in the production of a useful and effective ministry, and in the edification of the Church of the living God.

6  
PROTESTANTISM

IN THE

Middle of the Nineteenth Century.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

SAMUEL M. HOPKINS,

PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY, &C., AUBURN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

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AUBURN, N. Y.:

J. C. IVISON & CO., PUBLISHERS  
NEW YORK—M. H. NEWMAN & CO.

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1849.





Published in compliance with the following request :

REV. S. M. HOPKINS,

DEAR SIR : At a Meeting of the Board of Commissioners of Auburn Theological Seminary, the undersigned were appointed a Committee to request a copy of your Inaugural Address, delivered to-day, for publication. We make the request with sincere satisfaction, and hope it may be consistent with your views of duty to grant it.

Very Respectfully,

JAMES B. SHAW,  
HENRY A. NELSON,  
F. STARR.

To REV. S. M. HOPKINS, Prof. Eccles. Hist., &c.



## ADDRESS.

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It is with much satisfaction, Fathers and Brethren, that, at the close of an annual round of labor with the school over whose interests you watch, I undertake to fulfil the task assigned me a year ago by the Commissioners. The Future rests with God. The Past, with its experiences, its acquisitions, and its honest endeavors, is our own. We may thank God and take courage, if we find that any such moderate and reasonable success as might fairly have been hoped for, has attended our efforts. With something of trial, and with much of mercy and Divine help we have been brought through to the end of the year. The end of the year brings us very near the close of the first half of the XIXth century; and in view of the great events affecting the progress of Christianity in Europe, that have occurred since we last met for these anniversary services, I have thought we might appropriately turn our attention at this time, to the attitude and prospects of Protestantism just at this period of the world's history. I do not propose any detailed notice of the last year's events referred to. They are familiar to all the readers of current periodical literature. Their significance does not consist in the establishment of any good political organization in Europe on a permanent basis. It does not consist in the downfall of those despotic sovereigns who were allied with the Papacy. It does not even consist in the very extraordinary and unprecedented catastrophe that has befallen the Papacy itself. It will not be neutralized by temporary reactions or temporary successful efforts of Despotism to rivet the broken chain. It consists in the evidence of a strong common sympathy

throughout a large part of Europe in favor of constitutional government—in a more thorough waking up of the masses to a sense of their strength—in the marked progress in the popular mind towards just ideas in respect to all those things in which Papal States differ, to their own hurt, from Protestant. The nations of Europe have not been asleep during these last twenty years. The highest aspirations of liberalism in 1830 were for a popular monarchy, surrounded with republican institutions—hereditary monarchy still. They have got beyond all that, this time. It takes people, bred in the school of absolutism, a great while to find out that after all this world was *not* made for Cæsar; when they *do*, they will not easily forget it. Since we were last met all Europe has rung from side to side with the sound of the warlike tools with which the nations were putting up the scaffolding for a genuine Republicanism.

It will easily be admitted that to find a more significant year we must either look forwards, or else some ways behind us. It cannot claim indeed to stand for the commencement of an era; but it is one of those very decisive periods in the progress of an era which develop new forces and indicate more clearly the direction things are taking. The scale dips at once with a more positive inclination. The moving mass reaches a point where it plunges forward with an impulse that makes wide and sudden prostration of obstacles. New materials come in to swell the aggregate; and a continent, with all its thrones, jars and trembles to the progress of the ruin.

In these latter days in which it is our happiness to live, the tide of events necessarily pours along with increasing volume. It is like some great river approaching the ocean. Every year in the future must be eventful. The time grows short. Causes that have been collecting their might in pent up silence, now explode with shattering energy. Results crowd thick upon each other. We have reached the Saturday evening of the world—the later hours of the day of preparation, and the Sabbath draws on. In the time that remains there are great changes to be effected in the economy of this hu-



man habitation—displacements, replacements—overthrow and construction : and these changes are to be wrought, not by any new agencies, but only by the invigoration and concentrated energy of powers already in operation. The forces between which the last great struggle is to take place are drawn out. The great antagonisms Christianity is ever to encounter are in the field. The Church, the press, the ministry, the Bible, the school, all the native and all the allied strength of Protestantism is arrayed ; and the events of the last year have opened a field for their operation in Europe which barriers, like the gates of Hell, have heretofore closed.

What is Protestantism ? Simply Christianity purged from the corruptions of the Romish Church : the religion of the Bible, drawn from the Bible, and rejecting every thing that is not contained in, or by necessary inference, deduced from the Bible. It is the name by which Christianity is designated in its relation to the Romish system—just as what is in ordinary speech called the Bible is distinctively called canonical Scripture. When we say Bible we mean God's revelation of his will to man : when we say canonical Scripture we mean the Bible as discriminated from those apocryphal Scriptures which the Church of Rome has intruded into the Sacred Volume.

Protestantism has one relation to Romish Christianity, and another to every other false religious system extant. Existing Paganism, for example, is only the dead shell of the old colossal superstitions that have for centuries suffocated the human mind. Paganism is never aggressive. It has no spring or vitality to lead it out towards foreign conquest. It can make no attempt to retaliate its losses upon Christianity. Paganism is the mere inert mass upon which Christianity has to operate—the field for Christian enterprise ; but like a field long neglected and given over to nature, making a dead, heavy, passive resistance to regeneration.

Islamism, for nine hundred years the terror and scourge of a corrupt Church, has long lost its elasticity. Starting with the simple assertion of the unity and spirituality of God, and the divine mission of his apostle, sent to restore this lost truth

to mankind, the religion of Mohammed grew in one generation into a formidable adversary to the religion of the Empire. It was not merely the terror of the sword that recommended the Koran; it was the simplicity and comparative purity of its theology and worship. It was better to believe in one God whose prophet was Mohammed, than it was to believe in a God whose mother held over him the rod of authority—who tamely consented to divide the worship of His creatures, and leave more than a just part of Heaven to the favorite demigods of the Church. It was better to worship towards the Caaba than to worship in temples defiled with idolatrous symbols and ceremonies: and the pilgrimage to Mecca was, in every respect, as favorable to morals, to civilization, and to piety, as the pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulcher.

So bald an imposture as that of Mohammed, unsupported even by the pretense of a miracle, never could have shot up into portentous dimensions unless favored by the degradation of the dominant faith. The religion of the Koran, we are to remember, proceeded on the acknowledged truth of both Judaism and Christianity. It was neither Paganism nor Infidelity; it was Islam—*devotion* to the spiritual worship of God, with honor to those eminent prophets, Moses and Jesus. Mohammed, so far from being an enemy to Christ, was his lineal successor—the Paraclete He had promised to send for the better instruction of his people; and this instruction the corrupt state of Christianity required should take the shape of vigorous compulsory reform. Against a purer faith and a worship more worthy of God, Islam could have made no head. An evangelical Christianity would have given no occasion to its fanaticism; or would have met that fanaticism, when roused, by a hatred of idolatry as earnest as its own—by as fervent a piety—by as simple a worship—and by a genuine benevolence which would have effectually disarmed it. God made use of it to protect the infancy of just such a Christianity in the West, when it had buried under the ruins of Constantinople the corrupt Christianity of the East. The Turk in the XVIth century more than once saved the Gospel from the Pope. It

was the waving horsetails and clashing cymbals of the great Ottoman Pashas, pressing towards Vienna, that broke off the designs of the enemies of the Reformation. God held these mailed and helmeted locusts in his hands on the frontiers of Europe, and let them forth on the empire whenever the dragon roared too fiercely against the Church. Having accomplished these ends by the Ottoman power, God cast it away to wither. Islam has made no conquests, nor scarce any attempts at conquest, since that time. Even the despicable character of oriental Christianity has no power to revive its original spirit of reform. It lies mainly passive for the reception of influences from Christian lands.

Both Heathenism and Islam, in short, are simply unchristian. Romanism is anti-christian. All other systems of belief are worn out, and have lost their hold on the popular mind. This rears itself up with the old dragon malignity against the Church of God. The struggle, as between active opposing elements, is confined to Christianity and Popery: and Popery concentrates in itself the venom of all the other unchristian systems—the godless idolatry, and the Christless reliance upon rites and penances, and a priesthood characteristic of Paganism—the fanatical propagandist zeal of the Moslem,—and the bitter intelligent hate of Infidelity against the peculiarities of the Gospel system. Popery is simply Infidelity, with the sword which Islamism brandished in the right hand, and the image which Islamism trod upon in the left.

The great religious war, ending with the peace of Westphalia, just two hundred years ago, terminated the active struggle between Christianity and Romanism, which had begun with the Reformation. One hundred and thirty years, therefore, after Luther began to preach, Popery and Protestantism sat down by the side of each other in Europe, with the line of division strongly and permanently drawn between them. The latter had run its career for the time, and after passing through a series of bloody persecutions and desolating wars, gave up the idea of further aggression upon the domains of Rome. Rome, baffled after every effort, gave up the idea

of extirpating Christianity by force. The treaty of Westphalia adjusted the balance of power between the Protestant and Catholic States of Europe. In the two hundred years that have elapsed since then, no State, if we except France during the Revolution, has changed its relations to the Romish See. No State since then has abolished the celebration of mass. No one has wholly renounced obedience to the Pope.

The reasons why Protestantism, so salient at first, stopped at this point, are as instructive as they are obvious. Rome had left as her testamentary curse upon the nations from which she withdrew a deep-seated conviction of the necessary union between the ecclesiastical and the civil power. The early Protestants, who had been educated in Romish ideas, never thought of questioning the right and duty of the magistrate to defend the Church ; to appoint and salary its teachers ; to discourage or destroy its enemies. The magistrate himself had just as little doubt respecting the extent of his own prerogatives. The result was that Protestantism everywhere became political. It was embraced or rejected by States as such ; and that one State admitted the Reformation was a reason why another State should exclude it. Especially when the nations embracing opposite sides of the great dispute had become inflamed by mutual suspicions and injuries ; when a religious war of unexampled duration and atrocity had left them exhausted, breathless, but unsated with revenge, it became unavoidable that both Romanism and the Reformation should sit down in intrenched camps, aiming at nothing further for the time than self-preservation.

Indeed, though it was only after the close of the Thirty Years' war that the spent combatants finally desisted from the struggle, yet nearly a century earlier the line between Papal and Protestant Europe was drawn very much as it has remained up to the present day. In less than fifty years after Luther published his Theses against indulgences, the States of Europe had made their choice, and finally taken sides for or against the dominant Church. By the year 1560, or a little after, it was clear what Rome had lost in the great uprising,

and what she had been able still to retain. The tide which had threatened to sweep over Europe and prostrate the Papal throne itself was stayed; but the Papacy was left a shattered wreck; half of Switzerland and more than half of Germany gone; the rising northern powers, Denmark and Sweden, lost; England and Scotland lost; the vigorous Protestant republic of Holland created by the Reformation; France, though her kings remained the slaves of Rome, was filled with the Presbyteries and Synods of the reformed; Spain and Italy oscillated towards Protestantism, and were only saved by the prompt vigor with which the Pope flung into the scale the sword of the mercenary and the faggot of the inquisitor.

In general the northern nations belonging to the great Saxon family embraced the Reformation; and the Celtic races of the south, after more or less of a struggle, maintained their allegiance to the Romish See. And yet it is not true that the line of religious division coincided so strictly with the ethnological line as to give any strong support to the idea that the power of appreciating the simple Gospel is at all connected with peculiarities of race. True Christianity is a religion for mankind in all their families, and is no less suited to the passionate, imaginative Celt than to the calmer, more resolute and persevering Tedescan. Mr. Macaulay thinks it "a most significant circumstance that no large society of which the tongue is not Teutonic has ever turned Protestant; and that, wherever a language derived from that of ancient Rome is spoken, the religion of modern Rome to this day prevails."\* But this circumstance loses much of its significance when it is remembered that the nations of Northern Europe, who, with the exception of the Irish, belonged to the Teutonic family, had special reasons, political, financial, and historical, for renouncing their subjection to Rome; and that the southern nations, who were generally Celtic, had corresponding reasons for maintaining it. For example, the political interests of the Germanic States; the need of some strong common sympathy to unite them for mutual protection

\* History, vol. I., p. 63.



against the emperor; their growing impoverishment by the insatiable greediness of the Romish See; the recollection of the ancient struggle in which their monarchs had engaged against the arrogant pontiffs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; their national antipathy to the degenerate Italians; and the circumstance of the Reformation originating among themselves in a man of the people, all inclined them strongly to join in the revolt against the Catholic Church. The Germans at the beginning of the sixteenth century could count up their *centum gravamina*—their list of the hundred intolerable wrongs they were enduring from the church and the clergy.

On the other hand, the Celtic races occupying the southern peninsulas of Europe had special reasons for adhering to the Romish See, entirely unconnected with their ethnographic relations. At the period of the Reformation, the Spaniard, for instance, had been for centuries confronting as the advanced guard of Christendom the two great sections of misbelievers, the Jew and the Saracen. His national pride had come to be identified with his position as an "old Catholic"—an unimpeachable son of the Church, free from any suspicion of unbelieving or misbelieving attainder. The great imperial bulwark of the faith, Charles V, was his own king. The great Papal engine for the rooting out of heretical pravity was born and domiciled in Spain. The familiars of the Holy Office thronged in Valladolid and Seville, where the German plague first began to break out. Spain, in fact, more than any other nation, stood armed at all points for the prompt suppression of heresy. Accordingly, though the revived Christianity of the sixteenth century gained a footing and for a while ran like fire, it was nowhere, not even in the Pontifical States, so speedily and so thoroughly crushed as in Spain.

The case of the Irish, however, as a northern people, who in the great schism stood by their southern Celtic relations, might seem to give considerable color to the idea of the predominant influence of family in religion. But there were reasons peculiar to themselves why the Irish should adhere to

the Church of Rome. They were barbarous and ignorant beyond any other European people. They shared in none of the influences of the revival of learning in the fifteenth century. There was no Irish scholar to stand by the side of Erasmus ; no theologian to mate with Cajetan or Melancthon ; no preacher like Zuingle or Bernardo Ochino. There was no liberal-minded Irish traveler to do the office Patrick Hamilton did for Scotland ; to catch a spark from Wittemburg or Zurich, and bear it back to light up the Emerald Isle. The great men of Ireland who shone as lights in the world had belonged to an earlier age, and had set during the darkest portion of the mediæval period. She had no translation of the Scriptures. She had no trade or intercourse with other nations. She had no universities like those of Leipsic and Paris, to serve as lenses for collecting and distributing the rays of science.

These moral causes were sufficient of themselves to render it certain that Ireland could not march abreast of Saxony and Scotland in the career of Reformation.

It is to be noticed also that Ireland had little of that experience of the oppressive and demoralizing character of the Romish system which made other States welcome the notes of spiritual freedom. Among any rude and poor people Romanism appeared comparatively to advantage. The priesthood and monastic orders were filled from the children of the soil, because there was nothing to tempt greedy Italians to swarm in and devour the substance of the land. The priests being poor were more generally than elsewhere virtuous. The rapacious mendicancy and spoliation of the Church of Rome found no room for development. Ireland having nothing to lose, could not be plundered. In the larger British kingdom, on the other hand, an alien priesthood of a very low grade of moral character ; an unceasing exaction of gold, under one pretence or another, by all orders of Papal ecclesiastics, were felt as some of the heaviest grievances of the Roman domination. In such States as Ireland and the rude forest cantons of Switzerland these grievances went out

for want of fuel. Romanism put on a kindly, humane, and moral aspect by the force of a very disagreeable necessity.

But in addition to this there was a political reason, which is operating with undiminished vigor at the present day, to repel the Irish from embracing the Reformation. In the twelfth century an English Pope gave Ireland to the Normans; "For Erin fair," to quote from one of our own prophets more deservedly honored for statesmanship and fearless advocacy of right than for the vision and faculty divine—

"For Erin fair it was by all agreed  
Did to His Holiness the Pope belong :  
Nor was there mortal dared dispute the creed,  
St. Peter's keys had made the title strong ;  
And Constantine had granted him by deed  
All islands ; so 'twas broad as it was long :  
Of both the grants she fell within the scope—  
Fee simple to His Holiness the Pope."\*

So Adrian gave Ireland to King Henry the Second ; and this act introduced that inveterate struggle between the races which is breaking out afresh in fire and blood with each succeeding generation. The side of the Reformation was embraced by their English invaders. Protestantism was the religion of the Saxon. This was enough to make it detested by the hunted victim of sword law, who came naturally to regard Protestant and oppressor as identical terms. Celtiberian as they were, had the Irish possessed equal culture with the Scotch, and suffered only a common misgovernment with the English, there is no reason to doubt that they would have thrown themselves with characteristic energy into the great religious movement of the age.

In addition to this it is to be observed that all the States of the Teutonic family did not join the party of the Reformation ; nor all the communities speaking a tongue derived from the ancient Roman adhere to the Romish Church. Bavaria, Austria, and the Waldstette of Switzerland remained among the staunchest servants of the Papacy. On the other hand,

\* Dermot McMorrogh, Canto.

the Waldenses, who in the sixteenth century spoke Italian and now speak French, were evangelical before the Reformation. In France, before the massacre of St. Bartholomew, there were two thousand organized Presbyterian churches; and it is perfectly certain that but for the summary violence which destroyed the infant reformation in Italy, a large portion of that peninsula would have broken off from the See of Rome. It was not, in short, that the genius of the southern nations of Europe made a pompous and ritual religion peculiarly suitable to them; not that their Celtic blood unfitted them to appreciate a pure Gospel; but that these nations lay more within the scope of that "devilish enginery" which Rome had at command for crushing a nascent heresy. Had Rome been in Germany, the Reformation might have started up in Tuscany or Naples; and Wittemburg might have sent forth her Ecks, Cajetans, and Bellarmines to champion the cause of the Pope.

Still it is generally true, with the exceptions stated, that, drawing a line through Europe nearly coincident with the fiftieth parallel of latitude, the Catholic States north of that line joined the Reformation, and those south of it adhered to the Romish Church. This line was firmly drawn at the conclusion of the Thirty Years' war, and has remained without variation since. No State south of Bavaria has for two hundred years abandoned Catholicism. No State north of it has abandoned the Reformation. But it would be a great error to infer from this that the balance of strength between Protestantism and Popery stands just as it did in 1648. The Reformation has grown stronger and the Romish system has grown weaker by all that society has gained of knowledge and experience since that time; by all the influence of successful colonization, of successful self-government, of more general education, of an improved art of printing, of vastly increased facilities for travel and intercommunication. Two hundred years ago France, rising to the zenith of her strength, was just coming under the government of a most formidable and absolute monarch, bigoted in his attachment to the Rom-

ish Church, and who afterwards regarded it as the glory of his reign to have crushed and driven from his kingdom a million of his Protestant subjects. France has just now retaliated this treatment upon a comparatively harmless and constitutional monarch, one great cause of whose ruin was that he was too much governed by his wife, who was too much governed by the Roman Catholic clergy.

In 1648, Spain, the most fanatical of Catholic States, still presented an imposing aspect of strength. That great chain of tropical islands where she has now but a slight and precarious footing was then mostly her own. Half of the territory now included within the limits of our own confederacy was hers. All central and equatorial South America was hers. Her huge galleons, freighted with the treasures of the new world, breasted the Atlantic billows, yet unscared by the thunders of Blake and of Anson. Spain is now the basest of kingdoms; degraded and impoverished by the Church to which she has clung, and perfectly insignificant in the diplomacy or in the arms of Europe. The loftiest flight of her enterprise during the half century has been her late characteristic loan of Spanish bayonets to force back the Papal despotism on the people of Rome.

England in 1648 was just entering upon the commonwealth and the Protectorate; that great period when she stood at the head of the Protestant political interest, and awed the bigot princes of the continent into toleration. With all her faults, England is now far more pervadingly Protestant—more imbued with the power of true Christianity than she was in the seventeenth century. And now by the side of Great Britain stands America, the most thoroughly Protestant nation on the face of the earth, unpolluted by a religious establishment or a single disqualifying religious statute; and, together with England, exerting a more active influence in sowing the seeds of future changes, and putting life into the inert mass of the human mind, than the whole community of civilized nations beside. In 1648, this vigorous Protestant nation, whose citizens are now found in the forefront of en-



terprise wherever man can find subsistence, and whose name is a passport in the four quarters of the earth, was mainly represented by three small colonies between the Connecticut river and the ocean, whose chief worldly anxiety was to protect their rude home from the torch of the savage.

Looking then at the balance of strength between Protestantism and Romanism, so far as States are concerned, we find that Rome can count upon that meagre shadow of a once great name, Spain ; upon Naples, one-sixth of whose population consists of Romish ecclesiastics—a State which moves the disgust and derision of all the rest of Europe ; upon France, simply so far as the rulers of France for the time being think it profitable to play the part of good Catholics ; upon Austria, so far as that great carcase, about which the eagles are fast gathering, can help or hurt anything ; upon Belgium, perhaps, and a few other insignificant European kingdoms.

On the other side are all those continental States which, at the close of the Thirty Years' war, were left permanently alienated from the Romish Church, and which, though little imbued with vital Christianity, are still as decidedly Protestant in their policy as they were two hundred years ago. To these are to be added England and America, the two nations which are now influencing the destinies of mankind more than all continental Europe together ; whose commercial marine exceeds that of the civilized world beside, and who hold in their hands, under God, the destinies of the uncivilized nations. Sink Spain, Belgium, and Austria, like Sodom, entombing all their wealth and influence, their armies and navies, their men of political and religious activity, and scarce a ripple would break on the shores of Asia, Africa, or Oceanica to bear the tidings. But strike Protestant England out of existence, and there is not a port nor sea-board nation but would reel under the catastrophe ; a gloom like the dimness of an eclipse would go swiftly darkening over the waters, and the shadow fall back ten degrees on the dial that marks the stages of human progress.

There is one other striking point of contrast. In 1648, that great society which had been raised up expressly to do battle with the Reformation, had just begun to decline from its primitive energy. Jesuit teachers directed the studies of educated youth in all the Catholic States of Europe. Jesuit confessors directed the consciences of all Catholic princes. Jesuit missionaries were laboring with extraordinary energy and perseverance amid the forests of South America, under the withering sun of India, by the banks of the Hoang Ho and the St. Lawrence. The order of Loyola had still a full century to run before the nations should rise up against it for the first time, and compel the Roman pontiff himself to lock the door on this hydra-headed abomination; and this at a time when not one Protestant institution of any sort existed for the diffusion of Christianity.\* What are the Jesuits now? A name of contempt and hatred throughout Europe; the staunch "oarsmen of St. Peter's bark" (as the Pope loved to call them), whose careful pilotage and indefatigable zeal has fairly set the ship within the swing of the Maelstrom; whose fidelity has been more disastrous to Rome than the enmity of all Protestantism. The Jesuits of the sixteenth century, aided by the unhappy dissensions among Protestants themselves, arrested the Reformation in mid career, and hurled it back from the slope of the Alps and the Pyrenees.

Ask for this great deliverer now, and find him  
Eyeless at Gaza, in the mill with slaves.

Feared and hated for his invincible spirit of intrigue and plotting; for his notorious alliance with despotism, and his labors in the work of counter-revolution, the Jesuit finds no civilized State, properly so called, where he can show his head except this, the great home of a pure and genuine Protestantism.

So much for the numerical strength of the Protestant and

\* The Society for Diffusing the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the first English missionary institution, received a charter from Charles the Second, in 1662.

the Papal divisions of the world. And now if we ask for the vital power and resources of the two religious systems, we find the Church of Rome relying as of old upon her means of impressing the imagination and imposing upon the judgment, while she tempts the natural heart with a way of salvation which is the very reflection of itself. Unbroken prescription as opposed to novelty; unity contrasted with variation, and an authority in matters of faith which dispenses with all inquiry and forbids all doubt, constitute the great boast of the Papal church. On the other hand, Protestantism has the strength of reason as against authority, of liberty against prescription, and of a vital unity against a dead mechanical uniformity. Undoubtedly the spectacle of one great united Church, with an acknowledged visible center of unity, would have in it something imposing and calculated to awe superficial observation. It is a pleasant and profitable theme for Romanists to dwell on; but a little acquaintance with the actual character and history of the Church of Rome dissipates the illusion. The great and terrible image seen by Nebuchadnezzar in vision would no doubt have been, if actually existing in *rerum natura*, a very imposing object. Bearing the human form in colossal proportions, the head blazing with gold, the breast and arms dazzling the sight with reflected silver, it might have seemed to a spectator at a little distance the very ideal of grandeur and symmetry and compact articulation. But a closer view would have shown that the body was of a baser metal than the breast and arms; that the legs were iron, and the feet part iron and part clay, substances not blending with each other, nor forming a solid mass by interfusion, but simply in contact without coalescence, maintained in apparent union by pressure, and ready to fall apart when any sufficient shock should smite between the discordant materials.

The unity which the Romish communion boasts, and which she makes the first and principal mark of the true Church, is a unity that will bear no examination; that frowns on liberty and takes away the key of knowledge. The variations in the great body of evangelical Protestantism are variations that

consist with a common appeal to Scripture as the sole and sufficient Rule of Faith ; that concern chiefly the lesser matters of rites or of polity, and that operate as provocatives to joint or several efforts for the diffusion of pure Christianity. With partial and temporary exceptions they make no schism in the body. They invest the Church of Christ with a robe of many colors, but they leave the garment unrent. Such variations are better than an outward mechanical unity. They are the offspring of freedom : they are the nurse of charity : they are the friends of human progress.

Why should not Pius IX have improved a portion of his learned leisure at Gaeta, in enlightening the Romans respecting the variations of constitutional government ? It would not be difficult for so ingenious a Pontiff to draw a tolerably unflattering portrait of the community of free States. Look at your boasted Republics, he might say. Since you have cast loose from wholesome restraint, you are driving about on a sea of experiment, no two of you taking the same course. You have no common political chart ; you seem to agree only in your hatred of a vigorous Patriarchal Absolutism. Some of you are governed by Presidents ; some by military Dictators ; and some by Triumvirs. Some States have two legislative bodies ; others but one. Some unite the Legislative and Judicial functions ; others separate them. Some of your pretended free States are the great maintainers of domestic oppression. Some concede universal suffrage : others restrict the rights of citizenship to the wealthy and privileged few. Besides these constitutional variations, you have no sooner broken loose from your legitimate, heaven-appointed keepers, than you begin to prey upon each other. The strong natural appetite of Republics for conquest and plunder breaks out among you. Your swords are already at each other's throats. Such contradictions of your great principles, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, prove your notion of self-government a delusion. Abandon, then, your impious revolutionary attitude. Bow your necks meekly under the paternal yoke of Despotism, and be happy.

This may not seem very conclusive against Liberty ; but

it is just as conclusive as the celebrated argument of that great but dishonest writer, Bossuet, against Protestantism. The Roman people would, I imagine, be very little at a loss for an answer. It is true (they might say) that Despotism is one and uniform, and that Liberty is multiform, according to the variety of circumstances under which she grows up. It is true that her development is far from being in all cases as harmonious and healthy as might be desired: it is true that scarce any two of us agree in the details of our organization; but we are all agreed in one thing; that the masses were not born to be slaves either to kings or priests; that the power necessary to administer government resides originally, under God, in the people; and that government is instituted for the benefit of the people, and not for the benefit of the rulers. Having an eye to the fruitful consequences of these propositions, we conclude that our diversity is enough better than your uniformity. We had rather be driven by the healthy gales of freedom on a sea of experimental self-government than to lie like rotting hulks, moored head and stern in the Tiber, under the careful supervision of the cannon of St. Angelo.

Whatever may be the immediate political consequences of the agitations in Europe, one thing is clear—that the barriers which have stayed the advance of Protestantism for two hundred years are broken up. A blow has been struck at the power of the Papacy such as it never received in any schism, in any revolution, in any external assault since it had a being. The Roman people rising up against the government of the Church as an intolerable oppression; the successor of Gregory VII and Innocent III flying in a mean disguise at the first note of alarm; the Papal sovereignty declared for ever abolished; the spiritual thunders which once dashed kingdoms to pieces like a potter's vessel, now ridiculed, caricatured by the Pope's own special people; the excommunication carried in ludicrous processions and burned; the Pope blackened in Rome itself with the title of anti-Christ, as freely as ever he was by Luther; and even those who were more moderate only objected that the reproach should fall not so much on the



individual as on the system. "Personally (they said) Pius IX has deserved better of his people. His downfall is rather the judgment of God upon the Papacy whose crimes have for so many centuries cursed all Europe."

This indeed is one of the most encouraging features in the uprising against the Papal rule. Compared with almost any of the long series of despots who have misgoverned the States of the Church, Pius IX was an eminently humane, wise, and virtuous ruler. Had he been like the most of them—not to say the worst—the outbreak would have been imputed to the man. Give them a better Pontiff (it would have been said). Give them Mastai Feretti, and they will sit down contented and hug their chains. But when it is under the mild government of Mastai Feretti himself that the people with extraordinary determination reject the Papal rule, there is no such apology to make. It is the intolerable viciousness of the system that makes it tumble like the French monarchy in the last century, crushing the most respectable and inoffensive of despots under the ruins.

In short, there is freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship in all that part of Italy not subject to the King of Naples. There is now again for the first time since the fall of Napoleon, perfect religious toleration in France. There is inevitable toleration at the doors of Spain and Naples. The sword of persecution is broken throughout Europe. Truth and falsehood may once more grapple on equal terms; an ordeal of battle which religion has vainly challenged this thousand years. And now the day long dreaded by spiritual wickedness in high places, and put off as late as possible, HAS COME; when superstition and lies must descend to the arena with naked hands, and stand the issue of an appeal to reason and Scripture.

The futility of any attempt to resuscitate the spirit of Romanism is beginning to be very clear in the events that are passing under our eyes. No intelligent Protestant is ignorant of the energy with which in the half century just closing, the Church of Rome has rallied herself to repair the losses of the century preceding. No one but is aware of the well-directed

and sustained combinations with which in England, in America, on the continent of Europe, she has re-assumed the aggressive against Protestantism. The Jesuits, restored in 1814, after a suppression of near fifty years, started up into fresh vigor, like the earth-born giant from his fall. Great missionary associations for propagating the Faith were established, conducted as all who have read their reports will admit, with consummate ability. The absolute and reactionary governments of Europe conspired to strengthen their own hands by the re-establishment of the Romish Church. Great sums were contributed by religious and political zeal to help on that undertaking. Priests, seminaries, and churches were rapidly multiplied. All this was part of the great movement which has presented Romanism for a while in an attitude so rampant and formidable.

It is beginning now to appear that these seeming signs of a vigorous renascent life, were but the spasmodic struggles that sometimes accompany extreme depletion. The system has been strained to its utmost tension, and the shudder of a near and inevitable collapse passes over it. The whole thing begins to fall in. The kingdoms that lent their power to Rome for this late effort, have been or are being revolutionized. The friendship of the priests dragged down Charles X. The priests largely contributed to the fall of Louis Philippe. The Jesuits caused the humiliating defeat of the Romish Swiss Cantons. They discrowned the King of Bavaria. There has come to be a fatality about an attempt to build up Rome, reminding one of that which attended the setting up the walls and gates of accursed Jericho. And if there were not, the kingdoms of Europe have other interests to occupy them at present, than the propagation of Catholicism. There is scarce a crowned head but sees that his own or his next neighbor's house is on fire. The fortunes that paid a large tribute to the Propaganda, have been ruined by thousands in the late or passing convulsions. The alms that might contribute towards the conversion of heretics, must be diverted in part to maintain his impoverished holiness at Gaeta or Rome. The prestige of liberalism which threw a halo around

Pius IX, a year ago, has all departed. His Italian subjects openly curse him. The most bigoted of our own Catholic population mention him, under their breath, with reproach and mortification.

Romanism is infallibly arrested in Europe. In this country the alarm at first produced by the mass of Catholicism so suddenly poured upon us, has disappeared. In its place has come a cheerful courage—a firm confidence in the power of a free Bible, a free press, and a free pulpit. We have weighed and measured the kingdom of Babylon and found it wanting. There is a power in truth and love to burst through the gates of brass, and cut the bars of iron in sunder. The Church has settled down upon the conviction, that if true to herself, these millions of Catholic heathen have been sent to us not only to be educated and fed, but to be converted. There is no single particular of her whole appliances, in which when set down, in a Protestant land like this, under the eye of a fearless unshackled press, under the light of a widely diffused intelligence, within the scope of an earnest practical ministry, confronted with all those influences to which Protestantism has given birth,—there is no single particular in which the Romish system is not insufferably damaged by the collision.

On the basis of these facts, we may confidently anticipate the resumption of the march of Protestant Christianity throughout the civilized world. Two centuries and more of arrest may seem long; but it is not long to Him with whom a thousand years are as one day. It is not so long as He left His chosen people for their discipline and culture in Egypt. It is not so long as the period during which he was gradually bringing about the fulness of times for the manifestation of the Redeemer. It is not as long as the centuries during which he withheld the art of Printing and the discovery of a new Continent as antecedents to the Reformation. During these two hundred years the Most High, who is not slack concerning His promise, has been, in accordance with the invariable plan of His administration, accumulating those forces which, when developed, are to act with wide and sudden energy.

These forces are found—

I. In the increased harmony and union among Protestants. It cannot be denied that with all our substantial agreement respecting the vitalities of the Christian system, our uncharitable dealing about lesser matters has beyond measure scandalized the Protestant cause. The right of private judgment, which we all boast as against the claim that Fathers and Councils should interpret Scripture for us, has betrayed us into magnifying beyond all just proportion our several peculiarities. It has not been enough that we should speak the same language to be recognized as fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God. We must speak the same dialect. There is no allowance for theological provincialisms. We have too much taken the different aspects which the great truths of Christianity present as viewed from different positions for the insignia of hostile camps. This is like making the wheat-sheaf (*shibboleth*), which should be an emblem of peace and plenty, the password by a fortress or a river. The man of Judah or Benjamin said *Shibboleth*, and went free. The Ephraimite said *Sibboleth*, and the sword of execution fell on his neck.

“When Jephthah’s prowess quell’d their pride  
In that sore battle where so many died  
Without reprieve condemned to death  
For want of well pronouncing *Shibboleth*.”

So one Evangelical Christian pronounces Bishop or Baptism, Sin or Grace, with an accent which any alien from the commonwealth of Israel could scarce distinguish from our own, and we draw out the sword and stop the way with a challenge of distrust or of defiance. It has not been enough that there was one body: there must be one costume. The possession of one spirit in common is no good argument for harmony, unless that spirit utter itself in identical terms in all parts of the Church. One Lord, one faith, one common hope—this has presented a less stringent motive to union than two politics, two ceremonies, two philosophies of theology have for separation.

Pudet haec opprobria dici  
Et dici potuisse, et non potuisse refulli.

Happily we have a refutation at hand. The large increase of charity and mutual helpfulness among Christians which has characterized the last quarter of a century has shown that those who were at odds are still brethren. The threatening attitude of a common enemy have led Christians of different names to look more at their harmony and less at their disagreements. Parties among men who love their common country serve, in times of peace, to guard the equilibrium of freedom. In the day of trial the partizan is merged in the patriot. If this look like aggregating Christians on the basis not of a mutual love but merely of a common hostility, I reply that the common danger serves to bring out in relief their actual harmony. The points about which they agree *are* unspeakably greater and more vital than those about which they differ; and an assault on the common salvation reminds them of it. It is no time to dispute sharply about the nature of Baptism when it comes to be a question whether you shall have any Scriptural sacrament left you or not. The controversy respecting the Perseverance of the Saints may be adjourned when a desperate Anti-Christian rally is made to strike away the very ground-work of a sinner's hopes.

This urgency is recognized in all those undertakings in which Protestants are working together or working harmoniously, side by side, to push out falsehood by filling the world with truth; and this has developed an elasticity and power of expansion in Protestant Christianity heretofore unparalleled. Catholic piety at its best estate was a poor motive power compared with a true reverence for Christ's commands, and a true love to the souls for whom He died. The Jesuit was a mere fool compared with the Christian missionary. He built on foundations that could not possibly last; on popular ignorance, credulity and prejudice. The Romish priest could not preach the Gospel, not knowing what it was. He could not circulate the Scriptures. He could not teach in his schools anything that tended to stir and awaken the mind. He could organize no Bible-classes nor Sabbath-schools. He could do nothing in any one almost of the lines of influence that make up the aggressive activity of Protest-



antism. It is hazarding little to say that the work of evangelizing the world is conducted with tenfold the energy and true success by Protestant Christians at the present day that ever attended the efforts of the Church of Rome.

In this condition of things it eminently becomes the duty of all Evangelical Protestants to endeavor to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. We have given full play in the very nature of Protestantism to freedom of private judgment. We have followed this up with great industry in building and keeping in repair the division fences between the private judgment which ran north and the private judgment which ran north-west. No doubt Romanism came in like a flood; but we found strong consolation in the fact that this and the other form of Protestantism was kept out. It is true that Purity goes before Peace; but so does Charity by an equal law go before perfect agreement. It is an ill work in these days, for a man to be engaged in magnifying the differences between Christians who hold the same great truths in common. Our contest too often has been that between the bramble and thistle, which should be closest set with a bristly defense. It is our own peculiar felicity to see the time when the main contest between the different parts of the Christian body is that between the vine and the olive which shall be most richly productive; when we can afford to pluck away the ashlar that have been piled between ourselves to build them into the outworks of our common Christianity.

II. The union of the ecclesiastic with the magistrate, which has been so disastrous in its influence on the character of all concerned, which has tended so universally to make one a hypocrite, and both tyrants, and the people slaves, is now plainly doomed. Rome with her usual policy has clung to this adulterous connexion to the last; despotic governments, meaning to bring in superstition to the help of the sword, have paid the Church to amuse and overawe the people. The natural result has been the sentiment, wide spread and deep seated where this corrupt alliance exists, that government is but a conspiracy between the priest and the magistrate to

extinguish the liberties of mankind. An equally natural result has been an intense popular hatred of both the conspirators. The reluctant masses overmatched by their spiritual and their temporal rulers have sat crouching like Issachar between two burdens. But the struggles of Enuladus have been heard below the great pile of state-church oppression. The mountain rocks with his efforts. His breath bursts out in fire and lava. The throne and the confessional tumble into ruin together; and the savage wish of D'Alembert may be substantially very near its accomplishment when the outraged people will take terrible vengeance,

Et des boyaux du dernier Pretre  
Serrer le con du dernier Roi.

That the exclusive hierarchal establishments still existing in Europe can permanently stand, is what no one can imagine. They are an inverted pyramid propped up by interested power. The higher clergy clothed in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously every day, an order of nobility by themselves, at a vast actual remove from the people who directly or indirectly pay the cost; intrusted in the maintenance of abuses, in the strengthening of power; essentially intolerant and persecuting, and mutually using and being used by the State to promote designs hostile to progress; this presents a state of things that cannot last. Men infallibly come to understand the rights of conscience and of worship. They will understand that religion should be cheap and should be free. History will instruct them; successful voluntarism will instruct them; the journalist and popular lecturer will instruct them; and what example and journalism leave incomplete, the tax-gatherer and custom-house officer will no doubt take care to supply. The dominant Established Churches in Europe are too rich to travel safely in these wild times even under the escort of government. It is not forgotten how useful the hoarded wealth of the monasteries proved to the States that embraced the Reformation; what a revenue their suppression brought into Henry VIII; how the confiscated estates of the clergy helped to pay off national debts; what a spring the distribution of so much capital gave to enterprize; and how

much was gained to industry by transubstantiating consuming monks into producing operatives. It will not be forgotten how convenient the Roman republic has found the wealth of the clergy in sustaining itself on the perilous edge between despotism and anarchy.

Other Catholic states have debts to pay ; annihilated commerce to regenerate ; depressed industry to revive ; essential reforms to effect in order to bring themselves anywhere near the line along which free Protestant States are advancing. They cannot fail to see that an established hierarchy in league with hereditary misrule is strangling their energies like the old goblin of the sea on the neck of Sinbad. It is the depressing influence of a bad religious system and a corrupt hierarchy that keeps Spain and Mexico and Naples poor ; that drives away capital, shuts out emigration, discourages industry, and amuses the people like children to keep them from thinking and acting like men.

Let this corrupt system of Church and State alliance fall, and Protestantism asks no more. Her challenge is ever the same which that old father of the second century made to the hierarchy of Pagan Rome, *Tollatur lex, ut fiat certamen* ; Take away your persecuting edicts that we may fairly try the matter out with argument. Let governments simply stand one side and leave religion free, and truth asks no other advantage ; and this will become the case as fast as the people become the government. A true popular representation cannot long be deferred in any part of Europe ; and when the masses, so long dispraised by high authorities as a miscellaneous rabble and a swinish multitude, come to understand their rights, then farewell to a despotic and monopolizing hierarchy. The violent cross wind of popular opinion, so long pent up, will blow them transverse out of their seats.

Then may we see

Cowls, hoods and habits, with their wearers tost  
And fluttered into rags ; their relics, beads,  
Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,  
The sport of winds ; all these upwhirled aloft  
Fly o'er the backside of the world far off.

The backside of the world will be the only place for them

III. A circumstance of great encouragement in its bearing on the resumed advance of Protestantism in Europe, is the just appreciation of the line of influence along which Protestantism should operate. The Reformation, by an unhappy necessity growing out of the blood-intoxicated ferocity of Rome, assumed everywhere a political complexion. It could hope to survive only in one of two ways: either by the government entering into it, in which case the union of Church and State still existed, only under modified relations; or by its becoming strong enough to set the government at defiance, which gave it the character of faction. In either case it became political. The great question was, Does the sovereign embrace the Reformation? If so the state was Protestant; if otherwise the state remained Catholic.

From this idea of converting governments or majorities, and using them for the legal establishment of Christianity, the Protestant mind is now fully emancipated. The sphere of Christianity is the soul of man; the individual, the family. It is no longer expected to operate as an outward constraint. It is to operate as an inward pervading principle. It is not to come with observation. It is to come by a silent internal efficacy. The truth is to light down unperceived like the dew at thousands of points of contact by the labors of the pastor, the missionary, the colporteur; by the agency of the Bible and of the tract. It is one of those great but simple truths that are richly laden with consequences, that Christianity is truly extended only by the conversion of individual men; that it spreads through the world only by catching from soul to soul.

IV. The actual infidelity of the more intelligent and cultivated classes in Catholic countries is a fact perfectly well known to all persons of any information. This has necessarily resulted from the fact that they have known Christianity only under the form of Romanism. The peasantry, whom the Romish system has kept so long degraded and ignorant, are no doubt pious in their way. But let the European Romanist become a reading, reasoning man, and there is only one result. He becomes an unbeliever. The hard alterna-

tive has been laid upon him of either having no Christianity or taking Christianity in the shape of the Council of Trent. He has rightly judged that such a Gospel was unworthy of God. All that was godlike in him has required him to disown it.

Protestant Christianity he has known of only as the heresy of some foreign States with which he had little sympathy, or as the enthusiasm of a few low people of no consideration, his own countrymen. Of the Bible he has had no knowledge whatever; scarce even of the existence of such a thing. Far the larger part even of the intelligent Catholics of Europe have never seen a Bible.

Now the circumstance of encouragement here is that true Christianity is beginning to present itself in an attitude to command the attention of this influential class of persons. Protestant ministers of learning and eloquence are beginning to shine out like the first stars of the evening. Protestant missionaries are laboring at points of influence. A religious literature is growing up. The Bible is pressing into circulation. The fact cannot longer be shut out that there *is* something to choose besides the dismal alternative of Romish Christianity or none. We may hope that hereafter serious-minded and inquiring Catholics may reach the Canaan of true religion without wandering or perishing in the wide desert of unbelief.

V. All the great inventions and improvements that signalize the age bear favorably on the progress of Protestantism. Whatever awakens mind extends the popular horizon, or furnishes helps for that multitudinous running to and fro by which knowledge is increased, is an ally of true Christianity. Every such influence is correspondingly dreaded by the rulers of the darkness of this world. "We must kill this printing (said a wise preaching Friar four hundred years ago), or printing will kill us." But friars turned out to have a much less tenacious vitality than types. *Vita brevis, ars longa*. The art killed off the ecclesiastic. It has been sapping at the foundations of the whole Hierarchal system from that time onwards; and various other influences have come in from time to time, preëminently in our own day, to help on the



inevitable result. The great names that should be particularly hateful to the Papacy are not those commonly identified with the beginning and progress of the Reformation. It has been the inventors, the explorers, the men who have facilitated travel and the interchange of thought, who have shaken the Roman system into a wreck. It has been Guttemberg and De Gama; Fulton, and Stevenson, and Morse; the men who multiply books, who bring distant regions into near neighborhood, who pour light into the darkness that has proved so friendly to Romanism. Popular ignorance, and priestly rule, and steam presses, locomotives, and telegraphs, are deadly antagonisms; and since the last can't very well be destroyed, it seems altogether likely the first must.

It has been in the times passing immediately under our own eyes that these agents of Protestantism have begun to invade the Catholic States of Europe. Liberty of preaching, and printing, and travelling, are strangers of the freshest introduction into Popedom. Once introduced they infallibly go forward like the man with the iron flail, and beat down whatever either the priest or the magistrate has erected to curb human progress.

VI. The power of prayer is enlisted to an unprecedented extent for the success of Christianity in its bearing on the Romish system. I know there is special prayer too for the conversion of Protestants; but it is prayer to one who though blessed among women is neither queen nor mediator, and who is dishonored by the idolatries of which she is made the object. The prayer that goes up without ceasing for vengeance on the blood-stained harlot of Rome, and for the deliverance of God's own elect who may still be entangled in her net, is prayer which fulfils the conditions of success. It is built on a promise. It is offered in the name of the sole mediator. It goes up therefore in faith. For much of the time since the Reformation the Romish Church has been almost exclusively an object of fear and of hatred. Luther whose heart yearned over his countrymen still blinded by the sorceries of Rome could not say his prayers without turning each petition into a curse against the Papacy.

We are permitted to cherish somewhat different sentiments. As the fear has subsided the pity has increased; and while looking for nothing but the signal overthrow of the system, and the ruin of the large body of those who have the mark of the beast in their foreheads, there has been a more earnest disposition to have compassion on others making a difference, and pulling them out of the fire.

The conspicuous punishment of the Anti-Christian Church of Rome is believed to be as clearly revealed in the Scriptures as any future event whatever. The time was when that synagogue of Satan was still, though corrupted, a Church of Christ, and might, humanly speaking, have been reformed. This might have been, for instance, in the sixth or seventh century, before the Bishop of Rome assumed to be in terms autocrat of universal Christendom. It might have been in the eighth and ninth centuries, when Charlemagne with his ubiquitous energy infused such new life into what was fast becoming a mere dead shell of formalism. Why might she not have been reformed throughout at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as she was reformed in part? It is true that her doom was written by the pen of inspiration long before; but there was a contingency in this as in every other case which made the predestinated ruin depend on an obdurate persistency in wickedness. So Nineveh was doomed, and yet repented and was spared. So Jerusalem was doomed, and yet had a day of visitation when she might have known the things that belonged to her peace; and so mystical Babylon was doomed, and yet might have been healed if she would, before the day of her visitation passed away.

I regard that day as having closed at the Council of Trent. Deeply as she had corrupted the simplicity of the Gospel, and crimsoned as she was with the blood of the saints, it may be that the times of this ignorance God would have winked at. The crimes and corruptions of the long mediæval night might have been forgiven. A new light had now dawned on the world. The Scriptures were circulated. The Gospel stood forth revealed. The characteristic doctrines and usages of the Romish Church though well ascertained were not so fixed that the Council of Trent might not have changed

them. A strong tendency to radical reforms manifested itself in the council. Bishops and Cardinals, backed by leading Catholic Princes, demanded marriage for the clergy, vernacular translations and the cup for the people; the establishment of schools for the poor; plain, familiar catechisms, congregational singing, the mass in the vulgar tongue, and a preaching ministry.

These were sweeping reforms to ask. Their concession would no doubt have left much still to do; but it would have set the Romish Church much farther along the path of reform than the English Church was at the death of Henry the Eighth. Other changes would have naturally followed, divesting the Romish communion still more of its Anti-Christian and idolatrous character; and she might now have been like the English Church in a regular process of amelioration towards a simpler and a purer Christianity. But this was not to be. At Trent the Church of Rome with her eyes open chose imposture and idolatry as her portion. Thenceforward her character is unchangeably fixed; till Christ who is even now consuming her by the breath of His mouth shall signally destroy her by the brightness of his coming. We *would* have healed Babylon but she is not healed; forsake her and let us go every one to his own country; for her judgment reacheth unto Heaven, and is lifted up even to the skies.

*Lastly.* The loss of the Pope's sovereignty, which seems now to be a "*fixed fact*," may probably draw after it consequences which will leave Rome itself a monument of God's revenge against the Papacy. The older Protestant commentators express the expectation that Italy itself, undermined with volcanoes, and heaving on an ocean of lava, will one day sink like a millstone and disappear.

So when the years shall have revolved the date  
The inevitable hour of Naples' fate,  
Her sapped foundations shall with thunder shake,  
And heave and toss upon the sulphurous lake;  
Earth's womb at once the fiery flood shall rend  
And in the abyss her plunging towers descend.

But not to prophecy for Rome the sudden catastrophe which Gay anticipated for Naples, there are well known phy-

sical causes at work that may easily bring upon her the fate of Babylon or of Nineveh. It is the Papal court that has kept together the population of Rome. Nature indignantly wars against her. She stands alone in the midst of surrounding desolation, without enterprise, without trade, without industry, her only life has been rooted in her spiritual and her architectural death. Her Pontiff and her ruins have been the great attraction of the Niobe of nations; and time is making relentless war upon both of them. Cut down the former to a simple Bishop, living subject to the laws, and supported by an adequate salary assigned him by the liberality of the State, and half the charm of Rome will be gone. The pomp of the cardinals will disappear. The hosts of adventurers and foreign menials of all descriptions who have subsisted around the Roman curia will migrate to more tempting regions. The population of Rome, though more fluctuating at some periods than at others, has always partaken largely of a changeable and transient character. During the Babylonish captivity, as they termed it, of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the Papal residence was in France, it sank to the grade of an inconsiderable provincial town. The city itself fell into a state of almost ruinous decay. The famous hills on which ancient Rome stood were deserted, and the wretched population that was left had huddled itself into a filthy and narrow suburb along the windings of the Tiber. The parks and public places reverted into swamps; cattle wandered about the streets. A few years more would have served for the depopulation of Rome.\* It seems probable enough that a similar decay, unchecked by any timely return of the Papal splendor, may await the city of the Cæsars. The attractions of the court of the Pontiff retain a large fluctuating population in a city poisoned with filth, and in an atmosphere laden with the seeds of fearful diseases. The pestilent malaria of the Campagna is slowly but certainly driving the inhabitants even within narrower limits. Stealing in invisibly at the gates,

\* Ranke's History; Sixtus V.

Behold by Tiber's flood where modern Rome

Couches beneath the ruins; there of old

With arms and trophies gleamed the field of Mars.

*Dyer. Ruins of Rome.*



creeping along one side of a street, and occupying one quarter after another, it has already hung the flag of death over considerable portions of the city. Let the malaria pursue its march and Rome infallibly becomes a solitude.\* This is the hornet in the hand of the Lord to drive out the idolater from the land. But God may use the sword as well as the pestilence, and storm and pillage may come in to make his vengeance more speedy. Babylon hath been a golden cup in the hand of the Lord that made all the nations of the earth drunken. Put yourselves in array against her round about; all ye that bend the bow shoot at her; spare no arrows for she hath sinned against the Lord. Because of the wrath of the Lord it shall not be inhabited; it shall be wholly desolate; every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and shall hiss at her plagues.

Rejoice over her thou Heaven! and ye holy Apostles and Prophets! for God hath avenged you on her.†

I cannot but regard it as a very peculiar felicity to be permitted to live and act just at this juncture of events. We are looking upon the beginning of the end. We have entered upon that day for which the souls under the altar have waited, crying How long, O Lord! holy and true, dost Thou not avenge our blood upon them that dwell on the Earth! We are seeing the passionate aspiration of Milton realized: the martyred blood and ashes of Christ's witnesses sown o'er all the Italian fields, and shooting forth an hundred fold of those who *shall fly the Babylonian woe*. It is a signal privilege to live and labor and pray at a time like this. Let us quit us like men and be strong. I see already the kings of the earth standing afar off from the smoke of the burning of Babylon, and from the fear of her torment, saying, alas! alas! that great city Babylon! that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come! I hear already the preludings of that mighty chorus which is ready to burst forth as the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying Alleluia; for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth.

\* See Sir James Johnston on Change of Air.

† Jeremiah 51. Revelations 20.



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The Relation of Natural Laws to Christian Theology.

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# AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED AT THE

INAUGURATION OF THE AUTHOR

AS

Professor of Christian Theology

IN THE

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AT AUBURN,

JUNE 15, 1853.

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BY REV. CLEMENT LONG, D. D.

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AUBURN:  
J. C. IVISON, PUBLISHER.  
1853.

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KNAPP & PECK, PRINTERS,  
AUBURN, N. Y.

# A D D R E S S .

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CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY, as opposed to Natural Theology, exhibits in a systematic form the doctrines of Christ and his apostles. They are contained in the inspired word of God. The instructor in this department of sacred learning is an expounder of the principles set forth in the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. It is his office to classify and arrange revealed truths, rather than to exhibit his own views.

And the duty of the Christian Theologian is not confined to systematic exposition : he will inculcate on his pupils the belief of scripture doctrines on the ground of divine authority. Never man spake like Jesus Christ : the apostles were miraculously qualified to teach in his name. The theology which is fairly deducible from their instructions is no mere matter of historic interest, but it is binding on our consciences. The student should embrace it, not because it is coincident with his reason, but because it emanated from such a source.

The recognition and belief of certain supernatural facts is therefore implied in Christian Theology. It presupposes the credibility of the statements made in the scriptures to the effect that God has interposed in an extraordinary manner for our spiritual good, and has given miraculous proof of such interposition.

But we are met with an objection to this view of Christianity as a system resting its claims on divine authority. It is sometimes affirmed, and oftener tacitly assumed, that it is unreason-

able to believe in a supernatural revelation, or any other supernatural fact.

Avowed infidels do not hesitate to declare that miracles are incredible simply because they are deviations from the course of nature, and not for the reason, which indeed they allege, that miracles are not necessary for our moral welfare.

Many who are unwilling to incur the odium that attaches to the name *infidel*, and who profess themselves believers in Christianity "as they understand it," do yet deny the supernatural facts of the New Testament as being repugnant to reason. They pretend that they hold the essentials of our faith, while refusing to believe that Christ was more than man, and even that he was a man divinely sent, and, as will be seen hereafter, while advocating an opinion which is subversive of all religion.

And it is to be feared that scepticism on this subject exists among many who do not venture to take an attitude of positive disbelief. Is not the feeling too generally prevalent, that facts are sufficiently explained when they are referred to the established course of nature, and that the course of nature itself requires no explanation, but stands and produces effects by its own power? But if the continuance of the things that are made does not depend every moment on the good pleasure of God, but their various properties and relations exist without him, it must be a question whether the order of events is at all under his control. He who does not believe that nature itself is a miracle, can hardly think that any individual miraculous event is possible.

The course of argument usually pursued with these unbelievers and rational Christians, is to accumulate from every source the proof of the supernatural facts of the gospel, and also to show that no satisfactory account can be given of the manner in which Christianity has obtained a footing in the world, if it be supposed a deception or an illusion. The truth, and the God of truth, it has been said, could overcome the prejudices against the gospel from pre-occupation of the mind with

other beliefs and from the depravity of the human heart. But it is to the last degree improbable, that the sacred writers should have been able to impose on the credulity of Jew and Gentile a fable, which was alike repugnant to the feelings of both. This should be a consideration of overwhelming weight with those who are willing to be determined in this case, as in others, by the force of evidence. But the unbelievers of whom I am speaking are not prepared to listen to an argument of this kind, because they do not admit that a supernatural fact is possible. They are, therefore, compelled to accept the alternative, beset as it is with difficulties, that the sacred writers were either self-deceived or conscious impostors. If they would abandon their rationalistic objection, they would feel that they must, in candor, receive the natural explanation of the spread and power of the gospel, that it truly describes the person and life of our Lord.

Is it not the duty of the believers in a revealed theology to endeavor to dislodge them from their present position? If this could be accomplished, but little further argument would seem to be necessary in support of the credibility and divine authority of the scriptures. Perhaps I might go further, and say that little more is wanting to the defence of what is commonly designated as orthodoxy. For, according to the latest phase of infidelity, there is no question of interpretation between the unbeliever and the evangelical Christian. The unbeliever admits that the Bible is an orthodox book. But he holds that the sacred writers were themselves deceived; for he denies that there can be any infallible divine guidance in religion, or that a miracle can ever have been performed. Could he believe it possible that the evangelical history is true, he would be in a position to feel the force of the Christian evidences, and then also to embrace the faith of evangelical Christians, that Jesus is the Son of God and Savior of the world.

The defenders of the gospel have urged against this class of unbelievers the probability of a miraculous interposition for



the moral welfare of mankind. They have said that this is needful, and that a benevolent God who loves our happiness, and a righteous God who desires our holiness, may be expected to do for us what our spiritual necessities require. But this argument supposes, what the rationalistic unbeliever denies, the possibility of a deviation from the established course of nature. Evangelical Christianity is unreasonable, as he pretends, not because it professes to do for us that which is not needed, but because it is inconsistent with the nature of things and absurd. It is on this ground that Strauss, the author of the amended "rational" Life of Jesus, which is circulating among us in an English translation, and which presents us with the latest form of infidelity, has undertaken the impracticable task of showing how the narrative of the evangelists, though false, could have been believed to be true by themselves and the Christian world.

Infidelity now offers to the defenders of a revealed theology this issue, that the supernatural facts of the Bible are inconsistent with the laws of nature; and we should not fear to accept the issue. Is it unsuitable to the occasion which calls us together, that I should ask your attention to some remarks on *the relation of the laws of nature to Christian Theology*? A teacher in this department of instruction may be expected, if occasion seems to require it of any one, to defend the ground on which he stands, and maintain his right to live and labor in the vocation to which he has been called.

I shall speak first, and more at large, of the possibility of supernatural events, and then refer, briefly, to some undeniable facts of our moral nature which should lead us to believe in those recorded in the New Testament.

I. Are the facts of Christian Theology, then, inconsistent with the laws of nature? Is it absurd to believe that a phenomenon which has occurred in numberless instances only under certain circumstances, can in any other instance have happened under a different set of circumstances? For example,

the million anticipate the future solely through their knowledge of the past; is it absurd to suppose that a few individuals, have been able, by other means, to predict coming events? According to the uniform course of nature, dead bodies return to the dust. Are we at liberty to believe, upon any evidence whatever, that one man, after lying in the grave three days, rose from the dead?

In answer to these inquiries, I remark, first, that the advocate of naturalism cannot pretend to see in these facts any necessity that they should occur in the usual mode. He knows not wherefore corruption is a natural consequence of the extinction of life, and can give us no reason why, in every instance, men should not rise from the dead after three days. He knows the general fact, and that is all. Should he profess that he was able to determine *why* certain phenomena appear under certain conditions, as a dissolution of the body in connection with the loss of life, he would class himself with that school in philosophy, not now in the highest repute, that flourished before the time of Bacon, who occupied themselves with the inquiry, how the world ought to be constructed according to their ideas, instead of attempting to discover the actual relations of things by observation. The speculations of this school, though not by any means worthy of our contempt, were not so eminently conducive to the advancement of knowledge, as to evince the correctness of their method. The principle of the great reformer in philosophy, that "man, the servant and interpreter of nature, understands and reduces to practice just so much as he has actually experienced of nature's laws: more he can neither know nor achieve," now so generally received, is undeniably true. The wisest philosopher, if asked why a stone falls when left unsupported, can only say that other bodies fall in like circumstances. If further inquired of, why other bodies fall, he has to confess his ignorance. The wisest philosopher would not know beforehand that a lump of sugar would dissolve in his tea. And now he can anticipate such a result only because he has already observed its like.

He is now just as ignorant of the reason why he should have had such an experience, as he was before that it was to be expected.

The rationalist can therefore see nothing in the nature of any given miracle which must forbid its occurrence. He cannot know that the miraculous power of predicting the future otherwise than by means of the existing causes out of which the future will be developed, is impossible in itself. He has no such acquaintance with the conditions of human knowledge, as to be able to affirm that all mankind, if God had so pleased, could not have been informed of the future after the manner of the prophets, so that a fact which is now a wonder should have been a common event. He is incompetent to declare from any information he possesses, that the bodies of all the dead, after having slumbered three days in the grave, could not be raised immortal, and ascend to some other world, there to commence their eternal existence.

It appears, thus, that the rationalist must believe, on some *other* ground than any insight he has, or can pretend to, into the objects of our knowledge—the minds and material substances whose phenomena we observe—that there cannot be any deviation from the laws of nature. If he *has* that profound knowledge of possibilities, which he alleges, it is not from his penetrating glance into the essences of the things which compose the natural world. He does not know that mind from its nature as mind, or matter in general, or any kind of matter, must, from its very constitution, always act and be acted on in precisely the same manner as now, or in any other uniform manner. So far as it regards the matter of the facts which fall under the laws of nature, his information is confined within very narrow limits. He knows what phenomena this matter has exhibited, but not that it could not have been made to exhibit different phenomena.

I therefore remark, secondly, that the rationalist, if he is indeed so deeply read in the mysteries of nature, as his denial of the possibility of a miracle supposes, must perceive that nat-

ural law, as such, irrespective of the matter in which it is exemplified, is immutable and eternal. For this is the only alternative. He must see that an unvarying uniformity is an attribute of natural law in itself. He must hold that no violation or suspension of a law of nature, or deviation from it, is credible, for the sole reason that immutability enters into its idea. To recur to a former illustration, he must think that a return to life of a single individual, after having been three days dead, is impossible, not because this could not have been the natural order of sequence, but because *not* being the natural order, exceptions are not to be admitted. The reason, it must be maintained, can tolerate no singularities; it must require that the rules of action in the physical world be not merely general, with occasional deviations, but absolutely universal. If a dead man was to be restored to life in a single instance, the whole constitution of nature must have been different.

Before such a view as this is entertained, a reflecting man, such as the rationalistic infidel would be thought, should ponder well the consequences which it involves. If the laws of nature are absolutely universal, there can be no phenomenon which was not preceded by a natural cause, and no creation is possible. The first plant of any kind, being like others of its class, must have been produced like them from a seed; and the seed must, as a natural product, have been the fruit of a previous plant. Thus no beginning of nature will be allowable. And again, as every cause in nature has a certain effect, the causes existing in the most remote future must be followed by their consequents, and the system of nature can never come to an end. Nature must therefore be eternal, and if eternal, then also self-existent, and absolutely independent, and consequently God. For there can be no other God but the self-existent and absolutely independent Being. We are parts of nature, and thus parts of God, on this supposition; and we are also free from all moral responsibility, unless we can be said to be accountable to ourselves. But, in truth, neither we, the human developments of Deity, nor the universe

taken as a whole, could have a moral character, since all things would come to pass by a fatal necessity. So incompatible is the rationalistic assertion of an absolute uniformity of events with any religion.

And yet there are some professedly Christian teachers in this country, and more abroad, who deny the possibility of the supernatural, with a clear apprehension of the legitimate consequences of their unbelief. With them Christianity has come to be synonymous with the rejection of all possible grounds of religious faith. They have rectified the gospel, and obtained from it the quintessence of spiritualism, which is that the world is God. These Christians, if they ever overcome the world, place their God beneath their feet.

But let us examine this position, that laws of nature must be absolutely invariable, if they are to retain the character of laws, and learn whether it be impregnable. Is it as certain that nature is without beginning, interruption, or end, as that there are any physical laws? If it is a general fact that the sun shines, must it be admitted that the sun shines from everlasting to everlasting? Is pantheistic infidelity as undeniable, at least, if it be not so clear as the shining of the sun?

The remarks that we have already made will help us to an answer. Our philosophy does not inform us why any given phenomenon should occur—why, for example, there should be a sun to shine, or why the emission of light should be a property of that luminary. We simply know the fact. But the rationalist contends that the fact being once established, were it precisely the reverse of what we observe it to be, as that the sun were a dark body, it must be an everlasting fact. If the sun ever shines it must shine on without end. The particular phenomenon is contingent; reason would not be outraged if we should suppose its non-existence. And yet the law as the rationalist affirms, is necessary: *it* could not cease to be.

What now are we to understand by the necessity of law, it being granted that the matter submitted to its control is con-



tingent? What, for instance, can be meant when it is said that there might be, so far as we conceive, no bodies to fall, yet the law of gravitation is necessary and eternal? In what sense is it true that the *laws* of mind and matter are unchangeable, while at the same time the facts of both could differ from what they are at present, or matter and finite mind could be non-existent? To the apprehension of the speaker it seems so far from a dictate of reason to believe in the necessity of laws, the contingency of facts being granted, as to be self-contradictory and absurd. Actually operative laws without phenomena subject to their regulation, gravitation without bodies, and emission of light without luminous matter, seem to us quite as inconceivable as vallies without contiguous hills, or triangles without sides.

But is there not something which gives plausibility to this dictum of pantheistic infidelity, it may be asked. There is. The uniformity of nature is a well known principle of science. So far as there *is* a system of nature, its laws are invariable. In a natural order of things phenomena are subject to fixed rules. But this statement is by no means equivalent to the principle of the rationalist, that there is nothing actual or possible *besides* an order of nature—no supernatural fact—no Being who controls all things according to his own pleasure, and who is able for wise reasons, of which he is the judge, to deviate from his uniform course in the physical world. Our reason enables us to form an idea of some of the most general conditions of a nature of things. One of these is, that the relations which are established are uniform. Reason tells us that this is necessary, *if*, and *so far as*, there is a system of nature. The necessity affirmed by reason does not pertain to nature itself, but to the attributes which serve to define it. Certain conditions are necessary to it, just as certain conditions must be fulfilled in the construction of a watch. One could not be understood to assert that the mechanism of a watch must actually exist, when he described the principles which enter into it, much less that there could be nothing in

the wide universe but mechanism. So likewise the dictate of our reason that in nature uniformity of action is necessary, should not be interpreted to declare that there can be no phenomena out of nature.

The baseless assumption of the pantheistic infidel, that a supernatural fact is impossible, also derives plausibility from another consideration. It is, that uniformity of action is a necessary condition of our *knowledge* of the physical world. Our experience is a guide to our future conduct under the laws of nature, only so far as that which we have observed of the properties and relations of things shall hold true in time to come. An absolute uniformity of nature would be necessary to an absolute knowledge of it. And the rationalist misinterprets this necessary condition of *knowledge*, as if it were a condition of *existence*. He affirms that a principle which is essential to our reasonings concerning the future, is essential to the future itself. We reason from the existing relations of things on the supposition that they will continue. A considerable fall in the mercury of the barometer indicates a storm to our reason, only on the presumption that the circumstances on which that event depends remain unchanged. Reason can not pronounce with certainty on the conclusion that there will be a storm in the case supposed, unless the premiss be granted, that the established order of sequence will not be changed. And in general, our experience cannot be valid for all the future, unless it is certainly known that there will be no interruption of the existing relations of things. This is a postulate or necessary assumption in *reasoning*. But it is quite a considerable blunder to suppose that a premiss is true, because it is necessary to a conclusion we wish to prove. This, however, is just the mistake of the pantheistic infidel, who would convert the indispensable condition of our inferences concerning facts, into an absolute truth. He asserts, that the merely logical relation of premiss to conclusion, is a real relation of an eternal law to a fact, when he insists that the uniformity which we presume as a basis for reasoning can not but exist,—

when, for example, he says that the laws of the weather must ever be the same as they have been, and can not change, *because* they must be the same, *if* the barometer is to fulfill its end.

But not to delay for the purpose of accounting for any show of reason the denial of the possibility of supernatural facts may have, it may be observed, thirdly, in further confutation of this species of infidelity, that the rationalist would convert his own ideas into eternal verities. For, as I have said before, he does not pretend to see any necessity for the actual course of nature. Men could as well have been born to crawl upon their hands and feet as to walk erect; brutes could have been endowed with powers of reason and discourse, regard being had only to that which is possible and not to that which is wisest and best. The assumed impossibility of a change in the order of nature, can not be discovered in the existing constitution of the world, and hence if it be found any where, it must be in the *ideas* of the unbeliever. Because it is contrary to his ideas that there should be any change in the established course of events, he must insist that it is contrary to fact. The necessity of a fixed and unchangeable order of nature, not being in objects, can be no where else but in ideas. And if these are the grounds of a reality so substantial as an endless series of acts, they must themselves be eternal realities, and not merely the mind's view of the properties and relations of things.

This will be better understood, and will be acknowledged to be no misrepresentation, if we will consider what we mean by a law of nature. A law of nature, then, as we conceive, is not some force that acts upon objects, but it is a uniform mode of action. If we say that it is by a law of nature that the acorn produces an oak, we do not mean that any thing else besides the acorn, namely, a mysterious law, is the cause of the effect. The law is but the uniform mode of action of *this* cause. If there were no acorn, there could be no oak, the law continuing: for this product, by the established order of sequence,

springs from that germ, and from nothing else. The cause of action, the acorn, being absent, there is no action, no mode of action, and therefore no law. Law, in that case, becomes but an idea of the mode in which action might occur. Apart from the particular facts in which it is illustrated, it is but a conceivable form of action.

The objector against the possibility of supernatural events on the ground that nature is unchangeable and eternal, must therefore regard our general view or idea of the mode of physical action as having a necessary existence. He grants that all the observed matter of fact in which a law is illustrated is contingent. Whether any individual acorn shall produce an oak is problematical. The necessity which he predicates of nature will thus pertain to its mere forms of action, which are nothing but ideas, separated from the contingent matter in which they are realized. The objector converts ideas into eternal verities. He must first ascribe objective reality to his own abstractions, before he can deny creation, and miracles, and the being of a personal God :—not the most substantial foundation, it must be confessed, on which to build up a system of infidelity !

One could retort upon the infidel his own objection. Are the laws of nature absolutely invariable, and can no miracle be performed ? Then no finite mind can conclude, from its own ideas, without light from abroad, what the course of things must have been in the eternal past, and what they will be in the everlasting future. We have good historical evidence that miracles were wrought by our Lord and his apostles. The pantheistic rationalist opposes to this evidence the light of his far-seeing ideas. He rebuts the historical testimony in favor of miracles, by setting up the miracle of a supernatural knowledge of the course of nature against our natural means of information. Having been driven from all other positions, infidelity now takes its stand here. In order to show the impossibility of a miracle, it alleges its own exemption from the necessity of acquiring information by natural means. It even refuses its confidence to the best testimony, (our only method

of possessing ourselves of the distant in time and place, under the established laws of nature,) for the reason that *it* has miraculous evidence that no miracle was ever wrought. The infidel has entrenched himself, at last, behind the rampart of omniscient ideas. The weight of the argument is confessedly on the side of the believer, when he urges the importance of a divine interposition for our moral welfare, the great preponderance of the historical and internal evidence in its favor, the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily the prevalence of Christianity supposing it to be a fable, and even the correctness of the orthodox interpretation. In all these respects an unobstructed way is open to faith. She meets with only one obstacle—the belief of miracles is inconsistent with the miraculous ideas of the unbeliever.

Would it be uncharitable, if we suspected that, in this age of the world, when it is not judged to be the most philosophical mode of procedure to construct and explode facts by dint of pure metaphysics, there must be some moral bias, inclining the unbeliever to deny that the facts of nature are under the control of a personal God? True, the infidel does not believe in a moral bias. His system will no more allow him to grant the possibility of moral, than of miraculous facts. But not to turn aside here to break a lance, I may express my fear that it is a moral dislike to the truth which inclines the unbeliever to this abuse of metaphysics.

The mode of argument he has adopted is the more inconsistent with the method of philosophizing now approved, in that it would establish facts by the use of metaphysics in that department of inquiry, the natural world, where this proceeding has been the most pointedly condemned.

An inquiry concerning the ideas which belong to the constitution of nature, is certainly not unphilosophical. Some immaterial principles must be supposed inherent in all bodies, as, for example, that of cohesion. Nature cannot be conceived to exist without them. The attempt to determine what and how many they are, is not to be rebuked. But the error of



which I complain is that of giving unlimited extension to nature on the ground of these ideas. A reference to one or two of them will explain my meaning.

One of these ideas is that of cause and effect. We conceive the facts of nature to be so united in this relation, that a fact of a given class is in like circumstances always followed by another fact of a certain kind. The support of a body being removed, it *always* falls; the soul having taken its departure from its present abode, the decay of the unoccupied dwelling is always the consequence. We do not suppose the succession of facts to be accidental, but to be fixed for all time, so that when an event appears we can predict the event which will follow it, and determine, without sight, the event which must have preceded. This is one of the ideas we have of a natural order of things. We do not conceive that facts *must* occur in a natural order, but if they *are* thus to occur, we conceive that they will sustain to one another an invariable relation of causation. A system of nature is not necessary in the view of reason, but if there is to be such a system, reason requires, as one of its conditions, a uniform succession of phenomena.

But the objector to a supernatural fact, as a thing impossible, presumes to give unlimited extension to nature in the past and the future on the ground of this idea of cause and effect. The recorded experience of mankind embraces but a few short years. The divine testimony carries us back only sixty centuries. But the idea of the rationalist, being regarded not merely as an idea in the light of which the physical world may be comprehended, a mode in which its phenomena may be viewed when they present themselves—but as a real and necessary existence, reveals to him an eternity past and to come! He not only knows what would be true in an endless duration, provided the existing relations of thing should continue, which would be a harmless position, but he knows that they *will* continue, and that there is no power above nature that can bring it to an end. All this he knows

from his idea. Like the philosophers of the dark ages, he founds conclusions concerning matters of fact on his ideas.

It cannot be maintained that the idea of cause and effect is without significance, unless it is conceived applicable to an endless succession of events in nature. It cannot be affirmed that it either means this or it means nothing, and is so much useless lumber in our minds. We do not necessarily intend by the word *cause*, if we understand ourselves, that which produces a certain effect through unnumbered ages. We can designate by the term as well that which, according to the course of nature, and so long as the course of nature continues, is followed by a given result. It is a name under which all facts that precede and bring in other facts uniformly, may be classed; but it does not determine the number of facts which it covers, any more than the common name *man* comprehends an infinite number of actual men. It is as absurd to say that we must mean by the word *cause* a fact which has from eternity been producing a certain effect, as to contend that by *man* we must mean an infinite number of individuals. Every general term is by its nature *capable* of embracing an infinite number of particulars. The word *steamboat*, in its idea, designates as many objects as cause; for it denotes an unlimited number of individual things. And it would be as perverse reasoning to infer, from the comprehensiveness of the word *cause* in its idea, that there is no end to the number of actual natural causes, as to conclude from the extent of the word *steamboat* that the world is filled with this kind of craft. It would be a crowded universe, if there were as many real objects as the boundless capacity of our ideas would comprehend.

But reason, the objector insists, requires us to believe that all facts are the effects of natural causes, and therefore that no creation, and no miracle, can be acknowledged. When the child burns its finger, it immediately searches for the cause of the injury, without having been taught to do so by previous experience, from the dictate of its reason. And having ascertained the cause, it knows it, not as that which in the given

case produced the injury, but as that which always will produce it. It therefore knows how to take care of itself ever afterwards. And it acquires this knowledge without a long and bitter experience, because the *principle* assumed is true, namely, that every effect may be traced to a natural cause. All our reasonings concerning nature, and all our science, it is further urged, proceed on the same assumption. We are no more certain that a stone thrown into the air will return again to the earth, than we are that every cause is connected with a certain effect, and every fact may be traced to a natural cause. We can absolutely know nothing respecting nature, except that which we or others have witnessed, unless we can know that its laws are invariable, and that every fact is the consequent of a natural antecedent. If there may have been a single exception at the time of the asserted beginning of the world, or in the progress of its events, our science of nature is uncertain. The absolute certainty of any event, as that the sun will rise to-morrow, or, if it rises, that it will give light, must depend upon the invariability of the natural laws.

Now I should have no difficulty in admitting that we *have* no absolute certainty that the sun will give light another hour, or that any natural event which we anticipate with the greatest confidence will occur, as that we shall all die before we are two hundred years old, or that we shall not all die before we leave this house. The certainty of natural science regards not the duration of the system, but the principles on which it is constructed. Science teaches us what belongs to the idea of a thing, and it loses none of its certainty if the thing is supposed non-existent. The principles of the watch would not be altered if all watches should go wrong or be destroyed. So likewise the laws of this divine piece of mechanism, the world, are certain, albeit the facts should not all accord with the laws in consequence of some interference, or the maker should choose to reconstruct the machine or commit it to the flames. When we assert the general facts, that man must die and see

corruption, that he must use certain means for the supply of his earthly wants, that his prosperity depends on his observance of certain rules of conduct, we state that which is certain and necessary according to the course of nature, but not that which is absolutely necessary. And we do not therefore contradict the statement of the scriptures that Enoch walked with God, and was not, for God took him, and that Elijah was fed by ravens, and the barrel of meal and the cruise of oil from which he was nourished did not waste. For the scriptures do not speak of these facts as happening according to nature.

Noah Webster tells us that the clock is "a machine so constructed that, by a uniform vibration of a pendulum, it measures time, and its divisions, hours, minutes and seconds, with great exactness." Must error be imputed to the lexicographer, if many of the Connecticut clocks should be found not to be the most accurate time-keepers? And why should such deviations from the course of nature as are recorded in the scriptures, be regarded as inconsistent with the science of nature? The absolute certainty which pertains to the idea of a system is not incompatible with uncertainty in respect to the actual working of the system. If the natural cause of a fact is not discovered, so long as there is a single event *in* nature of the same kind that cannot be referred to the supposed cause; it does not follow that there can be no event *out* of nature. There are no *natural* exceptions to natural laws, certainly, for exceptions declare natural laws to be as yet undiscovered; there may be supernatural exceptions.

The infidel presumes that our knowledge of the facts which actually occur in the history of the world is demonstrably certain, and not merely probable—that our conclusions in regard to actual events are as necessary as our mathematical conclusions. He reasons as one might reason concerning the performance of a machine from his idea. The connection between the idea of the machine and his conclusion would be demonstrably certain, and he might have a right to maintain it against all the world. But now, if he should insist that his idea must be per-

fectly realized, and that because it *is* his idea, and not from his knowledge of the skillful construction of the machine, and that his expectations can not fail to be fulfilled, however blundering the artist may have been, or whatever variation he may have been pleased to introduce from the original plan, a commission of lunacy might properly issue to place him under keepers till he should return to his sober senses. Yet the infidel reasons precisely in this way concerning the facts which occur in the world's history. Every event in the natural course of things is connected with a certain cause, he insists very truly, and he therefore concludes it to be as certain as Euclid's forty-seventh, that it can be produced by no other cause, and hence that there can be no Creator and no deviation from the established laws of nature. I beg leave to say that there is a yawning hiatus between the conclusion and the premiss.

The position in which the rationalistic opponent of a supernatural revelation has entrenched himself behind an abstraction, does not then appear to be impregnable. Reason does not require that we should believe the natural world to be eternal, and to exclude supernatural agency. That which follows by logical deduction from the *idea* of nature, the connection of each particular event with a certain antecedent in time, may not be true in fact, because the idea of nature may not have been realized through an unlimited duration and in every case. A logical consequence from an abstraction can, itself, be nothing but an abstraction.

If these principles are sound, they will justify me in some criticisms which I shall offer on the manner in which this species of infidelity is sometimes treated.

The supposition of some of the friends of religion that a miracle may be but a part of the natural order of things, seems to concede to the rationalist his principle, that all events must be subject to laws of nature. It is sometimes said that an apparent interference with the uniform course of things in nature, may have been provided for by the system of nature



itself. This seems to be an admission, on the part of the friends of religion, that there would be force in the rationalistic objection to the supernatural, if it could not be resolved into the natural. Is this a wise concession? Does it not yield the whole matter in dispute, and that too without the shadow of a reason? If God cannot act otherwise than by natural laws—if, for example, he can produce no effect otherwise than by a natural cause, he cannot create. For to speak of creating by a natural cause is absurd, since it supposes nature, his instrument in creation, already in existence and therefore uncreated and independent of Him. So also is it absurd to refer a *miracle* to a natural cause, because this *cause* must either be directly dependent on the will of God, (in which case you only place the immediate agency of God a step further back, and you might as well connect it with the miracle itself,) or the natural cause of the miracle must be independent of him, and self-existent, and God will perform no wonder, but we shall merely see a new natural cause come into play. What do we gain, when we get an acknowledgment of the possibility of miracles from the infidel by so defining the meaning of the word *miracle* as to exclude from its idea that which distinguishes it from a natural event? Conversions to Christianity effected by means of such a device very much resemble the conversions from heathenism achieved by Popery, in which the former idolatries are retained under new names. The real change is from Christianity to infidelity.

The friends of religion also yield more than an amiable candor requires, when they admit that every natural appearance which the world exhibits must have resulted from the agency of a natural cause. When the system of nature was created, it may have had the same natural appearance as it would have attained in hundreds, or thousands, or hundreds of thousands of years, under the operation of nature's laws. Indeed, the world must have appeared to have been previously in existence at the very beginning. When the work of creation was

just completed, the effects of the word that spoke it into existence must have resembled exactly the effects of second causes. It must have been, at the start, under just such laws, and exhibited just such natural appearances, as after it waxed older. A Humboldt placed among the scenes then presented by nature, and conjecturing, as such a mind would conjecture, by the aid of natural indications, the origin of its phenomena, would have traced them back to other phenomena in the past. There was the sun in the heavens, just as if it had been there always. The philosopher would have made it rise and set on the day before creation just as it did afterwards. The moon would have seemed to know her appointed course as well in those first months as now. The heavenly bodies discoursed as harmonious music then as at the present. The philosopher, if supposed acquainted with astronomy, would have calculated eclipses backwards into non-entity, taking for the basis of his computation the existing relations of the sun, moon, and earth. By counting the rings formed by the annual additions to the trees, he would have determined how long they must have been growing before God said, "let the earth bring forth grass, the herb yielding seed, and the fruit tree yielding fruit after his kind, whose seed is in itself upon the earth." The plants which first grew would not, of themselves, have indicated that they did not spring from seeds, like those afterwards propagated from these. Our philosopher, if supposed to be the first man, could not have known by his *philosophy* that he was the son of God, but must rather have denied it, if the philosophy of nature was to be his sole guide. And if the soil was then first formed by the word of God, it would have been judged to be the result of depositions made through long periods of time, by one acquainted with the process employed by nature for this purpose. The world must have had the appearance of being an old work when it was first made. It must have looked as if it was the effect of the natural agencies operating in times past.

And if it must be admitted that God could create an old

looking world, it is immaterial *how* old it might seem to have been in the beginning. We could receive a "thus saith the Lord," in regard to the time of creation, if it should oblige us to believe that the world, at the time when it came from the forming hand of Deity, exhibited the appearance of having been millions of years in existence. Philosophy could not contradict the teachings of revelation, if they were of this purport. For philosophy can inform us only of that which is agreeable to the course of nature, but cannot tell us how long the course of nature must have continued. And if you take her as your guide in this last inquiry, you will have to conclude that nature had no beginning. For the world must ever have indicated a connection with the past, if you will judge of its duration by natural appearances. Whatever beginning of natural phenomena you assume, the philosophy of nature will refer them to previous natural causes. Insist on taking a point for a beginning where philosophy would find one, and you must deny a beginning, and hold the account of a creation given by Moses to be fabulous. But if you are not prepared for this, and will assume the possibility of a beginning, all natural appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, you can as easily take your stand at one point as another, so far as it regards any supposed conflict with philosophy. If philosophy would account for natural phenomena by the supposition of a duration of the world through endless ages, the same objection will lie against a beginning wherever revelation may place it, namely, that at that time the world must have appeared to be an old world. The objection is in fact altogether groundless. For it is the business of philosophy to tell us what the laws of nature are, not how long they have been in operation. Philosophy cannot observe and testify, it can only explain. Philosophy cannot see the facts in an endless past or an endless future, it can only account for the facts which the senses have brought within its cognizance. Philosophy can furnish principles for facts, but it cannot furnish facts.

I do not by any means affirm that the scriptures, when fairly

interpreted, oblige us to believe that the earth was made only six thousand years ago, with the appearance of having stood for ages. But I maintain that if they did, they would not contradict the laws of science. For science can only teach us how phenomena must occur under the established order of nature, but cannot deny that the same phenomena may be brought into existence otherwise than by the fixed course of nature. Science is out of its place when it tells us how God must work, and ventures to affirm that he cannot deviate from a uniform course. It can show us what must happen according to his constitution of things, but cannot prescribe a law to him. And this is not a restriction of the boundaries of science by the speaker. It is generally admitted, at the present day, that man is only nature's interpreter. He can determine the order of events in nature. But he cannot take his stand out of nature, in a past eternity, and thence speculate upon the beginning of nature. For he then leaves the facts which it is his province to observe and explain, in order to imagine how these facts could begin to exist. He ceases to be an interpreter of the language of nature, humbly applying his understanding to the truths which she declares, in order to dogmatise concerning a subject respecting which nature gives him not the slightest information. All that he affirms about the beginning of the world is the merest conjecture. He can see in the facts exposed to his observation how the system of nature works, but not how it was introduced. It is the province of *religion* to discover to us the state of things when the world began. Does Moses declare that the world had its beginning at the time when man was made? Unbelievers affirm that he does, and that he is plainly inconsistent with known facts. Both assertions, in our view, may be false. The unbeliever does not know them to be true. He may be in error regarding the true interpretation of Moses; he may also be in error concerning the alleged inconsistency of *his own interpretation of Moses* with facts. For he presumes that there could have been no appearance of age in the globe at the very moment

of its creation. The known facts with which, as he asserts, the sacred writer is at variance, are that the world must have had the appearance six thousand years ago of having been long extant. We can admit it, and yet believe that it was then created. For whenever created, it must have had, at the very first moment, the appearance of age. It had no more the marks of a supernatural fact then than it has now. Naturally it must have seemed at that very moment, to a finite intelligence which comprehended the relation of cause and effect, if there was any such, to have had a past. But the consideration that effects do not *now* come to pass without second causes, is not at all to the purpose as urged against the creation of an old looking world. For the real question is: whether the supposed time of creation was not the time when the order of nature *commenced*, and whether the apparently natural phenomena of that time, (such phenomena as must have existed wherever you fix the date of creation,) were not produced by a supernatural cause. I do not say or believe that this is the assertion of the Author of the Pentateuch. Fair interpretation must decide. But *if* it is, and if, as I believe, Moses wrote by divine inspiration, then that authority which alone is competent to inform us respecting the creation of the world has spoken, and natural science, which treats of the relations among physical facts since the creation, but not of the relation of the world with all its phenomena to the Creator, can interpose no conclusive objection. When we cleave to the word of God as our guide in regard to the origin of all things, we do not set ourselves in opposition to the teachings of science. We would by no means forbid investigation of the laws of science, lest the knowledge of God's works should beget a profane contempt of God's word. We would not cherish a superstitious regard for the oracles of God at the expense of human intelligence. We can believe the testimony of the scriptures, at the same time that we acquaint ourselves with the principles of science, and avail ourselves practically of their benefits. Mankind need not become more ungodly



in proportion as their knowledge increases of those works in which the glory of God is displayed.

Is it insisted that reason must be employed in scientific investigation, and that it is the province of reason to conclude, from that which we now behold, what the phenomena of the world must have been in past time, and what they will be in future. Is it argued that science runs through all time, and that its conclusions are universal, embracing all the phenomena that have existed and can exist? I cheerfully grant that the conclusions of reason from observed facts extend to all the system of nature. But I deny that reason can give unlimited extent to nature itself, that it can not only comprehend the whole system of nature, but that it can also enlarge that system infinitely, in the direction of the past and the future. All our knowledge of reality founded on reason has conditioned, not absolute certainty: it supposes, what may not in fact be true, that the laws of nature were, or, if our knowledge regards the future, will be unchanged. It is not reason, but mere will and imagination, that ascribes an endless duration to the system of nature. There is doubtless a true metaphysics of nature. But it is valid for nothing but nature; and nature is not eternal.

Paley illustrates the design of the Creator by the supposition that a watch was so constructed as to produce another watch, as well as to keep time, and also to add to the second watch, the machinery for producing a third, so that watches should have the power of perpetuating themselves. And he argues, very justly, that our admiration of the inventor would be greatly increased by the circumstance that each watch, after the first, was capable of producing another. The attempt to defraud the author of the contrivance of the consideration which was his due by the suggestion that the first watch may have been produced, like all the rest, by a preceding watch, would be simply ridiculous. The knowledge of the principles of the machinery would not authorize one to determine in how many watches those principles must have been realized, much

less that the number of watches must have been infinite. Yet this absurd mode of reasoning is adopted by infidels in opposition to the scripture account of creation. The first natural products being like their successors, it is insisted that they must have been produced in the same manner, that is, that the scriptures were erroneous in asserting that there was a first. And this mode of reasoning is not regarded as altogether unsound by many Christians. They allow its validity to so great an extent as to be inconsistent with themselves in not carrying it all lengths with the infidel. They grant that if the objects of nature had the appearance at any supposed time of creation of having come into their existing state by natural causes, the work of creation must have been performed before that time. Now all the plants, (to speak of one class of created objects,) which God spake into existence at the beginning, must have been like their successors, and must have had the appearance, like them, of having sprung from other plants. It must therefore be denied that God created plants. And, again, the seeds of plants are the end as well as the germ of growth. We could not believe that God created seeds, if we should hold it unreasonable to think that he would create such objects as had the appearance of having been produced by a natural process. Thus, if it be supposed that we must find a time for creation when nothing should begin to be by the fiat of the Almighty, that might seem to have been developed by a natural process, it must be denied that the vegetable world is a part of his works. And this principle is assumed to be true by many defenders of the scripture account of creation. They are very far from intending to deny its credibility. But the circumstances in which, as they admit, the power of the Creator must have been exerted, are such as could never exist. He could not create the natural world without giving it the appearance of having been developed out of a previous state of nature. And this is the condition of creation that is insisted on. Geological writers, who are by no mean enemies of Christianity, affirm the necessity of going back for a time of

creation, to where there shall be no appearance of a connection with a past. They demand an impossible condition ; and therefore, with the pantheistic infidel, virtually deny the possibility of creation.

If we will reason concerning possibilities on natural principles, we must concede that the pantheistic rationalist has the best of the argument. Nature in its idea is a chain that has no end. The seed springs from the plant, and the plant again from the seed ; neither the one nor the other is a first link. Every son has a father, and every father is also a son. Every compound is the result of a previous combination ; and every elementary substance which has entered into a compound, was previously separated from its connection with some other compound. Neither a state of isolation, nor a state of combination, can be said to have existed at first ; but the one must be explained by a previous dissolution, and the other by a previous union. Is it unreasonable to think that God would create any thing which should bear the marks of age and decay ? But what is decay, but a preparatory step to renovation ? The decay of this year precedes naturally the germination of the next. Do you say that God could reasonably be expected to create only first things ? But decay precedes as well as follows growth, and by this rule, he could as well create things in their dissolving as their springing time. In a natural order of sequence, you are as near the beginning of things at one point as another. Assume that the metaphysics of nature should be our guide in determining when creation should begin, and you will in effect declare the impossibility of creation.

We might consider the world itself as an object in nature, and attempt to trace its development from the beginning to the present time, as we do the progress of the plant from the germ. But if we regard it as having been produced thus by a law of development, we must suppose it to be one of a series of worlds. The germ or seed of a world would, in this way of viewing the subject, have been the produce of another

world now gone to decay. A natural development is not one which occurs only in a single instance. One example of development of a bird from an egg, or of an egg from formless matter, would be a miracle, and not a natural phenomenon. The frequent repetition of a fact in the same manner is necessary to constitute it a natural phenomenon. We can regard this world as having sprung from a germ by a natural development, provided it can be shown by an induction of particular instances, that worlds do commonly spring from germs, as given plants grow from certain seeds, and particular species of birds from eggs of a determinate kind. But then, if the relation of worlds to their elementary principles or germs is a uniform relation, the germs or seeds of worlds will themselves be natural products, and will have been developed by natural means. Following analogies, we may suppose that the seed, or, if you please, the egg out of which this world has sprung, was produced by a previous world. We are no nearer to the creation of the world, when we have referred it to such an origin, than we were before. If we will insist on going back thus to the beginning of all things by the light of our reason, where it will be necessary to find a God as a first cause, we may go back without end.

The eminent naturalist, Guyot, (by no means inclined to infidelity,) in his "Earth and Man," represents the process of world-development to be essentially the same as that which occurs in incubation. He first describes the changes which take place in the egg, and then proceeds: "We have recognized, in the life of all that develops itself, three successive states, three grand phases, three evolutions, identically repeated in every order of existence; a chaos where all is confounded together, a development where all is separating, a unity where all is binding itself together and organizing. We have observed that here is the law of phenomenal life, the formula of development, whether in inorganic nature, or in organized nature." And he adds: "If such is the law of all beings, it ought equally to be the law of life in our entire globe, collec-

tively considered as an individual." According to this statement, the globe as a whole sprang out of chaos as naturally as the objects, mineral, vegetable, and animal, which this globe sustains. It bears, to the formless matter from which it was developed, the same relation essentially as the bird to the chaotic mass from which the egg and the bird were produced. And if this is so, then it is just as necessary to find a natural origin for the germ of the world as for the world itself. The little chaos from which the egg is formed is as much a natural product as the egg. So likewise the larger chaos at the beginning of the world must be conceived to have resulted from a pre-existing state of things. We are no nearer to the end of the chain at this point than at the following link.

If it be an objection of any weight to the creation of an apparently old world, that it cannot be thought God would make a world in which there was already decay and death, it is still more weighty as against the creation of a chaos. For this is the natural result of a complete dissolution and disorganization of all things. If infinite Wisdom would not begin his work in the middle, as it is contended, much less would he begin it at the end. We are incompetent to determine, on purely rational grounds, *where* he must begin. The rule which we would prescribe to Deity, that the world as it came from his forming hand should seem to sustain no relation to the past, is unreasonable and absurd.

The question here, it will be noticed, is not when the course of nature commenced according to the Scriptures, but it regards the competency of reason to correct the teachings of the word of God. Let it be believed that our globe was in existence hundreds of thousands or millions of years before man was created, if there is nothing in the word of God, fairly interpreted, to contradict the supposition. But let not interpretation force upon the Scriptures a meaning which they cannot bear, in order to accommodate them to the reasonings of naturalists concerning the age of the world. For then the interpreter would assume with the naturalist, that such natural



phenomena as the world has at any time exhibited, must, perforce, be referred to previously existing second causes, and cannot be ascribed to the immediate agency of the Most High. And this assumption would evidently allow no place any where in the endless chain of nature for the work of creation, and would deny the existence of the Creator, and of a revelation, and brand with folly our sacred regard for the Scriptures, and our anxious endeavors to render it consistent with nature by forced interpretation. The teachings of nature and of the Word of God must agree, it is said, and in this it is presumed that we can judge, solely by natural indications, how long the matter of this globe must have been in existence, and that the Bible must authenticate the record thus made of the age of the world. If this is true, then as no time can be found in the chain of events where there will not be indications of a past, the Bible must be made to harmonize with the teachings of science by being interpreted so as to declare that this globe was never created, but is the result of a process of eternal development.

Here are two different regions in which wholly diverse phenomena prevail. In one of them are exhibited the phenomena of freedom, the direct agency of God and of man : in the other, are seen the phenomena of nature, the effects of physical causes. In the first, the pleasure of the mind determines each particular phenomenon, unfettered by the principle of uniformity ; in the second, all the phenomena are governed by an invariable rule. The two regions may be compared to two countries, in one of which the dress, the manners, the civil relations—*all* the actions of the people, should be governed by nothing but a sense of propriety ; while in the other every thing was regulated by habit, custom, precedent, and legislative enactment. Now it would be the duty of a philosopher, residing in the country last described, and studying its various prescribed modes of action, to state only what he there observed and knew to be true. Should he allow himself to presume that what was true in that region must be true every where,

and that action must be regulated by the same laws in the land of freedom, he would do just what those natural philosophers do, who impose the laws of nature on the God of nature and his responsible creatures—he would found his conclusions on prejudice, rather than on observation, experience, and well accredited testimony. Travelers sometimes form their judgments concerning that which is reasonable and proper, from the characteristics with which they have always been familiar at home. They imagine that such modes of address as they have not been accustomed to are rude or even ridiculous, that any style of apparel but that of their own country is uncouth, that any institutions but those under which they were born must make the people unhappy. Of the same nature, precisely, is that prejudice of the naturalist, which will not suffer him to believe that there can be a region of freedom; where the natural laws here established have no control. For how does he know that the phenomena he sees in the natural world must always have been produced by second causes? What reason can he give for this opinion, but that it is so in the natural world? Like the prejudiced traveler, he will admit the reasonableness of nothing but that to which he has been accustomed. As the inhabitant of a country where law regulates every thing, is struck with horror at the thought of freedom of speech and action, so he supposes that every thing must be in a state of wild confusion, if natural law does not control all events. Even God himself becomes, in his view, but another name for natural law.

I have spoken of the error committed by such of the friends of christianity as concede that the world must have stood long enough for all its phenomena to have been produced by second causes. I will observe, further, that the friendly attempt to prove the existence of a First Cause from the natural relation of an effect to its cause, is to be discouraged. If God stands related to this universe as particular effects to their causes, so that we may properly reason from the one to the other, and say that, as each effect must have had its cause so all the ef-

fects in the universe taken, as a whole, must have had their cause, and this is God, then God must have produced the universe by a fatal necessity ; in like circumstances he must produce the universe again ; and he must produce exactly such a universe a thousand times, if he should be so often in a situation to act as a cause, for natural causes produce invariably the same effects. Furthermore, natural causes produce no new matter, they do not create. Nor, finally, do natural causes operate self-moved ; they act only when they are acted on.

THE friendly attempt to defend the truth, that there is a supernatural cause, by means of an idea of causation taken from the metaphysics of nature, is just as injurious, as the unfriendly attempt to disprove it in the same manner. And we are sometimes called to witness the sad spectacle of the friends and enemies of religion leagued together unconsciously to undermine its foundations by the use of the same instrument. The pantheistic infidel carries out the principle of natural cause and effect beyond its true province, that he may prove the non-existence of a first cause ; the believer, that he may prove his existence ; but both with the same result. The principles of our reasoning are stubborn things ; they will not lend themselves to the establishment of every conclusion that may be agreeable to our wishes. The infidel and his fellow-laborer, the mistaken friend of religion, must be met by denying the right of *both* to reason concerning free agents as we reason about the phenomena of nature. The metaphysics of nature are not valid beyond her domains. Reasoning from the uniform relation of cause and effect we are able to defend ourselves against accidents from fire and flood. We can properly extend our experience among facts of this description to all times and places. A disaster by fire is an effect, according to the meaning of that word, when we reason from the relation of cause and effect, and we may conclude that if we would escape such a disaster we must shun the previously ascertained cause. But a work of creative power, is *not*, in that sense, an effect ; and to argue from it to a First Cause, is to found a conclusion on an

ambiguous use of a term. One might as logically argue that a thief in a garret is an *honest* man because he is *above stealing*.

The argument *against* the existence of a God, who is a free personal Being, from the idea of the relation of cause and effect, is equally fallacious, inasmuch as it extends to phenomena of one kind, those of freedom, a principle of reasoning which is only valid for those of another kind, namely the phenomena of the natural world. There is nothing to be said in favor of this application of the metaphysics of nature. Our reason is furnished with the idea of causation in order that we may embrace under it all physical facts, and may thus extend the boundaries of our knowledge of the physical world. This is all its significance and use. It is the merest presumption to contend that there can be no fact or being to which the idea does not apply.

I have dwelt the longer on this principle of causation, because it is one with which we are all familiar. It is another principle of the metaphysics of nature, that no absolutely new substance can be formed by natural means, and none can be destroyed. Should a substance new to science be discovered, the chemist would not suppose that it was in fact more recent than any other substance, but only that now, for the first time, it had become known. So far as substances are made to assume a new appearance by any means, whether chemical or mechanical, the naturalist does not believe that they lose their identity or become extinct. He holds the indestructibility of substance, however, as a naturalist. The science of nature cannot carry one out of nature. An end of nature can never be found on natural principles; but every state of the world must lead on to a succeeding state, if some supernatural power does not intervene; which science, founded as it is on uniform relations, cannot at all anticipate. So, also, an absolute beginning of a new substance would be a new creation, and not a natural effect; and therefore not cognizable by science. For a naturalist, as such, the world has neither beginning nor end. But he does not assert the impossibility of the creation

or destruction of matter by the *power of God*. On that subject he, as a naturalist, has not a word to say. The laws of nature, which it is his office to discover and explain, declare nothing respecting the supernatural one way or the other. If, therefore, the theologian testifies that he has good reason to believe the world was made by the power of God, and that the same power has occasionally changed the nature of substances, he does not and cannot join issue with the naturalist. Their statements relate to different subjects. One speaks of the course of nature, the other of the power of the God of nature.

The conception of substance is a part of the metaphysics of nature. It must be formed to render nature intelligible. All our assertions, all our thoughts even, respecting any physical fact, as of the fluidity of water, presuppose this metaphysical idea. For by the fluidity of water I mean a property which always has been, and always will be connected with that substance. I should have no knowledge of substances, if my assertions concerning them were limited to a single moment. That which is not for one moment true of nature is never true. Truth and science suppose continuance. Without it, nature would be non-existent. And there is only so much of a nature of things as there is a duration. It is not necessary that there should be a nature of finite things. But if there is to be, permanence must enter into its idea. This is what is meant by the necessity of substance. The duration of the matter of objects is not absolutely necessary, but it is necessary *provided* there is to be an established order of things. But if it be the pleasure of Deity that there shall be *no* established order of nature, this abstraction of substance cannot oppose his will.

The pantheistic infidel, who holds that because there is a physical world with its indispensable conditions, therefore there is nothing but a physical universe, no Creator and Moral Governor, no responsible creature, no divine revelation—is as inconclusive in his reasoning as would be a naturalist in any one department who should insist that his department covered



all nature and all existence, for example, the botanist, who should aver that all mineral substances, all animals, and men, and angels, and even the Great First Cause, if there could be any, were plants; as inconclusive, as the bigoted American, who should insist, that since men shake hands in this country by way of salutation, there can be no people so absurd as to press their noses together in token of friendly greeting.

Other ideas pertaining to physics, might be mentioned, besides those of cause and substance, from which it has been illogically argued that a supernatural fact is impossible. Every attack of this kind may be repelled, by showing that our ideas of the physical world enable us to comprehend the facts of nature, when, by other means, besides our ideas, namely by the observation of the senses, they are known to exist; but that ideas cannot of themselves give us assurance of the existence of an actual world. Our idea of a cause does not inform us that there is *any actual* cause agreeing with it. How then can this same idea prove to us the eternal existence of the order of nature? Our ideas do not *discover* facts: they merely aid us in *interpreting* them.

And if there is no conflict between our *ideas* of the course of nature and supernatural events, it is not unreasonable to believe in such events when they are well authenticated. For the unreasonableness of a belief in creation, miracles and inspiration can be alleged, as I have endeavored to show, only on the ground that the ideas of the unbeliever are incompatible with it. He cannot pretend to see in the *matter* of any essential facts of this description a repugnance to reason. It is not these peculiar facts,—the formation of this globe, the healing of the sick and raising of the dead, the giving to men of instruction regarding a future state—it is not these *facts*, from some peculiarity in them, which reason insists must be produced in a natural way, according to the unbeliever. It is not the nature of objects as discovered by observation, but the nature of things as conceived in his mind, nature according to his ideas, that embraces all actual and possible facts. When

Hume said that miracles were contrary to experience, he may have meant what infidelity of a later type explicitly declares, that miracles were contrary to *his notions* of experience. The asserted unreasonableness of faith in a supernatural revelation appears thus to be equivalent to the inconsistency of any thing miraculous with our ideas. If there is clearly no contradiction between these and the supernatural facts of the Scriptures, the christian faith is not irrational. If the whole use and significance of our ideas of nature can be acknowledged without denying the possibility of a miracle, as I have endeavored to show, reason can admit the credibility of well-authenticated testimony to the effect that miracles have been performed.

And if nature is not necessarily eternal and omnipresent, but will suffer the infidel to believe that there can be found a place for a personal Almighty Being to create facts by the word of his power, then, as I have intimated already, the way is open to bring home to his mind with effect the christian evidences, as they have been often exhibited, in the most convincing manner, by the friends of the gospel. These evidences are of sufficient weight to command the assent of every unprejudiced mind. If objections can be still raised against them, particularly from the difficulty of harmonizing all the statements of facts in the evangelical narratives, yet the objections are far more serious to the supposition that the accounts of the New Testament writers are fabulous. The infidel cannot explain how a religion which started in weakness and contempt, and excited against itself, both in the mind of Jew and Gentile, natural, national, and religious prejudices, overcame all opposition, and in the course of three centuries became the religion of the Roman Empire, if it was either an imposture or a delusion. The hypothesis that it was a conscious imposture is now generally abandoned. But that which is now patronized by infidelity is equally untenable, that our Lord was a mere man, but a man of so great wisdom and virtue, that his disciples were betrayed by their excited imaginations into the belief that he was more than man and performed supernatural works. For it is un-

accountable, in the first place, that the disciples should have been so greatly deceived as to think they verily saw the wonderful facts they have recorded, or that their earthly minds could have been so wrought upon as to create a character so unlike themselves, and so elevated above themselves, both as Jews and as men—a character so admirable and so consistent—as that of our Lord. And if this difficulty could be got over, it is unaccountable, in the second place, that such statements as these writings contain of miracles publicly performed and generally known, should have so imposed on the imaginations of the people where they are alleged to have been done, that they could have really believed the events passed before their eyes; and that the world of that day, not being predisposed, as we know, to faith in such a divine personage as is here set forth, but rather very decidedly prejudiced against him, should yet have been persuaded that this fabulous narrative was true. *This* hypothesis, therefore, after all the effort that has been made to bolster it up, seems likely to fall to the ground. And what *other* supposition can be made by the unbeliever, but the one which is now abandoned, namely, that our holy religion was a conscious imposture? Why then should not unbelief itself be renounced? Why should any other explanation be given of the reception of Christianity as a heaven-descended faith, but that the truth is mighty and will prevail? Laying out of view the corruption of man's heart, which it may be suspected lies at the foundation of the disposition to reject the gospel, the cause of this resort to so very improbable a conjecture regarding the origin of our religion, is the baseless assumption which I have been considering, that an extraordinary divine interposition for our spiritual good is impossible. The author of the able article in the *Edinburg Review* on Reason and Faith, lately republished, repeats the declaration of Strauss, the inventor of the hypothesis just now examined, that if he could believe a miracle *possible*, he would not attempt to discredit the history of the evangelists. Yet the Reviewer does not show the fallacy of the assumption of Strauss, but satisfies himself with

pointing out the difficulties connected with his hypothesis. Now the infidel admits and feels these difficulties, but he pretends that he is under the necessity of encountering them, because it is absurd to suppose a miracle ever happened. It would have been a good service rendered to our faith, and one which the Reviewer could have performed in the most satisfactory manner, to expose the groundlessness of this infidel dogma. When it is seen that the belief in supernatural events is not irrational, it will have to be granted that the evangelical history is credible. So far as faith depends on the force of argument, there will be no more unbelief, when our opponents have been driven from this, their last position.

The confutation of this error is important, also, in reference to the Mosaic account of the creation. For this account is disputed on the same ground. The principles of nature are invariable, facts always existing, within her province, according to uniform laws, and therefore it is concluded, very illogically, that there can be no supernatural facts. And unbelievers are, for this reason ever looking to find some discrepancy between the declarations of the word and the works of God. They take it for granted, unconsciously, perhaps, in many instances, that the necessary condition of an order of nature, is a necessary condition of all reality. No inconsistency has yet been discovered between physics and divine revelation, but the unbeliever fancies that he already perceives an inconsistency in reason, and after every disappointment he applies his mind with new diligence to find it realized.

He frames his theory of development, according to the pretended demand of his reason that all things should originate in a natural way. There is a constant tendency in nature, he surmises, to more perfect modes of existence. For the higher orders of creatures began to exist after the lower. These must therefore have been the germs out of which those were produced. And, according to this law, we must believe that there will be creatures on the globe hereafter of a superior order to man, to be followed by other nobler races ; for the law

which has been found to prevail, will, from its idea as a law, never cease to be operative. All the individuals of our kind will be dissolved in the dust, or hereafter constitute a fossil race, and this will be their end ; but human nature will enter into some nobler animal and there live again, just as the nature of fishes, reptiles, birds, and mammals, is reproduced in man, and in this manner and no other shall man become immortal.

This theory of development meets with facts which it cannot explain, and therefore breaks down. It is not true that the tendency in any given race is to improvement. A contrary tendency, to deterioration, has been observed. In the tribes of fishes and reptiles, the most perfect specimens were formed first, and degradation afterwards occurred. Analogy seems to sustain the revealed fact that *man* was by the fall degraded from the physical condition in which he was created. Facts do not lend their support to the assumption, that each inferior class of animals was, by a law of nature, elevated into the one above it. And furthermore, no creature has ever yet been discovered in the transition state. If we turn to look at the moral nature of man, which is as truly a fact as his physical nature, and should no sooner be left out of view by a philosopher, we see reason to believe that the individuals composing our race are not destined to perish forever when they die, but will exist in a future and eternal state of being to bear the responsibilities of this day of trial. Can we then suppose that this accountable creature is but a link between the herd and a superior tribe of animals? It seems therefore to be agreed among naturalists themselves, that the theory of development is already one of the things that were. But the presumption that the different classes of animals cannot have been successively introduced by a creative act of the Most High, still holds its place in many minds as an unquestionable truth, and induces the expectation that some discovery will yet be made to bring science into irreconcilable conflict with the word of God.



A thorough exposure and confutation of this ground principle of infidelity is obviously most desirable. For even if the reality of the supernatural should be considered as one of the things of the Spirit, which must be foolishness to unspiritual men, it will still be a great advantage to Christianity to have it proved that reason does not authorize the denial of the supernatural, and that the difficulty of the unbeliever can be nowhere but in the will.

II. The second topic to which, in the outset, I proposed, for a few moments, to ask your attention, was, as you will remember, that certain facts cognizable by all, should prepare the way, in the minds of the reflecting, of whatever character for spirituality, for the reception of a revelation from God.

One of these is, that *the law of duty differs radically from a law of science*. The latter is a mode of action. If the class of facts which fall under it should fail, the law would end with them; or if they should suffer modification, the law would undergo a corresponding change. Could a single fact be found which was clearly not in accordance with the law of gravitation, we must conclude that the law itself is not satisfactorily established, unless, indeed, we saw reason to think that the exception was the consequence of a divine interposition. But there are innumerable instances of human action that do not agree with the law of right, and yet the law holds. If the whole race were perverse, and not an action of mankind were in accordance with moral law, this would not annul or change the principles of morality. *Moral* law is not then a mode of action. When the moral philosopher lays it down in a scientific form, he does not state what men are actually found to do in their various relations, but he declares what they are bound to do. He does not conform his rules to the facts, but he requires that the facts should be conformed to his rules. A writer on natural science who should pursue a like method would be simply ridiculous. *He* accommodates his ideas to facts; but the moral philosopher must not yield a tittle of

right to make his laws more agreeable to the facts of human character and conduct.

Natural laws have their whole significance as principles of classification. They are the distinguishing mark by which classes of facts may be recognized. They enter into each individual fact to constitute it such a general fact as it is, and to determine where it belongs. They have no reality, except as they are realized in the individual facts which they govern. Apart from these they are empty abstractions. But moral law has *not* its whole force and meaning as an explanation of that which actually happens. It is *not* the form under which individual facts present themselves. It stands and has authority where it is not carried into effect. It is more than a principle of classification, and of knowledge and science. It is the true principle of action when it is not a principle of knowledge by which human conduct can be explained. Like a law of the state, it speaks to command, and we are its subjects. It implies a Sovereign Legislator. We did not place ourselves under its authority; but we found ourselves there when we first recognized our personality. If we had bound our own consciences, we could grant ourselves a release; but we feel and know that this is impossible. The commandment in the law is independent of us and over us, supreme, immutable, and eternal. What else can we believe, but that it is imposed on us by a Higher Power, that it is the law of the supreme, immutable, and eternal God?

The unbeliever has nothing to object against his own felt certainty that he is under a moral law and a Supreme Legislator and Judge, but his mere ideas of nature, his empty abstractions.

Another fact, cognizable by all men, is that *the world is in a bad moral condition*. The universal conscience would declare, if it were allowed to speak, that there is not a just man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not. For the law, as it utters itself through the conscience, requires of us perfect and perpetual obedience. It cannot mitigate its claims

to adapt them to human imperfection, but if we have ever turned aside from the way of duty, or if we have not advanced in that way as rapidly and as far as we were able, the law speaks only to condemn. And it forbids us to look on any offence as venial. It pronounces that wrong-doing can never be justified—not even if we could suppose it possible to gain eternal happiness by transgression. Such is the strictness of moral requirement. Who that knows himself can lay his hand upon his heart, and say that he is not an offender?

And, furthermore, it is involved in submission to any moral rule, that we obey from regard to the authority that imposes the rule, and not from any consideration of personal pleasure or advantage. There is certainly no obedience in the pursuit of self-interest, even when self-interest and duty coincide. He who is moved by the desire of personal gratification, will be found wanting when duties come upon him which are crossing to his natural inclinations. He will make exceptions in favor of the pleasant duties. But the truly virtuous man will do *every* duty; because he will feel a sacred regard to duty itself. He will be influenced less by the pleasantness or unpleasantness of a duty than by the consideration that it is commanded. He will obey, not only when and because it pleases him to obey, but when and because it pleases the Sovereign to command. He will do every duty with such a renunciation of his own will and preference of the will of God, as will imply universal obedience.

Who now, of all the children of men, can lay his hand upon his heart, and honestly say, he has done every duty with a supreme regard for the will of God? Who can declare, as a perfectly virtuous man would be able to declare, that it was never the particular matter of the requirement that pleased him most, whatever it may have been, but always the will of the Sovereign by whom it was imposed? The character of the best of men, tested by these principles, must be found altogether deficient. How hateful, in the sight of infinite purity, must the great majority of mankind appear! And yet the

worst of men differ less from the best of those whose natural character is unchanged, than the best, from the ideal of a pure and holy man. The best of men, without repentance, will ultimately arrive, and that before long, where the worst now are, and will go on to inconceivably greater lengths in sin. The exceeding greatness of some men's sins is a most deplorable fact. But it is a fact still more deplorable, that the race is apostate, and the difference between unregenerate men is only a difference in degree, and that the most virtuous among them cannot consistently reprove sin as sin, because all are alike committed to it.

To the truth of these statements, which is sustained by the experience of the pantheistic infidel, he has nothing to oppose but the metaphysics of nature, most illogically assumed to be the metaphysics of all being, and therefore incompatible with sinful character.

But further still : it is no more certain that we are transgressors of the law of God, than that *we deserve to suffer for our sins*. We ought to receive from a just Moral Governor a reward suited to our character. If God is the righteous Being he declares himself to be, in placing us under a law of uncompromising severity, if he is inflexibly *holy*, we must anticipate that he will be inflexibly *just*. Not to *treat* sin according to its hateful nature, would be to declare himself not perfectly and irreconcilably opposed to it. Our Great Moral Legislator, who shows himself so severe in his requirements, we cannot suppose will recede from the rigor of his demands in his executive character. We must expect to find him as just as he is holy, and must anticipate that he will deal with our sins as they deserve.

But we see not now the righteous relation established between sin and misery. For we cannot suppose that the natural connection between vice and suffering is all the penalty that justice requires and that God will inflict. Some who never did a vicious action, and who will wholly escape this species of retribution, are yet opposed in spirit to the law of

God and deserve punishment. And the feeling of opposition, against God common to the race, the outwardly virtuous as well as the vicious, is an uncomparably more serious offence than the occasional disregard of natural laws. In truth it is this feeling, alone, whether exhibited or hidden under the garb of a reputable deportment, that renders us obnoxious to punishment. "Against Thee, Thee only, have I sinned, and in thy sight done evil," should every transgressor confess. Sins against man can be so named, only because they are also offences against God. Who now suffers that animadversion against sin *as* sin, which he ought to suffer? Is the distinction between moral good and evil as broadly marked at present as we must expect to find it under the government of a righteous God? Those who are entirely opposed to God, as all are without repentance, ought in justice to receive no favor from him, but rather to feel convincing and positive evidence of his displeasure. Rebellion against the divine government ought to experience the treatment every where proper to rebellion against righteous authority. There is, evidently, not such a relation between sin and suffering in this life as there ought to be in a state of retribution.

What then must be our conclusion, but that there will be a future state in which God will do what justice requires? If there is not to be, after this life, a new order of dispensations, in which happiness and misery will be exactly meted out according to character, and each person shall suffer what he deserves, both in kind and degree, then that which our consciences require will never be done, there will be no proper responsibility for moral action, and God will fail to show himself the holy and just being that he declares himself to be in his law. Thus the light of nature must lead us to anticipate that there will be a day of judgment. We must expect it with as much confidence as we believe that God is just. The pantheistic infidel has nothing to oppose to this expectation, but his erroneous metaphysics.

If, then, there are undeniable facts in our moral constitution



which point us to a personal God, who is our Moral Governor, and who will hereafter reward us according to our deserts, the rationalist must feel that it is highly desirable he should break the order of nature, for the purpose of revealing to us more clearly his purposes concerning us, and in particular, of informing us whether a remedy for the moral disorders of the world is possible, and if so, what remedy his wisdom has provided,—especially if the use of the remedy is to depend at all on our free-agency. A supernatural revelation, authenticated by signs and wonders, as it must be, would thus appear not in the least incredible, reasoning from principles and feelings existing in the minds of all reflecting men, the unbeliever himself not excepted, who pretends to know that there can be no supernatural event. If this presumption of his must be abandoned, as altogether untenable, it must be concluded that reason is not against the supernatural, but rather that it is most rational to anticipate that a divine revelation would be made. Faith in a miraculous interposition for our spiritual good should not appear to be foolishness to the natural man. If there were some among the speculating Athenians who mocked when Paul preached unto them Jesus and the Resurrection, as the natural man is ever prone to do, yet others doubted, as they well might, and said to him, we will hear thee again of this matter. A solemn rehearing of the question, whether Jesus and the Resurrection are possibilities, must appear, even to rationalizing infidels themselves, both desirable and obligatory. Their eternal system of nature is but a metaphysical abstraction, and they are cognizant of facts which point to future retributions, and prove that never man was more rational than the then recently heathen contemner of Christ's apostles, when he "sprang in, and came trembling, and fell down before Paul and Silas, and said: Sirs, what must I do to be saved?"

Nor should a reconsideration be given to this subject by a few speculative infidels alone. An unhesitating conviction that there is a Power above us, who, as a Sovereign, governs

all things according to the counsel of his own will, is one of the moral wants of this time. Why, otherwise, should it seem at all incredible, as to many it does, that man would have been immortal in body, if sin had not entered the world; that man should have been subjected to temptation in manner and form as related in Genesis; that even in our age, and in all ages, the enemy who is permitted to sow tares among the wheat is a personal being; that the word should have become flesh, and the person thus constituted by a human body, a human soul, and the eternal Son of God, should have suffered, and died, and risen again and gone into heaven; that all who are in the graves shall hear the voice of the Son of man and come forth, they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation; and that these and other truths have been recorded by men who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, so that their word, though freely committed to writing in the use of their natural faculties, and exhibiting their characteristics, is still the word of God? Why should we have difficulty with these or any other statements of the scriptures from their wonderful character, if we do not presume that the supernatural facts of our religion are to be explained on natural principles? Why should it ever be thought necessary to do the smallest violence to the text of the Bible, in order to bring it into agreement with our views, if we do not presume that our science is a rule for the divine operations?

The too general prevalence of a tendency to try the statements of the word of God by the ideas of the Speculative Reason, must be acknowledged. Rationalism on the one side, and Formalism on the other, are the two great enemies with which Evangelical Christianity is called to contend. And Rationalism is in conflict with the gospel just at the point which I have indicated. Those who pretend that reason is opposed to revelation, most unreasonably enlarge the province of that power, as it is employed in generalizing the phenomena of nature, so as to include all possible facts. The rationalizing tendency of

the age, which is so much to be lamented, manifests itself exactly here, in this gratuitous assumption, that the metaphysics of nature are the metaphysics of all being. Let this error be abandoned, and the pretended conflict between reason and faith would disappear. The interest in the present subject should therefore be as widely extended, as that which has been felt in the opposition experienced by Christianity on the side of rationalism. It should not be limited to a few speculators, but should be as wide spread as the rationalizing spirit of the age. It should go into our churches; and, in particular, it should be a matter of inquiry with those who advocate scripture truths on principles which are subversive of all religion. They should have "great reasoning among themselves," before they attempt to commend the gospel to the natural man by suggesting that possibly the supernatural may yet be found subject to some hitherto undiscovered natural law, and thus, in effect, concede to the infidel the unreasonableness of a faith in the miracles of the Bible. A revived faith in a God who is absolutely free from all control but that which his own wisdom imposes, is also important to the piety of Christians generally. The best Christian will ascribe the most absolute control over creatures to Infinite Wisdom, and Holiness, and Love. And we are bound to include in our creed whatever is clearly necessary as a basis for religious character. We know that nothing is so good, nothing so true and substantial, as that which is the foundation of our piety. We may place ourselves upon it without fear. "Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful, but whose delight is in the law of the Lord and who meditates in his law day and night." And we may add: Blessed is the man who cherishes such a faith in the voluntary, free control of "the only wise God," that he will have no disposition to walk in the counsel of the ungodly, or stand in the way of sinners, or sit in the seat of the scornful.

It will be the pleasure as it is the duty, of the teacher in

the department of Christian Theology in our Seminary, to assert and defend the peculiar doctrine of Calvinism, now advocated in opposition to naturalism, that the pleasure of God is limited by nothing but his own moral perfections, and that He can and will do all that belongs to Power, under the guidance of boundless Intelligence and Goodness, to effect. He will strive to produce the conviction, that there can be no Christian submission to the evils, natural and moral, which prevail in the world, if they are not believed to be absolutely subject to the will of a righteous and benevolent God, existing not in despite of his purpose, but according to his purpose, and subordinated to the wisest and holiest ends; that every right minded person on earth should unite his voice with that of the great multitude around the throne in heaven, saying: Hallelujah, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth; that every soundly reasoning man will think it by no means necessary to the *welfare* of creatures that our will should limit or turn aside from its true course the will of Infinite Wisdom and Goodness, and will rather judge that submission to the sovereign control of these attributes must be the way to *happiness*—that if the absolute sway of Supreme Excellence over all that is finite and imperfect, ourselves included, would neither be absurd in itself, nor incompatible with a power of faith in us, we should have, under it, all the *freedom* and *ability* we want—that we do not need the liberty to counteract and to thwart, but only the liberty to believe—that if pleasure in the divine supremacy is *possible*, it cannot do us harm since this very acquiescence in it is our safety.

It is a source of satisfaction to know that these views have been inculcated by my able predecessor, and by him of precious memory who, more than any other person, may be regarded as the founder of our Seminary. Instructors come and depart with the changes of time, but the substantial identity of the instruction and of the institution continues. May

it ever be devoted to the maintenance of the same great principles, and may it have unnumbered voices to publish them from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same.



# C H A R G E

BY REV. W. C. WISNER, D. D., OF LOCKPORT.

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## MY DEAR BROTHER:

IT is a matter of no small gratification to us, that, on the present occasion, we are permitted to greet you as the Professor of Didactic Theology in this long cherished and revered school of the prophets. This Professorship, since its foundation, has had but two incumbents—the beloved and lamented Richards, who filled it for many years with eminent success, until called from the faithful and acceptable discharge of its duties to his home in heaven; and one of whose ability as a theological teacher we refrain from speaking, because he yet lives, but whose departure to another field of labor we have sadly felt, and deeply regretted. But, blessed be God! he who has taken away, has also bestowed, and we trust that our loss will be fully compensated by the securing of yourself as a successor. You have just been inducted, by the usual forms and services, into the Professorship, and it becomes my duty, on behalf of the Boards of Commissioners and Trustees, who are the legally constituted guardians of this institution, to charge you, in few words, in regard to the duties and responsibilities of your office. Of the vast importance of the Professorship you are to occupy to the Churches in this region, and, through them, to the Church universal, you cannot be less sensible than myself. The Churches of our denomination, in Middle and Western New-York have long looked to our Semi-

nary for a supply of under shepherds to lead them into the green pastures, and beside the still waters of the gospel of Christ.

Nor are the streams of influence, which emanate from this sacred fountain, confined within narrow geographical limits. Our Seminary has supplied pastors to every part of our land, and has furnished its full proportion of missionaries to a foreign field. Her sons are among the most gifted, influential and useful of our ministers; and we trust that what has been will continue to be, only upon a larger, and more extended scale. We need, we must have a ministry, learned in all those branches, which contribute thoroughly to furnish the ambassador of Christ; and among the most important of these is a sound, scriptural, systematic, and complete theology. Such a theology as will tend to lay deep the foundations upon the word of Eternal Truth, and rear the superstructure amid the covenants, and promises, and doctrines of the New Dispensation. Such a theology as will fit pastors, so to instruct the Churches, over which they preside, as to fill them with intelligent, strong-minded, symmetrical and abiding christians, who shall honor the cause of their Redeemer, and exert a judicious, effective, and extensive influence for the upbuilding of his kingdom. It should ever be borne in mind, that theological seminaries are founded, and supported, not for the professors, nor for the pupils mainly, but for the Churches. Their object is to give to our Zion a ministry, whose labors will tend to promote just such a christianity as the world needs, and as will be well pleasing in the sight of God. Such a christianity can only be produced under the faithful and symmetrical preaching of all the doctrines of Christ. It is a sad reality, my brother, that much of the preaching, at the present day, has come to resemble lay exhortation, instead of consisting of well arranged, and well digested doctrinal discussions, which are calculated to enlighten the understanding, to feast the soul, and to affect the heart. As a legitimate consequence many Churches, who should be capable of instructing in the doctrines of Christ, have need to be taught the very first principles of the oracles

of God. If there was ever a time calling for plain, discriminating, doctrinal preaching, the present is that time. Many professed christians, who are adults in age, remain babes in doctrinal knowledge. They are literally famishing to be taken from the milk, (and even that largely diluted with another element,) and put upon the meat of the gospel. Nor is this difficulty circumscribed by geographical boundaries, or limited to either division of our Church. Both branches of our beloved Zion have felt its sad results. The disease has become too deep-rooted, and extended, to be remedied by a resort to ecclesiastical surgery, however skillfully applied. The antidote must be taken inwardly, and must be of such a nature, that its restorative influences will pervade the whole system. Much of the preaching in both divisions of our Church is either purely hortatory, or else one class of doctrines are taken, and used as a hobby, and driven to extremes, until thinking men have become disgusted, and start back at their very names—and the church has been filled with feuds, and contentions, and strifes among brethren. These evils must be remedied, and we know not where so hopefully, to look for the remedy, as to our theological institutions; and especially, to the chair of theology. From it proceed those doctrinal lessons, which are to qualify young ministers, in their turn, to become the theological instructors of the people: and it is generally true, that as they are taught and trained, so will they instruct. The Bible is our only text book; and, while nature, and art, the sciences, and history, may serve to illustrate, and enforce the truths it contains, the lessons of theology are to be drawn from no other source. Each doctrine of this sacred volume has its appropriate place; and all its doctrines combined, form a most beautiful and harmonious system, as they revolve around their common center, the cross of Christ: and no part of this system can be left out, nor can a lesser doctrine be magnified above a greater, without marring its beauty, and paralyzing the arm of its power. The theological professor, by untiring application, and thorough investigation, is, as far as possible,

to make himself master of the philosophy of these doctrines. He must not only know what they are, but understand the bearing of each upon the entire system of truth. He is to arrange and systematize them, and to ascertain their true position and relative importance. He is to establish them beyond a reasonable doubt; to illustrate, and enforce them by every means in his power. He is to defend them against the assaults of their adversaries, and to answer *unanswerably* the objections they urge. He is to carry the war into the enemies camp, and satisfactorily refute those false doctrines, which, like Satan clothed as an angel of light, that they may the more easily deceive and ruin, are arrayed in much of the livery of the true. Nor is this all. The most important and difficult part of his work is yet to be stated. He is not only to do all this himself, but he is also to teach his pupils how to do the same. He is so to instruct them that they will not be subject to disappointment and failure, from the cause assigned by the renowned Witherspoon to one of his pupils, that he *neglected to lighten before he thundered*. And this is especially the work to which he is set apart by his brethren. No matter how thoroughly read an individual may be in the doctrines of the Bible, and in theological lore, if he is not to teach, and cannot so instruct as to enable his pupils correctly and successfully to instruct others, he had better occupy any other place in the Church than that of a theological professor. To succeed in this object of paramount importance, he must take the position of an elder brother, or a father, to the young men under his care. By treating them with a dignified familiarity, and manifesting the deepest interest in their welfare, as well as by the richness of his instructions, and the powers of his intellect, he must exert such an influence over them as to secure their esteem, and confidence, and love. He will find among his pupils a great variety of character, temperament, and capacity, and, as far as possible, he must adapt his course to the peculiarities of each. He must encourage the fearful and desponding; kindly admonish the too confident; incite

to greater diligence the indolent; and throw the safeguard of religion about the path of the ambitious. His lectures should be prepared and delivered in the very best possible manner to be thoroughly digested and retained by his pupils—and they should be encouraged to transfer to their note books a full synopsis of the instructions they contain: and if any of the students should desire to retain a more full transcript than they can possibly secure in the class room, as far as is consistent he should cheerfully loan his manuscripts for such a purpose. He should so conduct his recitations as to incite the members of his class to think for themselves. They should be encouraged to suggest thoughts and arguments of their own, and to interpose objections to what has been presented, which should be thoroughly weighed, and carefully answered. In fine, by every laudable means, he should endeavor to throw his pupils upon their own resources, and so to train and discipline their minds as to enable them to grapple with the most knotty and difficult points in theology. It will be seen at once that the successful professor must possess, in no small degree, the facility of adaptation. He should unite blandness of deportment with great energy of character. He should blend the wisdom of the serpent with the harmlessness of the dove. He should cultivate habits of industry, and of severe application. As a student he should be untiring, and bring forth to his class, from his intellectual treasure-house, things new as well as old. He should not be satisfied with his course of lectures as first prepared and delivered, but should frequently rewrite them, and be constantly amending and improving them. Not that the great doctrines of the Bible can be altered or improved. They are unchanging as the throne of God, and infinite in their excellence. But we, the creatures of yesterday, with our minds darkened by sin, may by a diligent search of the Scriptures, and the aid of the Spirit, constantly improve in our understanding of these doctrines, and in our modes of stating, illustrating, and enforcing them—and we should be continually making such advances. There are in our land a few professors, who virtu-



ally convert their professorships into sinecures, and seem to be experimenting to ascertain with how little labor they can secure a support. Like some circuit riders and stationed preachers of another denomination, they make the meager preparations of their first few years answer for a whole life time of service. They read to successive classes their stale lectures from manuscripts so old that if, like wine, they improved by age, they would be pronounced the very best in the country—for they have not been rewritten, or materially altered, for at least a score of years.\* Such a course is unpardonable in any professional chair—in that of christian theology it would be insufferable. We, my dear brother, are too thoroughly acquainted with your well-earned reputation in another institution, to suppose for a moment that this will ever be your course. But we have felt constrained from other considerations to improve the present occasion plainly to express our views upon this subject.

We will here briefly notice a duty which we believe the professors in our theological seminaries owe to their brethren in the ministry, and to the church universal, and which we fear has not been sufficiently considered. We refer to their obligation to make frequent contributions to our biblical and theological literature. Their professional labors naturally lead them into fields of research and investigation from whence they may glean and prepare such contributions without a large additional draught upon their energies and time: and usually these preparations may be used by them in the lecture room with great advantage to their pupils. We know it may be said that they are constantly perfecting lectures and essays in

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\* From the first of their induction into office, these professors have related the same anecdotes, and have repeated them so often that the young men have committed them verbatim—and the members of one class rehearse them to those of the next succeeding one, so that they may know what to expect when they come to enjoy "the same blessing." The very wit and point of these anecdotes have become stale to the professors themselves, and the laugh with which they accompany them has been so often indulged, that it has degenerated into something purely mechanical, and seems to be produced by some external force far more than by that which is heartfelt and internal.

this department of which the church may avail herself after they have gone to take possession of their heavenly inheritance—and we have no doubt that this will be the destiny of the larger portion of their writings. But we are unwilling to wait for the death of our professors before reaping any benefit from their productions. We are their cotemporaries, and may possibly die before them, or soon follow after them. And even if this should not be the case, we are willing to leave it to you, sir, and to your reverend associates, if we should not be permitted, as a sort of antepart of what is to come, frequently to feast upon the rich clusters of grapes before entering the promised land over the newly made grave of the professor. It should also be considered that such contributions give character, reputation, and influence to the institutions in which their authors preside. Princeton, Andover, Union, and other seminaries have been greatly benefitted by the published writings of their professors. Nor has our own seminary been entirely wanting in this respect. A few able articles and publications have been given to the world by its professors, which have tended to elevate its standing and increase its renown. We earnestly desire to see their number so far increased as will be consistent with home duties, and the ability and commanding character of the productions themselves. We are sure that this suggestion will be kindly received by those for whom it is intended, and we will leave it without further expansion.

Finally, we charge you, my brother, to cultivate a prayerful spirit, and deep, heart-felt, pervading piety. This is necessary both for yourself, and for those over whom you are to exert a moulding power. The church must have a goodly ministry, and our theological seminaries should be nurseries of religion, as well as schools for intellectual development. A theological student, while pursuing his course of studies, should be fitting for his work in heart, as well as in intellect. He should leave the seminary not only a much wiser, but a much better man than when he entered it. To secure this

result, the professors must live near to God, and reflect upon the path of their pupils his blessed image. They must drink deep at the spiritual fountain, and so walk with their Lord and Master as to exert a holy, transforming, sanctifying influence. They should frequently converse with their students on the subject of personal religion, and should do all they are able to prepare them, in heart and life, for the sacred office. The danger is that both professors and students will pursue their work with a paramount reference to its professional aspect, and will neglect its appropriate bearing upon the inner man. We would warn you against this danger; and remind you of the fact, that the greater the intellectual furniture of an ungodly minister the greater his power to curse the church of God—but let that power be sanctified, and he may become a giant in the cause of his Divine Master.

Besides, you, my brother, are entirely dependent upon God for success. If you forget him, he will forsake you, and will scatter blight and mildew in your path. If you seek his face and favor, and walk in the light of his countenance, he will bless you, and build you up—he will establish your feet in a large place, and give you influence, and make you useful. “Them that honor me I will honor, and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.” “Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.” “I have planted, Apollos watered: but God gave the increase.” “Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.”

In conclusion: we welcome you to this Western New York, and to our beloved Seminary. We welcome you to our hearts, to our homes, to our pulpits. We shall delight to introduce you to our people, and have you become familiarly acquainted with those whom we love. We trust that, as God shall give you opportunity, you will greatly enlarge the sphere of your influence by such associations. We are perfectly aware that your position among us, while it is one an angel might covet, is exceedingly arduous and responsible. We pledge you our

sympathy, our co-operation, and our prayers. May the Lord bless you, my brother. May he, through his grace, give you eminent success in your labors of love. And, when he has served himself with you on earth, may he bestow upon you a crown of glory, rendered a thousand fold more radiant by the gems of souls converted through your immediate agency not only, but also through the agency of those pastors whom you, and your venerated compeers, are to give to our churches.









God in the Church the Life of its History.

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A N

# INAUGURAL DISCOURSE,

DELIVERED JULY 20<sup>TH</sup>, 1854.

B Y

REV. EDWARD A. LAWRENCE,

PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE,

EAST WINDSOR HILL, CONN.



HARTFORD:

PRESS OF CASE, TIFFANY AND COMPANY.

1854.

EAST WINDSOR HILL, July 24, 1854.

Rev. E. A. LAWRENCE,—*Dear Sir:*

At the request of several members of the Board of Trustees, we would very respectfully ask of you, for publication, a copy of your Inaugural Address delivered before the Pastoral Union and others, in the chapel of the Theological Institute, on the 20th inst.

With sentiments of high esteem, Yours,

E. ELLSWORTH,	} <i>Prudential Committee</i>
S. TERRY,	
J. E. TYLER,	

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EAST WINDSOR HILL, July 28, 1854.

GENTLEMEN:

I am led to comply with your request for a copy of the Address delivered at my Inauguration, in the hope that its publication may serve to encourage a more thorough and systematic study of the History of the Church.

Yours, very respectfully,

E. A. LAWRENCE.

ERASTUS ELLSWORTH, Esq.,	} <i>Prudential Committee.</i>
HON. SETH TERRY,	
Rev. J. E. TYLER,	

# Inaugural Discourse.

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It is not always optional with a public speaker what shall be the subject of his discourse. The force of circumstances sometimes pre-determines his choice. The department of instruction to which I have been appointed in this Seminary constrains me, on this occasion, to treat of the History of the Church. Yet, in the brief hour allotted for this service, I can do little toward exploring the broad and fertile field to which it introduces me. Nor would my success be increased by an attempt to bring you specimens from its diverse climes and degrees of culture. These would be as the pressed flower of the herbarium to its freshness and fragrance in its native soil; like the single brick which the man in the fable carried about as a sample of the magnificence of his habitation. Not less would be your disappointment and my failure, should I measure off a portion of the sacred domain, and seek to present a dioramic view of its riches and its beauties.

Church History has height and depth as well as length and breadth. It has occult powers to be



discerned and logical processes to be traced out, latitudes and longitudes to be reckoned, and treasures to be dug from the mines of antiquity. It requires the compass and chronometer of the historical navigator, and the pickax and spade of the historical geologist, not less than the pencil of the rhetorical painter. There is a living *spirit* in history which is as the creature in the wheels of Ezekiel's vision. He who does not discern this, will perceive in the records of the church or the chronicles of time, only a lifeless succession of isolated and meaningless events—the disjecta membra of the ages, or the anarchy of atoms in the confusion of a complicated chance work. And what can this life-spirit be, but He whose presence fills all time and space, giving motion and order and beauty to the material world, and whose evolving purpose in the final historic development will bring a higher beauty and harmony to the moral world. How better can I exhibit the value of Ecclesiastical history in its general relation to Pastoral Duty and Theological Science, than by taking as the theme of my discourse, **GOD IN THE CHURCH THE LIFE OF ITS HISTORY.**

A clear and correct idea of the church furnishes the only point of natural and easy departure, in the discussion of our subject.

Three general theories have prevailed at different periods, and more or less at the same period.

The first is that which assumes the church to be an abnormal *human* institution. It is regarded, not as a legitimate development, but as an excrescence.

This idea was inculcated in the school of D'Lambert and his associates. They treated the church merely as a hierarchical confederacy for the maintenance of papal domination and civil despotism. Their fantastic scheme of human perfectibility worked downward to the people, whom it made frantic with furious admiration. The antiquated fabric was then ruthlessly demolished. But though corrupt, it possessed so much of the divine life that its sudden fall precipitated the reign of terror. The bands of society were broken asunder, and its malignant elements were galvanized into a super-human activity.

No scientific history of the church can be constructed upon such a basis. The philosophy of a thing pre-supposes its rational existence. But this view allows to the church no such rationale. It is not a growth from the vital forces, but the development of disease—a huge body of death. The whole idea of a church, on this plan, is unhistoric.

The second, and a more prevalent theory, is that which regards the church as a purely *divine* institution. The Papacy is built upon this doctrine. For every part of its complicated mechanism, there is alleged a divine right. Either Christ constituted the church as it is, or the changes in it have been made by an authority flowing directly from Him along the line of apostolic succession. Decretals and emendations issuing from the human head, are esteemed of equal force with those proceeding from the divine Head. On such one-sided church principles, there can be no easy working of free thought,

no healthful development of humanity by the force of an inner divine life. The flow of history is disturbed by polemic zeal, and its continuity broken up by pragmatic art. It was from such a false position, that a celebrated ecclesiastic once refused to look through a telescope, lest the discoveries might unsettle his opinions. In a similar narrowness of view, the late king of Naples was unwilling to unroll the Herculanean manuscripts, fearing disclosures prejudicial to Christianity and the church.

The first minds have vainly endeavored to construct a scientific and complete history of the church on this narrow basis. Bossuet's brilliant attempt, allowing no church but the Jewish and the Romish, was necessarily defective. Schlegel starts from the true centre, sin and salvation, but fails by limiting the purpose of redemption to the papal communion. Both proved how impossible it is to swell a part of the church into the symmetry and beauty and majesty of the whole.

The third theory is that in which the human and divine *minge* as distinct, yet conjoined elements. As a positive institution, a living organism, the church is purely divine, and therefore unlike all other institutions. In regard to the material of which it is composed, it is as purely human. There is in it a naturalism and a supernaturalism, the full humanity and the full divinity. This view involves the ideas of the finite and the infinite, with their mutual relations—the great problem of all the philosophers, but which no philosophy has ever satisfac-

torily solved. It removes this problem from the clouds of abstraction, placing it before the student of church history in the light of a living revelation, and the solutions which nearly six thousand years of these distinct, yet intermingling agencies present.

The church is thus seen to be, not an end, but a means to an end. It is an organism of which God is the life, and thence is capable of growth, of development. It is ministerial through a distinctive human clergy, Christ being the sole teacher who quickeneth the word when uttered in faith by the humblest member of what, in its spiritual life, is a true clergy-church. It has ordinances and outward forms, not supervened, but such as the inward, and otherwise invisible life puts on in the processes of its development, and for organic defensive or aggressive power.

As composed of those who, through faith, have been made partakers of the divine life, it is the communion of saints, catholic and but one. In this sense, the otherwise false dictum, "*Extra ecclesia nulla salus*" is only another form of the Scripture teaching, "Except a man be born again, he can not see the kingdom of God." But as a visible body of accredited believers, to whom the Gospel is preached and the ordinances are administered,—the true historic idea of the church, it includes both more and less than as an invisible communion; more, because many are received into it who have no vital connection with the living Head; less, because some who are in communion with him, are not in organic fellowship with his visible body.

This idea of the church bears the tests of the inductive philosophy and of a Scriptural exegesis. It meets the demands of the historic conscience, and the conditions of the great historic problem. It awakens no antagonisms in science, but freely offers itself to its severest scrutiny.

It gives a central position for the construction of church history, at which converges the collected Christianity of all sects, dispensations and ages. Distinguishing between the two great agencies, and holding to the transforming power of the divine in the human, it furnishes to the history of the church the key, which admits the patient student to all the intricate processes of its otherwise inexplicable growth and the treasures of its immense wealth. The church is, neither an excrescence, nor a *jure divino* dead mechanism, but a living communion, of which God is the vital and attractive centre. Its history is not the extension process of a sect, the struggle of a part after the dignity of the whole, but the development of a spiritual kingdom, in which the principle of loyalty in a revolted empire, by the power of God, is taking deeper and stronger hold of humanity, and, through dispensation and dynasty, by means of science, and philosophy, commerce and Christian doctrine, infusing a divine life into the pulseless heart of the dead world.

With this view of the church, its history will be found moving parallel with general history, in the *unfolding of the divine purpose of redemption on the plain of an indivisible humanity which needs redemption.*



General history is the process of the divine agency in the government of the world, through the human agency. Or, more familiarly it is the record of this process, the daguerreotype of the world's movement toward its ultimate end. The two great factors are God and man. Hence the departments of ecclesiastical and secular history, though distinct, and in some respect antagonistic, are also connected, not merely by the delicate interlacings of æsthetical, political and social life, but by the great chain of Divine Providence which runs through them both. Neither can be well understood except in connection with the other. The one is the development of a general plan of government; the other of a particular purpose of redemption, which is both the basis and the life of this plan. The church in the world is an *imperium in imperio*. In the expansion of the interior kingdom, the exterior is to be broken up and inwrought as an augmenting force to the evolving one. Christ did indeed say, "My kingdom is not of this world." But he also said "The kingdom of heaven is *among* you."

God is the life of the world's history, as really as he is of the history of the church, although by a different manifestation. Herder undertook a universal history on the plan of excluding Christ; a work as impracticable and absurd as the reconstruction of the solar system on a principle that leaves out the sun. The elegant historian of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, fell into a similar error. Comte finds the end of the historic course

in a social or scientific regeneration of the race. The acme of Hegel's scheme is a political freedom, the idea of the old Roman commonwealth, of which Prussia has well nigh attained the realization. But, with the excellences peculiar to each of these distinguished writers, their works are essentially defective in the main element of a truly philosophical history. Their errors as philosophers, made them partial and false as historians. "What is the history of the world without Christ?" exclaims Muller. What would the world be without the purpose of redemption, the pivot on which its whole government turns? Every event in its history is modified by the remedial element, of which the church is the organized exponent.

In the development of this purpose, there is a logical movement, through action and reaction, disorder and conflict, toward a universal harmony. Nothing really belonging to the life of the historic movement, is ever lost. By chemical resolutions in the physical constitution of man, material substances impart support through the blood and nervous system, to that subtle element which we call life. By a similar resolution of moral forces in the historic process, what disappears in one form, reappears in another, and a higher one. Repellancies grow out of affinities, on a principle which gives new impulse to the general movement. Wars and despotisms enter into the series under a law which makes them finally tributary to a universal peace and freedom. The church, in the cycles of history, moves around its centre as the earth around the

sun, on a principle of compound motion, by which acceleration is often the effect of resistance. Obstructions, by diminishing the centrifugal force, give preponderance to the centripetal, and increase its velocity by drawing it nearer to Christ its centre. The epochs and events which seem detached, and even repellant, are in the closest connection, as by a magnetic wire, along which whatever of each is worthy to be preserved, is transmitted to the next. This linking together of events as cause and effect, this resolution of historic forces, by which each antecedent deposits something with its consequent for the world's stock of permanent ideas, Guizot calls the immortal portion of history. Hence, every historic fact is a mystical hieroglyphic of divine significance, not isolated as a separate symbol, but an elemental part of a living language, progressively articulating to reflective listeners, the purpose of the Supreme in the creation and government of the world. In the hope which this language inspires, "The earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God."

On pantheistic principles, some, following this course of thought, have endeavored to reduce general history to an a priori science. Spinoza's system is rigidly logical in every particular except the premise. But this being an error, everything that agrees with it is, from logical necessity, erroneous. It confounds things that differ, the finite with the Infinite, the governed with the Governor. It possesses every attribute of logic except truth. But since no legitimacy of a logical sequence can make

amends for an illogical premise, the closeness of his reasoning only makes his system the more compactly false. But the train of thought we are pursuing is logical only from the point of a pure theism, which distinguishes between cause and effects, laws and the Lawgiver, who imparts stability and life to the moral not less than the natural world.

With great beauty Cousin says, "The principles of history are as inflexible as those of geometry ; all its epochs, their number, their order, and their relative development, are written on high in immutable characters ; and history is not only a sublime but living geometry." While this analogy of history to the exact sciences is obvious to the reflecting, yet the discovery of its processes, the discernment of the invisible life in the visible phenomena—the true philosophy of history,—is much more difficult than to trace the processes of mathematical computations or of scientific deductions. Moral causes, if not less certain, are more occult than physical ones. The thread that joins them to their effects is more attenuated, and requires a nicer discernment for its detection. They operate also, more slowly. Generations, and sometimes ages intervene before their effects all become palpable in history. There are many preliminary processes in the evolution of the divine decrees. Reactionary movements are to be turned back, and compound elements to be resolved into simple ones ; side issues are to be settled, and subordinate ends to be reached, before a suitable platform can be raised for the exhibition of long latent, yet powerfully operating causes, in the full

majesty of their pre-ordained results. How complicated the preliminary processes which issued in the entrance of the chosen people upon the promised inheritance! How prolonged the movements preparatory to the advent of the Messiah!

Providence, which is the better name for these historico-moral forces, is never in haste. Homer represents the gods as moving through infinite space, with a leisurely dignity that allows ages to intervene between one step and another. How majestic, in this view, are what seem to the superficial observer, the delays of providence! God, who is the life of the world, and whose unfolding purposes give us our only just ideas of progress; God, who is from eternity to eternity, is never in want of time, and never obliged to take a backward step. He moves on a broad arena, and with infinite resources at his command. He never precipitates conclusions upon ill-established premises. "The logic of providence in history," says a French historian, "will not be less convincing for reasoning slowly." There can be no errors in the unfolding of the divine purpose in the world's action. Nothing is too early or too late. Nothing is irrelevant or abortive. Nothing is redundant or defective. All events hold their just relation to all other events, past, present and future, and all, the fall of an apple, as the decline of an empire, are tributary to the general movement and the final result.

Upon this line of providence in history, one may look backward and forward, as along a thread of golden light. From what has been, he may sagely



conjecture what is to be. The most philosophical historian is, therefore, the best uninspired prophet. For

“There is a history in all men’s lives,  
Figuring the nature of the times deceased,  
The which observed, a man may prophesy,  
With a near aim, of the main chance of things  
As yet not come to life, which in their seeds  
And weak beginnings, lie intresured.”

This prophetic element is derived from the unity of that unfolding divine purpose, which constitutes both the unity and the life of history. It elevates the department far above the rank of a mere cabinet of events, a museum of beasts and birds, petrified fish and forests, and the bones of huge animals, wired together, but all dead and very dry. As the unfolding of a sublime plan, originating in the attributes and perfection of the divine mind, and ultimating in a renovated world, the whole is a region of life and movement, of intelligence and hope.

In this view of our subject, the historic spirit is not a mere world-spirit, a dry objectivity, but is living and loving and humble, patient in its interrogation of facts, and imbued with their religious significance. Only from such a view, can there be produced a genuine historic conscience, which finds a moral law in facts, not less than in the decalogue and the Christian doctrines; and which, eschewing a colorless, Christless history of the church, exhibits its phenomena in the natural hues of truth and life. On this plain the church and the world are moving together, according to intelligible laws of

progress, toward a final result. The dream of Pharaoh is as really connected with the historic process as its supernatural interpretation by Joseph, the consolidation of the Roman empire as the conversion of St. Paul, the battles of Marathon and Salamis as the battle of Luther at the Diet of Worms.

“As the idea of the history of the world in general,” says Schelling, “cannot be understood without religion, so too, and more emphatically, will it hold true that the history of the church will always remain an enigma, as long as it is not considered from a supernatural point of view; for here all stands in more or less connection with what is sacred. A high and holy spirit talks to us and calls upon us clearly and loudly from the very midst of history,—a spirit, which, independent of the world, guides the affairs of the universe behind the veil of phenomena, by the reins of an eternal necessity, weighs out righteousness and justice, and moves everything onward to one single end.”

But the history of the church in this unfolding divine purpose of redemption, moves parallel with general history on the plain of an *indivisible humanity which needs redemption*.

Among the cinders stricken off on the anvils of modern science, is found the doctrine of a *plurality* of races. But in support of such a theory, we believe ethnology does not furnish a single reliable fact. The argument is drawn, mainly from a comparison of dissimilarities between different races of the brute creation and trifling physical diversities

of the human race. But, between objects so generically different as accountable immortal beings and the brutes, analogical reasoning, we believe, is passing away with alchymy and astrology. On the other hand, the natural unity of the race is sustained by anatomy and by mental and moral science, all branches of the great family possessing the same physical faculties and general capabilities of development. Philology, tracing all languages to one root, gives her confirmatory voice to the sacred record.

Here and there, in the revolution of the ages, a solitary philosopher has projected upon the world's movement the idea of an *ante-mundane* existence of the race. But it has never been able to incorporate itself with that movement, or even long to retain a place as a transient appendage of it. Only what is true is able to pay for transportation through the ages, on this freight train of time. History ignores the idea of a human pre-existence, and has never taken it up except to let it fall into a deeper abyss of speculation. The history of the world moves on the plain, not of an *emigrant* race, but of a native, mundane humanity. The river of natural life has, indeed, widened and deepened in its flow of nearly six thousand years, but it has only one source. As all the trees were created in the first tree, whose seed was in itself, and all the animals in the first animal of their kind, so God created the man, one indivisible humanity and one individual man, and all the rest in him.

But there is a *moral* unity of the human family

as evident as this physical unity, and much more essential to the continuity and significance of church history. The first man was not less the moral than the natural head and representative of the species. His fall was the fall of the race.

“Earth felt the wound, and nature from her seat,  
Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe,  
That all was lost.”

Sin, though in accordance with man's power of choice, yet in respect to his original nature, is abnormal. But that the first sin should be the parent of every other, that the countless streams should be corrupted in the fountain, that the myriad twigs and branches of the genealogical tree should receive their moral sap from the one root; this is according to the unalterable primal constitution. The increase of the race is by a law of propagation. But the moral elements of fallen humanity are transmitted, not less than the physical. Without confusion of personal acts, there is a conveyance of moral qualities. In this corruption of the common humanity at its source, lies the necessity for a common redemption, and the fitness of that redemption to the wants of the race. “As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.”

There is ample space within this ordained moral unity, for the myriad diverse and counter-workings of the individual will in the universal moral disorder. The light of the divine purpose, striking upon this million-sided humanity, discloses to the philo-

sophic eye the deeper unity which underlies this multiplicity and contrariety.

Personal freedom and individual responsibility are essential elements of the world's movement, and conditions of its progress. But a conscious sympathy with the living humanity, and a voluntary subordination to the unfolding divine purpose, hold a much higher rank in the historic processes. An intense *individualism* is an intense antagonism to humanity. It claims sovereignty where God has ordained submission. It is an atom against the universe, and thence is ignoble and unhistoric. It detaches from the general forces, and weakens by dividing. It is in no sense representative of the great unit, either of the finite or the Infinite. It is incompatible with magnanimity, for the seeds of great thoughts find no deep soil in shallow minds. Such minds have no access to the heart of humanity by the key of a common consciousness. The individual is elevated into the historic, as the thoughts and affections enter into the life of the race.

In the department of the fine arts, Michael Angelo was less an individual than a representative character. So also was Raphael. The Venus de Medici is not the copy of any one person, or the representation of any one character. It is the ideal of the art—the embodiment of the perfected physico-feminine humanity. Plato was a representative character in philosophy. Schools rise and fall. Systems appear and disappear. Epochs come and go. But the essential elements of Platonism ever abide, and hold their place in all that is



destined to live in the world's life, and contribute to the world's progress. It is general. It is true. He who receives it is ennobled.

So one standing on the great pyramid, looking down upon the site of old Memphis, and out upon the fertile valley of the Nile, with more than a hundred generations floating past him in vision; or, on the Acropolis, amid the ruins of the beautiful Parthenon, is raised, for the time, above the littleness of individualism, by the influx of the historic life of the most ancient, or of the most classic of the nations. On Mount Olivet, another type of the general humanity takes possession of him, and his individualism is weakened by a deeper and more divine historic influence. It is this participation of the general life, through the unity of the race and continuity of the nations, which gives originality and fruitfulness to the human mind, and, by subordination to the purpose of the Infinite, makes it a partaker of the divine nature. "Individuality in itself," says a modern writer, "is an element of what is pitiful and little, for particularity, the contingent, and the finite tend unceasingly to division, to dissolution, to nothingness. On the other hand, everything general, attaching itself to what is universal, and to the infinite, tends to unity and to absolute unity." It is in the subordination of the individual will to the divine plan, in the development of the general humanity to the unfolding purpose of God in redemption, that the history of the world and that of the *church* find their true direction and common movement.

Hence sin and error, because they disintegrate

humanity, and diverge from this direction, are not only abnormal, but, except in a secondary sense, unhistoric. The evolution of the redemptive purpose goes on despite their obstructive influence. By the same principle truth and holiness are historic in the primary sense, because they are in accordance with the primal law, and tend to the union of the human with the divine.

On this plain, general history finds a natural and easy movement, and is capable of becoming a sublime science and most instructive study. The history of the church is a thread of continuous life, along which the fullness of Christian doctrine runs out into the pre-ordained results of a renovated race. We hear, indeed, the sad psalm of woe, a monotonous repetition of earth's unharmonic wail, with the mournful dirge of myriads confirmed in their repugnance to the scheme of redemption. But above all, there rises a song of praise to the eternal all-governing Mind, swelling onward through the ages into one grand choral anthem at the consummation of the divine plan.

We come to this result. The ground ideas of church history are the unfolding of the purpose of redemption toward the recovery of an indivisible but morally depraved humanity. The true church, consisting as it does of the covenant receivers of the Christian doctrines and ordinances, the *best Church History* must be that which records the process of the restoration in the most accurate, lucid and life-like representations.

But where shall we look for this best History?

Which of the immense number of books is *the* book? By what writers is the unfolding divine purpose, in its influence upon humanity, most perfectly developed?

In the **INSPIRED WORD**, the two great agents in history are seen in their distinct spheres and in their actual relations. The divine and the human are brought into the historic arena, as it is not possible for them to be in any work of merely human composition.

The philosophy of history is nowhere found in such perfection as in this first history of the church. The defect in most others is that they commence in the middle of the process, and are too much a detail of isolated facts, or the events of disconnected eras or epochs. But the Bible opens with the first germ of the church, and shows it vital with the life of God, and flowing onward and outward in logical processes by the force of the inner life. In other histories the parts, more or less, are wired together in incongruous shapes and incompatible connections, by the mechanical guess-work of human speculation. In this, the plan is so delicately shadowed forth in the beginning, and its development is so regular and impressive, that the careful student of Bible history is able to hang the current events of his own age, each in its place, on the chain of providence which runs through and binds all the parts in one living whole. By the intimations of a coming deliverer, it solves, in the best possible way that most difficult of human problems, the incoming of evil.

The government of the world is here seen to be remedial, and the church the great remedial organism. One dispensation leads to another and imparts what of good it has gathered to the next higher. The Law is preliminary to the Gospel. God has made the world, and is in the world, and governs the world. "*Of him, and through him, and to him are all things.*" This is the true philosophy of history. And it is because the Bible is the simple record of divine providence in the process of restoring the lapsed human nature, that it is so incomparably superior to every other history, both of the church and the world.

It is not an abstract system appreciated only by the pure reason, but a book of living principles and facts. It opposes the dropsical inflations of a self-confident rationalism, and yet tasks the reason on the plain of a profound philosophy, and proffers it aid from the resources of a pure faith. It is idealistic so far as ideas are the representatives of truths, and this that it may be the more a practical realism. It is neither Platonic nor Aristotelian, except as rays of its light may have been reflected in their light. It does not form the fickle French school, nor the mystic German, but is a master in all schools where the disciples are taught the best things.

There are those who, in the name of a historic criticism, have assailed the Scriptures in their historical character. It is assumed that nothing good can be reached except by a slow train of natural causes, in which each effect, contrary to natural law,

receives an energy that its cause did not contain, and imparts one which it does not possess. The Mosaic history is discredited because too early for this plodding, logical train. The conceptions of the Supreme and of the law of brotherly love, which it contains, suppose a giant step in religious truth, and are set down as a "later reflection." Prophecy "is only the record of events thrown back into ancient history." The divine "could not have taken place in the manner recorded in the New Testament." The life of Jesus is an allegory, into which are wrought the poetic ideas of an imaginary good man, scattered through the Jewish Scriptures, with the fiction of miracles interwoven as an embellishment. Christianity in its first form was only an expansion of the Jewish theocracy into Ebionitism, of which Peter is the representative. The higher nature of Christ is an idea growing out of the imagination of the early fathers. The Christian system was afterward modified by the Pauline epistles, only four of which are allowed as genuine. The final form is given in the last of the four Gospels, which, however, is not a history but a romance, beautiful but false. Such is the position of the left wing of the Hegelians, of which Baur and Strauss are the most distinguished leaders.

Everything is made to come forth from the pure reason, and return to it again; not that Infinite Intelligence toward which everything tends, and of which Fenelon devoutly exclaimed, "O Reason! Reason! art thou not He whom I seek?" nor yet that accumulated result of a progressing humanity



into which is condensed the collected wisdom of the ages. It is a mere ethical self-sufficiency, the development of a school, perhaps still less, only the idea of some regnant lecturer. It is an unhistoric, unphilosophical egotism, in which the most sublime and comprehensive effects are ascribed to the most trivial or ignoble causes. The source of the church doctrine of the Trinity is found in the Platonism of the Greek Fathers. The ideas of sin and atonement are referred to the erroneous anthropology and metaphysics of Augustine. The Reformation was an incident growing out of the pecuniary embarrassment of the Pope. Facts are nothing. Testimony is nothing. Scientific deductions are nothing. All lie prostrate before the sweeping train of this potent nihilism.

What, now, if reason herself should side against her deifiers! What if the authenticity of the Scriptures should be established at the most purely scientific tribunal! What if the monumental evidence in the valley of the Euphrates and the Nile, with tongue of stone, should bear confirmatory testimony to the genuineness of the historic and prophetic books! What if the synchronism of Egyptian and Jewish Archæology should demonstrate that the earlier elements of progress lent their forces to the later advancement, and not the later, by a false reflection, the credit of its wisdom to the earlier! What if chemistry and geology should enlist as humble allies in defence of Scripture history, and boldly affirm that man is a creation, not a development—that development never passes from one spe-

cies to another—that the first forms in a series are often the best—that miracle was written as a fixed fact on the pages of the physical history of the earth long before it became the dwelling-place of man! what then becomes of those fine theories nicely woven of these attenuated threads spun from men's brains?

The genuine historic spirit does not start with an assumed premise, and then exclude all facts not in logical harmony with its foregone conclusions. This is to demolish history, and turn it into romance. It reduces historical study to a syllogism, and ends it at the beginning. It blots from the canopy the clear and steady lights of fact, and introduces instead the nebulous theories of pantheists and polemics.

But out of the ashes of such a barren and self-consuming rationalism, has arisen a historical spirit, which, recognizing as essential to the problem of history, the never to be questioned validity of facts, simply inquires what these are in their relations and significance, and what laws are deducible from them. It places redemption in the centre of church history, acknowledging Christ as its life. It reverently clasps the Bible as containing without scientific arrangement, the substance of the deepest, the broadest and the loftiest of scientific systems, and the profoundest of church histories.

The leaders of this movement, taking the better elements of Hegel's philosophy, are called the right wing of the Hegelians, of whom, in dogmatic history, Dorner is the most distinguished represent-

ative. Neander, an eclectic, took his central position in Christ, and never was so near the life of church history, as when suddenly cut off from his great work. The movement of his mind, like that of many other Germans during the last quarter of a century, was in the right direction, and should be judged of from this point of view. His history is most perfect in precisely those points in which it most nearly resembles the Bible method, placing Christ in the centre and making the whole a development from his power and life. "From every human mediator," said he, "must one be torn away, in order that he may learn to hang only and entirely on the eternal Mediator, who is man and God in one person, and who, suffering and dying, has won for himself all those who in faith yield their innermost being to his suffering and death. \* \* God give me, beholding the light in my own spirit, to receive the beams of that light everywhere, though refracted and distorted in an earthly atmosphere, and at length, when his time has come, may I send out the collected rays to illuminate others, and to be reflected back again upon myself. God grant it or grant it not, his will be done."

It remains to us now, to glance at the historical process in *the life movement of the church toward its final end*. And at the outset, we meet with the two great events which constitute the buttresses on which the arch of church history rests, the *defection of humanity* and the *purpose of redemption*. Scarcely do we read of the introduction of sin, ere the sacred record speaks of a Saviour. Here is the first

gospel and the only gospel. The foretold seed of the woman is Christ, and the first germ of the church is, therefore, as really Christian as the last development. Christ was as truly in the church, constituting its life, before his incarnation as after it. He was the central object of type, prophecy and promise in the Jewish system, and the source of all its light and life. In the family of the progenitor of the race, the church assumed a visible form in sacrifice, and, perhaps in his own person, a real and visible life. Here is the church, living, and, for that age complete; the gospel preached, believed and symbolized in the bleeding lamb. Here, in the life of doctrine, in the efficacy of anticipated fact, is the interposition of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

From this point, during the first general division of church history, the development is *preparatory*, and **FORMS** take the lead. The church continued in this first type of patriarchal simplicity, till the call of Abraham, when it came to a second epoch. For its more effectual preservation from the encroachments of idolatry, a covenant of specific provisions and promises was formed and sealed by the significant rite of circumcision.

In the third stage of this formal development, under the legation of Moses, with a local unity of worship, and an organized priesthood, the church received another visible and important ordinance,—the passover. The moral code is now written out as a permanent law, and a complicated and imposing ritual given as a form of worship. The minute-

ness of detail, the splendor of priestly apparel, and the gorgeousness of ceremonial, are in striking contrast with the simplicity which had preceded.

We should have predicted that the life would be pressed out of the church by such a mass of forms. But by the wisdom of Him who is ever in the midst of her, she was only adjusting herself to the circumstances of the age. She was to be recovered from her habit of idolatry, formed in her long captivity among idolaters. She was to be brought into contact with the attractive and powerful systems of Greek and Roman polytheism. In that age, when moral truths had little power except in concrete and sensible forms, when the value of religion was estimated by the quantity, and this depended on the number of gods which were worshipped, and when the plan of redemption required the chosen people to be retained in a pure theism, the church came to the climax of formal development.

When now, we proceed to a second general division in the historical process, the *doctrinal* element takes the lead. Her gorgeous drapery falls from the church, and her prescribed forms which had stiffened into formalism, are thrown off. She comes forth as from her chrysalis, clad in the beauty of spiritual truths. For four thousand years her position had been mainly defensive, and her mission preparatory. But when the Christian doctrine, which had been efficacious as a prophecy and a reflection, becomes a literal historic *fact*,—when she changes her attitude to aggression, how does she break from her now burdensome



defences, and bring into her processes elements hitherto comparatively latent. Now that her mission is to the world, she needs flexibility and freedom. Perceiving that her best way of defending the truth is to diffuse it, and that the most powerfully conservative principles are those which tend to make her empire universal, she seeks an elasticity and a pliancy to circumstances which are the result only of inward life in the form of doctrinal development. How simple now is her attire! How spiritual her weapons! And, for three centuries, how majestic her movement!

This transition period discloses the genius of the church in respect to outward forms. She can use them, or nearly dispense with them. Sometimes they subserve her purposes, sometimes hinder their accomplishment. When her strength was to sit still and beat back a classic polytheism, she needed strong breastworks of form; but when she becomes the great aggressor, when her might is in her moral power, she comes out from behind her immovable intrenchments, and shaking off her heavy panoply, presents herself in the open field.

The periods of purest and simplest life are found at the beginning of the two great developments. In the apostolic age, which was the era of infallible statement of doctrine, the church, being most vital with the life of Christ, was freest from human rituals, decretals or acts of legislation. It had as many revealed doctrines as at a later period, but not having such a variety of diseases, it did not need as many doctors. The vital processes were more per-

fect, but not with so much self-consciousness, nor were they so well understood as when, in later times, derangements led to examination, and injury occasioned human emendations.

But, as at the commencement of the formal development we found a human sinner, so, at the beginning of the doctrinal process, there stands up in human form, a divine Saviour. The incarnation and life of Christ, as a comprehensive fact, is the centre point and source of the Christian system. Every thing of doctrinal life in the former dispensations, was a backward reflection from this, as every thing which follows is a development of it. The end of the whole historic process is only the full form of the beginning, as the beginning was only the enveloped substance of the end. In Christ as the incarnate Deity, Christian history obtained the realization of what polytheism had struggled after, but of which it could not, even in the highest Grecian culture, obtain a distinct conception. The occidental mythologies, from whatsoever point they started, either made men of gods, or gods of men. The incarnations of the oriental systems are absorptions of the finite into the infinite, or their juxtaposition in an irreconcilable dualism. But of a joining of the two in a harmonious unity, the great problem of human redemption, the anti-theocratic systems contain not a single element or anticipation.

In the Logos of Philo, the ideas of the God-man which floated in the Hebrew mind, were grafted upon the Grecian spiritualism and the Roman Pan-

theism, so as apparently to supersede the necessity of a personal Messiah; yet they proved a philosophical forerunner of his advent. It has been called a "fata morgana, hovering uncertainly over the horizon where Christianity was to arise."

Alexander had broken up the old nationalities, and introduced the Hellenic culture into Egypt and the East, a mission for which, says Plutarch, he was expressly sent of heaven. The influence of the Roman arms, by fusing oriental and occidental thought, in a living philosophical communion, still further opened the way for the incoming of a universal and spiritual religion. The best philosophies were baffled by the incarnation, yet in some form, they had contributed to prepare its way. They could neither explain nor dispose of it, although in the world's movement they had done it homage. They had eschewed it in prophecy—they were now called to grapple with it as history. It was the central fact of Christianity, as Christianity is the centre of the world's philosophy.

After the closing of the canon, in the subsequent history of the church, the Scriptures became a given, though not a well-known quantity. The problem of doctrinal development was to be solved by an algebraic process, whose object was to find the value of this given quantity. The substantive doctrine is neither uncertain nor variable. The whole process is one of discovery, of scientific arrangement and application. Improvements in theology are not in its doctrines, but in its receivers. Those are as permanent as the facts out of which they

grow. What is new must relate to the forms and relations of old truths, or be false. Progress is a proximity of the ideas and life to the revealed doctrine. Every thing else is a backward movement.

When the church went forth as an aggressive power with this revelation and doctrine, she *first* came into conflict with a philosophic Paganism and an inveterate Judaism. The age was the most brilliant in the annals of the world, and her opponents the most unscrupulous and wary. But she was in close alliance with her Head, and more than sufficient for her foes. She brought against them a spiritual power which they could neither comprehend nor resist, because it was spiritual. Her victory was signal, and her history, during this period, full of majesty.

Following this and interweaving with it, came a stage of *internal* conflict. Hitherto the battles of the church had been with the world. Now they are within her own pale, where the necessity of conflict indicates disorder, and where victory is a partial defeat. It was a period of trial, such as often occurs in the church, when the balance is disturbed between the speculative and the scriptural element. It introduced a new experience, and made demands for new patience, which yet, in the processes of doctrinal development, brought in a hope that maketh not ashamed. At this crisis, Christianity appropriated a culture which the philosophers, as executors of the divine purpose, had prepared for her, that her leaven might the more easily permeate and pervade the life of humanity.

Theology, as a science, took its rise in the Alexandrine school during this period, partly from apologetic interests, requiring conciliation between the *gnosis* and the *pistis*, and partly from the progress of the Christian mind, demanding a philosophy of its own faith.

Skill in polemics is, perhaps, a dangerous acquisition, as tending to the love of polemical conflict. But discernment to perceive when fundamental truths are assailed, the courage without rancor to enter on their defence, with ability to free them from entangling sophistries, and in Christ's spirit, make Christian doctrines plain to the apprehension of honest minds,—this is an endowment of rare and peculiar excellence.

Arius and Pelagius had each propounded a new doctrine. They took hold of the two great pillars of the church, resting on the basement facts of its history—the divinity of Christ and the sinfulness of man. Each was the representative of an erroneous tendency of the human mind—a vitiosity in all merely speculative theology. Arminianism has a legitimate descent from Pelagius, and Socinianism from Arius, and all lax systems of theology a natural pedigree from both.

But over against Arius stood up Athanasius, exclaiming, “Earth has no Saviour if its Saviour be not God.” And to confront Pelagius, Augustine arose. Having passed from Manicheeism to Platonism, and from Platonism, by the deepest experience of the doctrine of sin, to the Christian faith, he maintained, what has been from the beginning, the



church doctrine,—the depravity of the will, and the corruption of the whole moral nature. These two champions had been providentially prepared for their work, and they performed it with a thoroughness which left little essentially new to be done by their successors.

The controversies of this period were the sifting processes in the development of the Christian doctrines, through which, by logical steps, the life of the church moved on to the period of *symbols*. As the truths of the Christian system were assailed and successfully defended; as they were tested in the crucible of the world's advance, and their value determined, they were naturally treasured up in the form of condensed human statement. The Athanasian or Nicene, and the Apostle's Creeds were the invaluable contributions of this period.

It was early seen to be of little avail that men were agreed on the Scriptures as a rule of faith, when they differed essentially respecting the import of its language. Without an agreement on some determinate forms of expressing the substance of Christian doctrine, there could be little chance of doctrinal development, or ecclesiastical unity. And the position that language has no power of conveying definite ideas of truth, or that dogmatic statements, inherently conflicting, may be equally accepted by the Christian conscience, was felt to be subversive of the foundations of history, as well as of doctrine and philosophy. It involves that element of rationalism which confounds all creeds, and resolves all philosophy and all religion into an intangible and vapory subjectivity.

Next to the symbolic came the *scholastic* period. The Aristotelian philosophy bore rule in this, as the Platonic did in that. The latter was as peculiarly suited to the work of settling the principles of the church doctrine, as the former to the discovery of precise and logical forms of defining and defending them. The life of the church had become sluggish through worldly admixtures; its ethical character was passing into the political and hierarchical, and it was losing its advantage as a distinctive spiritual power. The prevalent philosophy made the men of the age dialecticians, and dialectics made them disputants. These were the coiners of the pure gold which the fathers of the former period dug from the mines, and brought out in solid ingots. The tendency of this period was to try the dogmas and confessions previously settled, and adjust them to the general consciousness of the time.

The two vital elements in the scholastic philosophy, the speculative and the believing, were happily united in Anselm, the father of the schoolmen. His treatises concerning the Value of truth, Free Will, and the Reason why God became man, are strongly marked by the speculative spirit. But he also says, "I seek not to comprehend in order to believe; I believe that I may comprehend. And I believe, even, because if I did not believe, I should not comprehend."

There is a deep spiritual philosophy in this idea of faith, powerfully operative in the development of the Christian doctrine. But the apostle had reached it long before the rise of the schoolmen. As carried out in the motto of medieval absurdity,

“*Credo quia impossibile*,” it is both the parent and the offspring of ignorance, superstition and priestly tyranny. It assumes that faith is a blind credulity, or else a matter of feeling irreconcilable with philosophy; that the speculative forms of truth are superior and may be essentially repugnant to the emotional. This constitutes an element of the Kantian philosophy, accepted by DeWette and some of the later Germans. It is found in the system of Hegel, and in all essentially rationalistic schemes.

But there was a ground truth at the starting point of the speculative schoolmen of no less value, under just limitations, in the development of the Christian doctrine, than that from which the believing part went out. “We must believe,” said Abelard, “but not all things; therefore we must examine.” Every reflective mind accepts this as an axiom in theological science. If we do not examine our doctrine we can not understand it, or explain it, or defend it. We can not intelligently believe it or be quickened by its life.

Although these two elements in the middle ages were so seldom harmoniously combined in homogeneous processes, yet by general affinities and specific repellencies, the result of the scholastic period was a boon to the church;—that faith has a reason for its existence and may have a philosophy; that doctrines, which are the objective substance of faith have a basis in facts and are eliminated from them. But this contribution of the middle ages, like the Socratic element which arose as the dawn of the Grecian philosophy, was rather a presaging spirit than a definable system—that phi-

losophy is the friend of faith, and dialectics the legitimate ally of doctrine. But that which is a friend and ally is distinct from the principal, as the vine from the trellis on which it grows. Philosophy is not absolute wisdom, but the love of it, or a method of disengaging truth from error. "My discoveries," says Des Cartes, "are nothing, my *method* is everything. I have made the former only to exercise the latter." Philosophy is never fixed. It varies as the love of wisdom and success in seeking it vary. But the Christian doctrine is the absolute truth, independent of all outside systems, toward which all modes of philosophizing tend as they approximate to correct results. This historic spirit freed the few truly believing minds from bondage. The defenders of the living Gospel were made strong by it. All vital forces were seen to be their allies, both in the church and in nature. Of the dead, they had no reason for fear.

In passing through these conflicts with the great heresies, and this contact with the great philosophies, the church gained something. But she also lost something. She imparted of her life to the world, but admitted elements of its decay and death; drew many from their idols, but with them drew something of idolatry. From the plague of a pompous ritual which she brought from her pagan wars, and the lust of temporal prerogative, conceived in her struggle against the imperial power, there came in connection with her legitimate growth, gigantic corruptions; with healthful development, huge cancerous excrescences. An overshadowing ecclesiasticism had cast the church into a pit of mephitic vapors.

“By the clock 'tis day,  
 And yet dark night strangles the traveling lamp.  
 Is it night's preponderance or the day's shame,  
 That darkness does the face of earth entomb  
 When living light should kiss it?”

The Scriptures had been withdrawn from the people, except a modicum filtrated through catechisms and compends prepared by a dark-minded and darkening priesthood. The church at large grew faint. The pulsations had well nigh ceased at the centre. But there was enough of life lingering to incorporate the protestant principles which had been left as a legacy by the scholastic period, and bring them into force in the *Reformation*.

Great movements usually commence in antagonisms. Reason openly revolted against the usurpations of a dead dogmatism. Science burst the bands of popish decretals in which she had been bound. Humanity sent up her cry to heaven, and an angel came and rolled away the stone from the sepulchre of a buried church.

Luther commenced the movement, but perceived not whereunto it would grow. He had stepped to the centre of an unfolding divine purpose, and he was borne along on the crested wave of providence by a moral momentum which had been for centuries in the process of generation. He was the exponent of the age, and more; he was the representative of a struggling humanity, and more; he was the agent of divine providence in one of those remarkable epochs in which, by a single movement, many pages of the unfolding purpose of the Supreme Ruler are suddenly unrolled.



At first it was a question of ethics and of forms. But the discussions soon went deeper. The foundations were out of place. It was necessary to return to first principles. Nothing permanent could be gained until these were settled. This the Reformers soon perceived. Hence the issue became mainly one of doctrine, of the doctrine of justification by faith. This gave character to the whole movement of the sixteenth century. It brought back life to the church, and the development of this central doctrine made it a life-movement, from within outward, the influence of which has been ever since extending in reflux waves of light. It has penetrated every department of science, every school of philosophy and every system of theology. It is vital in the confessions of all the Reformed churches, in the political constitutions of the two freest and most prosperous nations of the earth, and in that evangelic movement which gives promise of the full and final triumph of the church over all opposing powers.

Where there is life there must be freedom. Where there is freedom, there will be in the processes of doctrinal and moral development, doubt and debate and dissent. Where these are, there must be tolerance and charity. And where all are found as the result of the life of the church, truth has her fairest field and wins her noblest victories.

And what is the next page in this unrolling scroll of time, on which such countless millions are making their diverse, yet harmonic inscriptions? Is it written with catastrophe—disaster? Are the historic processes, for six thousand years so sublimely an-

ticipatory of redemptive results, to be suddenly reversed and end in disappointment? He who runs may read.

The seventeenth century was a period of missionary preparation; the eighteenth, of missionary organization; and the nineteenth is one of missionary activity, in which material elements, by the power of God are becoming visibly subordinate to the moral, the political to the spiritual. Thrones of evil, hoary with antiquity, are shaken by the pure and silent influence of the Gospel. The crescent, with one horn resting on Mecca and the other on Constantinople, is broken in the middle by the cross, and yet defends the power that is destroying it. Questions mainly evangelical, are decided by the mustering of hosts, whose tramp to the field of engagement shakes a continent. The old Tartar dynasty yields to an advancing force, whose chief characteristic is its Bible-distributing power. In all the main diplomacies, to the historic eye, a Divine Form appears, restraining, overruling and guiding; in the shock of battle giving new impulse to the divine word; by the fall of human empires, extending his own rightful sway, and, step by step advancing to the throne of universal dominion; until, in the consummation of the redeeming work, "every creature which is in heaven and on the earth and under the earth, and such as are in the seas, and all that are in them, heard I, saying, Blessing and honor and glory and power be unto Him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the **Lamb** forever and ever."





*Leonard Woods*

A

## DISCOURSE

DELIVERED AT THE FUNERAL OF

REV. LEONARD WOODS, D. D.

IN THE

Chapel of the Theological Seminary,

ANDOVER, AUGUST 28, 1854.

BY

EDWARD A. LAWRENCE,

PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, EAST WINDSOR HILL,  
CONNECTICUT.

BOSTON:

S. K. WHIPPLE AND COMPANY,

100 WASHINGTON STREET.

1854.



Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1854, by

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## DISCOURSE.

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THE knell is ever tolling the departure of the good and the great. Our cemeteries are filling with the memorials of passing generations. And yet we think of the living as if they would never die — of the dead as if they had never lived. Or if, while the fresh grave is open before us, we cry, “The things that are seen *are* temporal,” by some strange fascination, we are soon drawn back into the contradiction of what our lips had uttered. The “tramp of busy feet” and the light of pleasant smiles beguile us amid the rival attractions of earth and heaven, so that, unmindful of the blessedness of those who die in the Lord, we become “of the earth, earthy.”

The mournful occasion which has assembled us here to-day invites the prominence in which we instinctively seek to present this blessedness. The character of him who has just now been taken from us justifies it. Our confidence in the scheme of redemption, and our gratitude in view of its application to him of whom we are bereaved, demand it.

**And I heard a voice from heaven, saying unto me,  
Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.**  
—REV. xiv. 13.

There is implied in these words a peculiar relation of believers to the Lord, and affirmed a peculiar blessedness of those who die in him.

I. Of this relation, the essential elements are knowledge, faith, and love.

There is nothing in philosophic or scientific truth, of itself, tending to this spiritual connection with Christ. The *knowledge* which is an element of this peculiar relation, is the assurance of Christian truth gained by the teachings of the Spirit and Christian experience. It is that mental certainty in which the patriarch says, "I *know* that my Redeemer liveth." It is the knowledge of sin, gained through a deep conviction of the holiness of the divine law, and the sweet experience of the matchless love of God in providing for its remission — a knowledge which leads to self-renunciation, which adores divine sovereignty at the cross, and fortifies the chastened, subdued soul in its unhesitating preference of Christ as the source and substance of all moral excellence and beauty.

*Faith* is an equally essential element of this relation. As a Christian grace, it is that trust in Christ as the Almighty Redeemer, "whereby we receive and rest upon him alone for salvation, as he is freely offered to us in the gospel." It looks to his words for instruction, and to his life for example; to his death as an atoning sacrifice for sin, and to his righteousness for justification. It is the eye that sees his fulness of glory, and the hand that receives from his fulness of grace. As the water is in the fountain, as the branches are in the vine, as the soul is in that in which it supremely trusts, so by faith are believers in the Lord.

*Love* is the remaining element essential to this peculiar relation. There is no true faith in Christ which is not connected with love. Faith works by love. Men live in that which they love, and on a principle of affinity, easily become assimilated to it. "Beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, we are changed into the same image from glory to glory." Those who are truly in the Lord by a deep and fervent affection, love to think of him and to speak of him. They love his truth, his cause, and his kingdom. His person is dear to them. His will governs them, and the promotion of his glory is their highest ambition. So peculiar is this principle of love to Christ, that it makes the believer very

humble, yet very happy. It teaches him that he deserves nothing but unending woe, while it allows him to expect nothing less than infinite bliss. The more urgent seem the motives to remain in the world, the greater is his readiness to depart and be with Christ, which is far better.

Thus by the force of this threefold bond, the believer is bound to Christ as his Redeemer.

II. The blessedness affirmed of those who die in the Lord is as peculiar as the relation which they sustain to him.

They are blessed,—

1. In the doctrines and ordinances which at their death are seen to have been effectual in their entire sanctification.

In the progress of the believer's earthly life, he is in conflict with sin and opposed by "principalities and powers." But a resort to the Saviour through these constituted channels of grace, brings courage and strength by which the contest is maintained, and he goes on "conquering and to conquer."

As age advances on the weary pilgrim, and disease begins to take down this earthly house of his tabernacle, as the inward spiritual light shines out more and more, dispelling the darkness of the last conflict, we behold an impressive demonstration of the efficacy of those appointed means by which this life is brought to its maturity. .

The ripened fruit bespeaks not merely the goodness of the tree, but also the richness of the soil, and the care and culture which have been bestowed upon it. No logic is more resistless, no rhetoric more convincing, and no illustration more impressive, in teaching the efficacy of the Christian doctrines and ordinances, and the blessedness of those who are the objects of their sanctifying influence, than the perfect resignation, the calm, sweet confidence of those who die in the Lord.

2. Those who die in the Lord are blessed in the realization of covenant engagement in their approach to the final dissolution.

Unaided by the supports of a religious faith, none have been able in the hour of death to exhibit more than the

hardihood, the mere power of endurance, which stoicism or pride of opinion imparts. But it is far otherwise with those whose hope is in God. Their reliance is visibly on the covenant faithfulness of their Redeemer. He has said, "Fear thou not, for I am with thee; be not dismayed, for I am thy God. I will strengthen thee, yea, I will help thee, yea, I will uphold thee with the right hand of my righteousness." This is indeed an extraordinary engagement. But the comforting experience of its fulfilment by the dying believer is no less extraordinary. It illumines his countenance with a heavenly serenity, sweet as the mellow light at the close of a summer's day. The dark valley is made all radiant by it, and the difficult way all easy. Precisely where the confidence of other men is weakest, his is strongest. Where they lose their hope, his passes into the fulness of realization. His pillow is smoothed by gentler than human hands, his soul sustained by mightier than human sympathy. And while articulation is continued, there is converse on lofty themes — of sin, but of sin forgiven; of Jesus and his atoning work; of peace, and heaven, and glory. He has entered the land of Beulah. He has caught glimpses of the Celestial City. Higher attractions draw him. Better friends solicit him. Brighter scenes entrance him. The light and the glory of the unseen world begin to dawn upon the prepared spirit. Heaven is visibly drawing nigh, and Faith, with her powerful hand, opens wide the gates and bears the freed soul within the everlasting doors. O, this is blessedness indeed! To see a believer, after a life of toilsome conflict with sin and Satan, after successive victories and defeats, coming to the final encounter in the high realization of the promises, — to see him setting his house in order, calmly as only for the separation of a night of sleep and sweet dreams, — this is to witness the transit of a fallen but redeemed soul across the river of death, borne up by covenant faithfulness high above its waves, to be embosomed in the everlasting love.

3. Those who die in the Lord are blessed in a manifest entrance, at their death, upon a higher and glorious life.

"God is not a God of the dead, but of the living; for all



live unto him." These words are full of instruction and consolation to the believer. They assure him that his future abode is not a land of mute shadows, but a region of personal consciousness, of living, spiritual beings, capable of affection, recognition, and remembrance. With this view the impression of the death-scene of the saints—the pallid countenance, the faltering voice, the dimness gathering upon the eye as the light of intelligence fades from it forever—becomes to us one of consolation and hope. We know that they are not lost in unending, illocal immensity; but that they have become peaceful dwellers within the mansions of our Father's house. It is our privilege to follow them in our thoughts to "an innumerable company of the spirits of just men made perfect, to Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant, and to God, the Judge of all." This augmented spiritual life meets and exhausts the full, deep meaning of the Revelator's words—"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." It is through the dissolution of this earthly house of our tabernacle that we are clothed upon with our house which is from Heaven. And this makes death an epoch in the history of that quenchless essence, marked by more enrapturing visions of God and heaven, and the attainment of higher knowledge and blessedness than occur at any other period in the whole range of immortal existence.

Even amidst the hindrances of the bodily state, grace has often given strength for high attainments in religious knowledge. On some Pisgah's top, the sanctified soul has climbed to almost seraphic heights. But when the encumbering adjuncts of sense and sin are dropped, and the spiritual eye is enabled to look undazzled upon the radiance of the divine glory, who can tell what depths of knowledge will be unfolded? With what a lustre will before-hidden truths concerning the attributes and sovereignty of God shine forth! How wonderful will redeeming love appear to us there, where we contemplate it, not as from necessity almost, we do here, in its relation to human sin and safety, but in its higher relations to the character and glory of the Redeemer! It is this peculiar, concentrated glory, this more signally manifested presence of the Lord God and the Lamb, that determines

the locality of heaven. And it is this ineffable union, through the mediation of Christ, of the human spirit with the divine, that constitutes the higher and more blessed life of the Christian in the realms of bliss. There he plucks and eats freely of the tree of life. There he bathes in the crystalline streams ever flowing from under the eternal throne. There, memory, before like a time-worn picture, is revived. Memory in heaven! Delightful thought to bereaved ones on the earth! Our words should be few, where, as here, little is revealed. Yet from that little we cannot resist the impression that departed saints, with whom we have been united in spiritual joy and conflict here, do not lose the remembrance of us there — that they still cherish us as members with them of Christ's mystical body, and as pilgrims traveling the same road which they have trod. And, although there is permitted to us no visible sign of this remembrance, yet a contemplative mind will appreciate the influence of such a communion, and appropriate it, not to cherish, but to chasten his grief.

Such a communion is all of intercourse which now remains to us with the sympathizing brother and friend, the venerated father and teacher, the cherished companion and exemplary Christian disciple.

LEONARD WOODS, the first Professor in this beloved Seminary, and the last of its original teachers, has just passed from among us. The veteran soldier has laid off his armor, received his crown, and now rests in the blessedness of assured victory.

“ See where he walks on yonder mount, that lifts  
 Its summit high on the right hand of bliss,  
 Sublime in glory, talking with his peers  
 Of the incarnate Saviour's love, and past  
 Affliction, lost in present joy. See how  
 His face with heavenly ardor glows, and how  
 His hand enraptured strikes the golden lyre,  
 As now, conversing of the Lamb once slain,  
 He speaks; and how, from vines that never hear  
 Of winter, but in monthly harvest yield  
 Their fruit abundantly, he plucks the grapes  
 Of life.”

The parents of our revered and departed friend, Samuel and Abigail Woods, were among the early inhabitants of Princeton, Mass. They both possessed strong mental powers, and were of puritanic piety. His father's habits of serious thought upon metaphysical subjects obtained for him the title of "philosopher Woods." With small opportunity for cultivation when young, he became conversant with the most important histories, with the poetry of Milton, Young, and Watts, as also with the works of Locke and Edwards, and of many of the Puritan divines.

Leonard Woods was born June 19, 1774, and baptized on the same day. His education in childhood was conducted mainly by his father, and by an elder sister who preceded him not three years since to the heavenly world. He early discovered a love for books, and was often found listening to conversations between his father and the neighbors, when most children would be engaged in their sports. When but six or seven years old, he would copy examples in arithmetic on a piece of birch bark, as he heard them given to a class of large boys, always obtaining the right answer as soon as they, if not sooner.

The books which he preferred, unlike the dilutions prepared for children of the present day, contained the rudiments of knowledge in their natural relations and rugged forms — of history, mathematics, and Christian doctrine. Of his early training he says, "I was educated in the manner of the Puritans, being taught to reverence the Sabbath, to attend public worship, to repeat the Catechism, and read religious books."

It was the design of his parents that he should remain at home on the farm, that they might enjoy his filial love and care. But from the age of ten he had a strong desire for a public education, and an undefinable wish to become a minister. On account of a sickness occasioned by exposure, which enfeebled him for two years, his father consented to his commencing the study of Latin with the parish minister, in preparation for college, telling him, however, that he had no means of assisting him. Encouraged by his fond mother, who said, "I can help you along," he began his studies. And

nobly was her pledge redeemed. No sacrifice or toil appeared too great in aiding so beloved and dutiful a son. "She sought wool and flax, and laying her hand to the spindle," through his whole collegiate course she clothed him from her own loom.

After three years, in 1792, he was entered a freshman at Harvard College, having received but three months' regular instruction, which he obtained at Leicester Academy, under the tuition of Mr. Adams, afterwards professor in Dartmouth College.

The period of his college life was marked by the absence of Christian influences in the literary institutions of the country, beyond any other in their history. During a part of it, there was but a single professor of religion in Harvard College.\* The driftwood of English deism and French atheism had floated high up on our shores. College students prided themselves on their scepticism, and boasted of a theological pedigree from Voltaire and Paine, regarding a reverence for the Bible as a mark of intellectual inferiority and bigotry.

Leonard Woods was under only the outward restraints of early religious instruction. But his intellectual convictions being on the side of Christian doctrine, the bolder approaches of the evil repelled him. That, however, which he withstood in its grosser forms, took effect in its subtler and more insinuating influences. During the last year of his collegiate course, he became greatly interested in the philosophical works of Dr. Priestley. From these he was naturally led to his theological writings. The result was a fascination which, for a time, gave him a strong bias in favor of his materialistic speculations.

He was graduated in 1796, with the highest honors of his college. Says one of his classmates, "He was decidedly the first member of the class, for intellect and attainment, among such competitors as John Pickering and James Jackson. He had the highest assignment at commencement, and delivered an oration which was much admired for its literary excellence." Three years later, when his class took the second

\* Dr. John H. Church, late of Pelham, N. H.

degree, he was selected to deliver the master's oration. Both these productions were published, and gave the orator a name and a place among men of intellectual and moral culture, which attracted toward him the regards of many lovers of truth and learning.

For eight months after he left college, he was engaged as a teacher in Medford, during which time, and while occasionally under the paternal roof, that great change took place which gave tone and direction to his subsequent life.

How delightful is the harmony of divine Providence with the divine purpose! The ardent student has passed the ordeal of college, but with an object lying before him like a spirit in the mist. "It stood still, but he could not discern the form thereof." It is now brought out in the distinctness of a visible reality — of a controlling purpose. Like the apostle, he said, "Woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel."

Mr. Woods made a profession of religion, and united with Dr. Osgood's church, in Medford, in 1797. In the autumn of the same year, he studied theology three months with Dr. Charles Backus, at Somers, Connecticut, in company with his friend Mr. Church, who was soon after settled in Pelham, N. H. The following winter, he continued his studies at home, the Bible and Brown's System of Divinity constituting his principal text books. Referring to this period in a letter to a sister many years after, he says, "When I turn my thoughts toward you, a multitude of interesting recollections rush upon my mind. I think of the scenes of our early childhood and youth; \* \* of the time when I was studying divinity in the shop, and you and dear H. and L. used to recite the Catechism and other things to me." He received license to preach in the spring of 1798, from the Cambridge Association, and in November of the same year he was ordained at Newbury as the successor of Dr. Tappan, who had been called to a professorship in Harvard College. He brought to his new field a cheerful hope, a well-balanced mind, and the fruits of an earnest, well-directed study; and he gave himself to it with a singleness of purpose which preserved him from wasting his energies in conflicting avocations. The people of his charge were strongly attached to the half-way cov-



enant. He believed it to be unscriptural, and had difficulties on this account in settling among them. To his friend Mr. Church he writes, "I believe I have a providential call; if so, it is not my duty to do any thing that will directly counteract that call. But, then, it is not a call unless I can comply with it without violating my duty. So I must do duty, and leave the event. But, then, I am doubtful what my duty is. I consider it an error, and am willing to do every thing, and shall do every thing, in my power to extirpate it. Now, shall I be most likely to conquer this enemy by deserting the field because I cannot *at once* prevail, or by keeping my ground and persevering in the contest?"

The following year, the young pastor was united in marriage to Miss Abigail Wheeler, daughter of Joseph Wheeler, Judge of Probate in Worcester. The lovely bride was welcomed in her approach to her rural home by a cavalcade of parishioners, who came out to give her their cordial greetings, from whom she ever received that affectionate deference which her amiable disposition and exemplary piety procured from all who knew her.

Mr. Woods loved the work of a pastor; finding in it his highest and purest joys, as well as his severest trials. It was to him no sinecure, but the toil and watchfulness for souls of a loving shepherd who must give account. He showed himself the sympathizing friend of his people, studying their characters, not to expose their faults, but that he might the better know how to correct them. His preaching then, as in later years, was instructive rather than rhetorical, suggestive more than exciting. The ardor of poetic fire was finely tempered into the genial glow of a healthful enthusiasm. It was always scriptural, having Christ as the central idea. It was often argumentative, but never in a way to allow the inference that the Christian system is doubtful, or may be arraigned and condemned at the tribunal of human reason. He could have had but little instruction in the Hebrew language previous to his entering on the work of the ministry. But we early find him prosecuting a course of philological study, saying, "I am resolved that no common events shall hinder me from a competent knowledge of the Hebrew Bible."

It was at an eventful period in the history of the New England churches, that Mr. Woods entered on his public duties. A crisis was at hand in which the seamless garment was to be rent asunder. Men who had hitherto moved shoulder to shoulder, were now to put on their armor, and stand face to face. Ministers had lapsed from the standards of the fathers and the doctrines of the Bible. Pelagianism crept into the churches, and Arianism followed, and both together brought in Socinianism. The Catechism, before accepted as the common symbol of faith, was displaced by latitudinarian substitutes. Harvard College was removed from its original foundations, and given to the support of another gospel.

Besides these defections from the faith, the evangelical forces were weakened by division. On the one side there were astute metaphysicians and earnest working men, called New Calvinists. On the other were those not less earnest and practical, or less mighty in the Scriptures, called Old Calvinists. Unhappily, plans of benevolent action proposed by one class, were regarded with a degree of distrust by the other, or failed of that full coöperation which their importance demanded. It was at this period, the year 1805, that Dr. Austin gave utterance to his feelings of both despondency and distrust. "If I am sick of myself, I am not much less sick of the greater part of the good men I know — so much jealousy and so much reason for it. Our present state of disunion and confusion is our reproach."

In the midst of such discordant elements, the youthful soldier was called to put on his armor; over this "sea of glass mingled with fire" required to make his way.

By the arrangements of Providence, Mr. Woods was brought into close connection with two persons, whose influence and friendship entered largely into his subsequent career. And, to complicate the scene yet more, they were leading men in the two branches of the Calvinistic family. One was Dr. Samuel Spring, of Newburyport. In the purity of his purposes, and the intelligence and firmness of his self-sacrificing piety, Mr. Woods ever reposed the most implicit confidence. Although not entirely symbolizing in their theological views, they were yet so far in harmony as to secure a

cordial coöperation in most of their plans. When, in 1803, the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine was commenced, Dr. Spring earnestly solicited the aid of his able pen. Respecting a paper which Mr. Woods read to the Association on the half-way covenant, which, it was a favorite object of Dr. Spring to eradicate from the churches, he wrote, "I take this opportunity to express my deepest gratitude for the wise and masterly manner in which your question was considered yesterday before the Sanhedrim. It is for want of information that we see so many new things." \*

The other of these two men was Dr. Morse, of Charlestown, a man of generous affections and of a large philanthropy. His theology was not angular, but comprehensive, and of the genuine Pauline school. He was a fearless champion for the truth, and an uncompromising foe to the subtle errorists of the time. For him Mr. Woods cherished the sincerest affection.

Having, on the one hand, been solicited by Dr. Spring to contribute to the Magazine, which was the organ of one type of theology, he is now, in 1805, on the other hand, requested to unite as joint editor with Dr. Morse in conducting the *Panoplist*,† the organ of the other type. It was by his able articles prepared for this journal, in vindication of the doctrines of Calvinism, and of the Catechism as the continued

\* In the sermon preached at the interment of Dr. Spring, referring to his interest in the founding of this institution, Dr. Woods says, "It is with the most delightful sensations that I now recollect how often, at that interesting period, I was invited, sometimes in the stillness of midnight, to kneel down with him, to invoke the name of God to render praise for his goodness, and to ask his guidance and blessing. I am a witness of his laborious and unceasing efforts in the cause of the Seminary, from its commencement till his last sickness. He watched over its interests and prayed for its prosperity with a father's heart, and we had reason to thank him, not only for his incessant watchfulness, but even for his *jealousy* over us; because it was a godly jealousy — the concern of an anxious father. It was an apprehension for which there was too much reason, that a spirit of literary pride should insinuate itself into the institution, and the light of truth and holiness be obscured."

† On the issue of the first number of the *Panoplist*, he wrote to his associate editor, "To-day *Panoplist* is born. I hope it will live to grow up and be a good man — the friend of knowledge and religion. I hope and pray that there may not be a spice of ill nature in it. This does not belong to the Christian armor."

symbol of doctrinal unity in the churches, that his fame as a theological writer commenced.

Both these men had plans for a theological institution, which for several years had been silently, and for a greater part of the time unknown to each other, progressing toward maturity. Both had distinctive objects to be gained by such an institution. Each, too, had, independently of the other, fixed upon Mr. Woods as the most suitable person for a theological teacher, and from each he had received a distinct proposition to this effect. In 1806, the parties became acquainted with each other's purposes. In 1807, the public movement commenced. The unassuming candidate for advancement perceived in the two schemes general affinities and particular repellencies. With others, he saw the objections to two seminaries in such local proximity, and so much resembling each other in their objects and character; and availing himself of his relation to both parties, he determined to act the part of a mediator, and, if possible, to secure a union. For this work, his theological education under the benign influence of Dr. Backus, his pacific disposition, and the confidence reposed in him on both sides, peculiarly fitted him. Although he had not been half a score of years in the work of the ministry, he had seen and deeply deplored the evils of division and jealousy among ministers. He was willing to waive his own predilections as to unessentials, for the sake of harmonious action in defence of what was fundamental. He felt that the insidious and successful workings of error demanded an open, bold, and united resistance. "The liberalizers of the day," he said, "will undo every thing. 'Tis time to speak openly and plainly."

Of Dr. Spring's plan for a theological institution, he said to Dr. Morse, "I think it is good. But we wish to have all the orthodox influence in our State concentrated in one theological institution. This is *exceedingly* desirable. If we can only get all Calvinists together, we need not fear. The Hopkinsians must come down, and the moderate men must come up, till they meet. Then the host will be mighty." In this conciliatory spirit, against opposition and obloquy, he labored to bring together the two classes in the General Association.

But the coöperation of all in the support of one institution for training an effective Christian ministry, was the object which lay nearest his heart. The success of many other enterprises seemed to him, under God, to depend on this. When, in January, 1807, Dr. Morse, who was associated in his plan with Mr. Abbot, of Andover, wrote to him, saying, "Confer with Mr. Spring, and let me know whether he intends to unite with or oppose us in this institution," he felt that he could not have that movement go on without Dr. Spring's concurrence. And when, a few months later, he was present at a little meeting with Dr. Spring and Messrs. Bartlett and Brown, and it was decided to establish a school of theology in his own parish in Newbury, and he was designated as the teacher, he felt almost as strongly that he could not have *this* movement proceed without the coöperation of Dr. Morse and his associates at Andover. For a time he was in perplexity. He had refused the offer of a professorship when proposed by Dr. Morse. He now declined accepting one, when tendered by Dr. Spring, on his plan of a separate, party institution. The day following the meeting of the four gentlemen, Mr. Woods went to Charlestown to consult with Dr. Morse. The next day but one, Dr. Morse came to Andover to consult with Dr. Pearson. Two days later, Dr. Morse went to Newbury to confer with Mr. Woods, where he passed the Sabbath. On Monday, they went together to Newburyport to see Dr. Spring. Thus negotiations were commenced, which, despite all counter influences, after nearly eighteen months, resulted in the happy union of the parties and the opening of this Theological Seminary, September 28, 1808.

Having been appointed by Mr. Abbot to the chair of Christian theology, as a result of this union, and having removed with his young family to this hill the preceding summer, Dr. Woods entered upon that course of theological instruction to which he devoted the greater part of his subsequent life. Thirteen students joined the institution during the first four weeks of the term. Dr. Pearson was his only associate. Of seminary buildings there were none; and of theological books but few, and those belonging to the library



of Phillips Academy. His first instructions were given in his little parlor in the small dwelling still standing some four-score rods from this on the Lowell road. Two were graduated after a partial course of one year, as the first fruits of the youthful institution. Although it was the day of small things in comparison with what has followed, those engaged in the enterprise were not easily disheartened. They believed themselves to be doing God's work, and they laid deep and broad foundations. They wished to provide for the church a learned, orthodox and pious ministry. For this the founders had placed as the theological basis of the Seminary that comprehensive symbol of the reformed faith, the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. To guard this basis, the associate founders added a specific creed, more minute in some things and less so in others, but in nothing conflicting with it.

With these views of the founders, and with the system thus defined as the theology of the Seminary, Dr. Woods was in cordial agreement. Their restrictions interposed no barrier to his freedom of inquiry. For ten years his range of study had been over the whole field of revealed religion, under no restraints but those which truth imposes. And during the thirty-eight years of his occupancy of the chair of theology, his instructions were in such harmony with the standard of the institution, as to give entire satisfaction to the two boards of trust.

The union of the Evangelical parties in founding the Seminary prepared the way, as was expected, for other philanthropic and Christian combinations. The Missionary Magazine, according to his earnest desire, was immediately merged in the Panoplist. The General Association soon became more comprehensive and consolidated. The missionary spirit among the Seminary students created a necessity for a missionary society. Consultations, preliminary to the organization of the American Board, were held on this hill with the Professors—Woods, Porter, and Stuart; and a part of the counsellors, Dr. Spring, and Rev. Mr. Worcester, the next day went from these deliberations to Bradford, where the Board had its birth.

At the "Monday evening meetings" in Dr. Porter's study, commenced a little more than forty years ago, we see six

humble men quietly preparing electric wires, on which their influence was to pass round the world, and round, till the whole atmosphere is kindled to a blaze of light. Of this noble band four are not — Porter, Stuart, Edwards, and he who has just fallen asleep.\* That little room is hallowed as the birthplace of great thoughts and schemes of massive moral grandeur. There, in 1813, the germ of the American Tract Society sprang into being. Dr. Woods assisted in preparing and examining tracts, and with a subscription paper secured the means of publishing them, while another member of the circle contracted with the printer. How mighty is the tree into which this twig has grown, striking its roots deep into the soil of the age, and scattering abroad its leaves for the healing of the nations!

Soon after, in the same circle of devoted men, the Temperance Society had its origin. It was suggested that a fund should be raised to employ some suitable man in collecting facts, and laying them before the public. Dr. Woods again took his subscription paper, and with Mr. Edwards went to Boston, making application to a distinguished philanthropist and friend of temperance. He received a courteous but decided refusal: "I have for many years given money and labor to reform inebriates, and with no success." "But," replied Dr. Woods, "we have got a *new idea*. We do not expect to have much success in reforming drunkards; we wish, by the principle of entire abstinence, to prevent temperate men from becoming drunkards." This secured for him five hundred dollars, and upon this "new idea" the true temperance movement had its beginning. Dr. Woods addressed to the public the first appeal in behalf of the society, and for a long time was chairman of the executive committee. At this same source the American Education Society took its rise.

From this fountain, destined to a more enduring fame than was imparted by Delphic oracles, gushed forth the fertilizing rills which, for more than a generation have been commingling in deepening and widening channels, to flow in reflux tides over the land and over the world. At this fount no one

\* The remaining two are John Adams, LL. D., and Samuel Farrar, Esq.

stood with a more inspiring genius than he who came as the first Professor to this sacred Seminary. His interest in all the benevolent associations of the age increased with the increase of years. Of two or three he continued the presiding officer till his decease, and of several others was a working member so long as health allowed. During his last sickness, letters were received from several of these institutions, soliciting his opinion on matters of moment. And the last of his benefactions was to one of these societies, sent in a letter dictated in this same sickness.

In the public controversies of the last forty years, he has also borne a distinguished part. And, as these were conducted by him and his colleague, Professor Stuart, and such men as Morse, Worcester, and Evarts, they were, by the divine favor, the means of first placing a check to the inrushing tide of error, and then of turning it back. They fought a good fight; they *kept* the faith.

After thirty-eight years of unremitted toil in the service of the Seminary, — after all the founders and all the original guardians but two had passed away, — in the seventy-second year of his age, the connection of Dr. Woods with this institution was brought to a close. He had rocked it in the cradle of its infancy; he had borne it as on his bosom of love, watching over it at every step of its progress with the tenderest care. It had lain on his heart as a child, and the fervor of his affection for it grew with its growth and strengthened with its strength. But he did not regard himself as discharged from his Master's service. His mental eye had not grown dim, nor was his intellectual force abated. He engaged with alacrity in the most important work of his whole life — the revision for the press of his theological lectures and a portion of his miscellaneous writings. These he gave to the world under his own hand. They have gone into the four quarters of the globe. His grateful pupils ponder them in India and in Persia, on the shores of the Levant and of the Pacific, at the mouth of the Gaboon and in the valley of the Mississippi. They are found in the universities of England and of Scotland. They are read in the cottage of the peasant and the palace of the prince. These works,

with his earnest prayers for the divine blessing upon them, are his rich legacy to the church. They will constitute a monument more enduring than Parian or Pentelic marble.

A portion of the last four years he has been occupied in writing the history of this school of the prophets. To no work has he given more assiduous care; in none has he labored with more patience under the difficulties of collecting all the diverse and scattered materials, and in none evinced a stronger desire for perfect accuracy, and to exhibit the objects of the Seminary in the light of the acts, and instruments, and designs of the founders. For such a work no man had equal advantages. He was an agent or an eye witness in almost every thing relating to its establishment. He often heard from the lips of the founders an explanation of every public document, and was familiar with their private views and their most cherished wishes. This work occupied his last thoughts. It received his deliberate approval in his dying hours. Had he lived longer, he might have made additions; but just entering eternity, he saw nothing to alter. His latest efforts were expended in perfecting it; dictating to another, when no longer able to use his pen, even to the last week of his life. Thus he continued to bring forth fruit in old age. He fell with his armor on. But he now rests from his labors, and his works do follow him.

I should fail of what this occasion requires, did I not allude to the more prominent elements of Dr. Woods's character.

His *mental qualities* did not place him in the rank of brilliant men. The structure of his mind was solid rather than showy. His learning was not as extensive and varied as that of some whose early opportunities were more favorable; but what he did possess was peculiarly his own.

One of his characteristics, but little observed in only a general acquaintance, was a playful *humor*. "While at college," says a classmate, "he was eminently distinguished for his keen wit and satire." But he regarded wit as a dangerous weapon in the hands of a Christian minister. It was therefore controlled, and nearly subdued by the kindness of his heart and his sense of duty. When the keen edge of his

satire sometimes involuntarily showed itself upon his page, he immediately so blunted it, that this characteristic seldom appears except in his most familiar epistles.

He was influenced beyond what is common, by a *love of knowledge* for its own sake. Few men so much and so long in the public eye, have discovered less regard for a merely literary reputation. He desired to know things in their causes and moral relations, their laws and their religious uses. Of the abstruse subjects which occupied his thoughts, while he studied to attain all that comes within the province of human research, he soon found that there are limits beyond which labor is wasted, often worse than wasted. Though speculation sometimes issues in knowledge, yet, because it generally ends in error or mere conjecture, he seldom speculated.

Closely connected with this love of knowledge, and partly growing out of it, was his habit of patient, careful and cautious *inquiry*. Some minds leap to results at a single bound. Their conclusions are intuitively perceived in their premises. They will learn as much of a difficult subject by a few glimpses as by long study, perhaps as they can ever learn. Dr. Woods did not belong to this class. Whatever was deserving of attention he regarded as worthy of patient and careful study. He thence came to a difficult problem prepared for discouragements. He walked around it; he surveyed it at all its different angles, and in all its diverse lights. Then, removing the rubbish, he commenced his entrance at the point from which he could most easily reach the centre.

In gathering up the results of his inquiries, he carefully excluded whatever did not bear the impress of truth. These elements of his opinions were then cast into the alembic of his scrutinizing mind, and tested by all the criteria of science within his reach. After this they were allowed a place among his settled principles.\*

By this cautious process, he was constantly extending his

\* In reference to this careful and persevering habit, he once wrote to a friend, "My father's mode of instruction was such as required me to think for myself. He would let me study on a hard question in arithmetic for many days rather than give me any assistance. To this early discipline I am chiefly indebted for any patience and perseverance in study which I possessed in after life."



intellectual domain, and taking more assured possession of it. He was never weary of an old truth because of its age, nor repelled from a new one because it was new. He believed in improvements in theologians and theological science, though not in theological truths. He regarded these improvements as coming through much study and prayer, by approximations of human ideas and human hearts to the revealed standard of doctrine and the model of the Christian life. He accepted certain views of progress; but his cautious habit led him to take no step until he was sure that it was not a backward movement. Much that the world esteems progress he counted the reverse. If his caution made him conservative, his abhorrence of evil made him also a friend to all judicious reforms. He moved slowly because he moved with care, and with care that he might move securely and lose no time. If he seldom had occasion to retract his opinions, it was from the patient labor and caution with which he formed them.

The *logical* power of his mind deserves a passing notice. It was not merely the power of consecutive thought, for thoughts may be consecutive without constituting a logical process. There is a quality of mind which reasons legitimately from a given premise, but from a defective discrimination in determining this starting point, the result is an intellectual structure, well jointed and of good proportions, with no defect except that it has no foundation. The logic of Dr. Woods led him to be particularly careful with regard to his first principles. He saw that if these were wrong, whatever was in agreement with them must also be wrong. In mental and theological science, he adopted the Baconian method, reasoning from facts to laws, and from laws to general principles. In theology he placed Christ in the *centre*, rejecting whatever was derogatory to this primal arrangement. This was the crowning excellence of all his logical processes as a Christian, a minister, and a teacher of theology. He bowed with a profound submission to the inspired Word as the sovereign authority in all human reasonings and theological investigations.

As a consequence of these mental habits, the intellectual

character of our venerated friend was distinguished by a high degree of *candor*. He was attached to an opinion, not because it was his, but because he regarded it as true.\* He never objected to having his views examined. He never exhibited impatience on seeing them questioned, but rather was accustomed to lay them open in the freest manner, and to invite inspection. "I cannot but feel," said he more than twenty years ago, "that every public teacher of religion needs the vigilant inspection of his brethren. We ought also to crave it as a privilege. And if at any time the friends of Christ, apprehending that we have begun to wander from the right way, suddenly raise the cry of alarm, instead of complaining of their want of confidence in us, or indulging any suspicions as to the motives which govern them, we ought to bless God that he has given them a heart to feel so lively an interest in the cause of truth, and to take so quick an alarm at the sight, or even the apprehension, of danger."

These qualities of mind were of peculiar service to him as an *instructor*. When his pupils lost themselves in the labyrinths of theological speculation, having threaded the mazes beforehand, he would go in after them and patiently lead them out. If they were inclining to settle on some false principle, the force of his logic was employed, mainly in the Socratic method, to show them its absurdity, or its discordance with other admitted principles, or its erroneous logical sequences.

There was often in his manner of putting a question a peculiar power of extricating an honest mind from an embarrassing difficulty. Large is the debt of gratitude cheerfully acknowledged to him by many ministers and Christians, who have been led to settled and satisfactory views on intricate subjects, by his lucid method of treating them.†

\* Of the system of theology to which from the beginning he was attached, he says, "Such, my brother, is the spirit of genuine Calvinism. I glory in being its professed and conscientious advocate, not because I value it as the ensign of a party, but because, in my view, it contains the substance of sacred truth, and echoes the voice of God. Such, as I have imperfectly described, is the character it has taught me to ascribe to the great Being of beings. How attractive, how venerable, how glorious!" — *Panoplist*, vol. i. p. 438.

† An Association of Ministers were once examining for license one of his students, in his presence. "One difficulty after another came up," says an eye wit-

Of these intellectual characteristics the productions of Dr. Woods contain intrinsic evidence.

His *style* bears marks of the care with which all his mental processes were conducted. It is rigidly Anglo-Saxon, and of Doric simplicity. With a little occasional diffuseness, it is yet so transparent, like the waters of Lake Superior, that superficial thinkers have pronounced him less profound than some others, whose turbid style rather conceals than discloses their thoughts.

It is peculiarly suited to the elucidation of abstruse subjects, and the inculcation of important truths. Free from foreign words and idioms, from cataracts and chasms, it has an easy, onward movement, as of a well-constructed, seaworthy vessel, on the broad ocean of thought, freighted with gems and treasures from the rich mines of truth.

His *controversial* writings exhibit in a high degree, not only his logical powers, but also his candor. He had an object in them all — some radical error to expose, or some cardinal truth or system of truths to defend. He neither departed from the main question, nor permitted his antagonist to do so with impunity. In the "Reply" to his opponent in the longest and most effective of his controversies, passing over "many passages of taking plausibility, against which a charge of incorrectness might easily be maintained," he says, "My purpose is to fix on the main points of the controversy. If we can by legitimate arguments support the chief doctrines of our system, and vindicate them from the chief objections of opposers, the work is done. Let the strength of the foundation be made to appear, and we shall not doubt the building will stand. And as to the scheme which we feel it to be our duty to oppose, if we can succeed in taking away its foundation, we shall deem it sufficient, without either making a violent attack upon the superstructure to hasten its fall, or standing by to exult in its ruins." His "Letters" had called out the strong man of the liberal party.

ness, "and the candidate and ministers were all perplexed, when the candidate said, 'Now, gentlemen, if Dr. Woods could only ask me one or two questions, the whole thing would be cleared up.'"

As a theological instructor, his antagonist was several years his senior. He had long sat at the centre of literary influence, and was possessed of a varied learning and metaphysical acumen. Occupying the chair of Divinity Professor in the State University, he was justly accredited as the theologian laureate. His defence of the liberal faith, and his assault upon the orthodox system, were more courteous, more elaborate, and perhaps more profound than those of any other controversialist of the time.

In treating his opponent's argument, Dr. Woods gives it the advantage of a clear and full statement in the author's own words. Then he commences by taking one stone after another from the logical masonry of its foundation. And when the demolition is completed, his antagonist, in view of the ruins, concludes that "they show, not the weakness of the cause, but that its strength has not been fully displayed," striving to shield his system at the expense of his own reputation as a skilful defender.

Dr. Woods was not a lover of polemical warfare, but on the contrary, perceived many and strong reasons for avoiding it. He says, "I have seen that it has so often occasioned the offensive boast of victory, or that which is no less offensive, the sullen mortification of defeat; that it has so often injured the beauty of men's characters, cooled the ardor of their piety, and detracted from their comfort, or at least from the comfort of their friends, that I have earnestly wished to avoid the danger. I have wished also, if possible, to avoid \* \* the unhappiness of being reproached or despised by my opposers, or the greater unhappiness of feeling a disposition to reproach or despise them." But he loved truth more than personal ease and comfort, and more than he feared danger in standing for its defence. He felt that this Seminary was founded for the defence as well as the diffusion of the faith, and that peace which is procured by a compromise with error is treason to Christ. Strong hands had grasped the pillars of the Christian system, and were laboring to wrench them from their foundation. Many anxious eyes were turned toward this hill. Therefore, he said, "I must go forward, hoping to derive benefit to myself from the

kind and amiable temper of my opponent, and no less benefit to my cause from the frankness with which he declares his opinions, and the zeal with which he attacks mine."

Did he in a single instance violate the decorum of Christian discussion? Did he once attempt to turn the point of an argument by sarcasm? Did controversy in his hands ever degenerate into rancor or a strife for conquest? Truth was always dearer to him than victory. He felt that to lose one's temper in a grave discussion is to surrender the citadel in a vain effort to defend the outworks. He says, "I cannot avoid the persuasion that I should commit a less offence against the Christian religion by bad reasoning than by a *bad spirit*, and therefore that I am bound to take as much pains at least to cherish *right feeling* as to frame right arguments."\*

Most cordially did he adopt upon this subject the sentiments of Bishop Hall. "God abides none but charitable dissensions: those that are well grounded and well governed; grounded upon just causes, and governed with Christian charity and wise moderation."

The *Lectures* of Dr. Woods possess every attribute of a careful, cautious, logical, and elaborate system. He did not claim for it perfection. Alas! he knew that this belongs to nothing human. But his systematic theology is the ripe fruit of his life-long study. It was the *growth* of his mental and moral being rather than a product; more an organism than a mechanism, so much was it a matter of consciousness, of experience. Beside this, the two great pillars of his system, sin and salvation, have their basis in the two great facts of history—the fall of man in the moral corruption of his nature, and the vicarious sacrifice of Christ in the redemptive assumption of this nature. These pillars he guarded with a

\* Of one series of his controversial letters, an acute British reviewer said, "They afford an excellent example of the close and pressing pursuit of an antagonist, without, as we can perceive, the slightest improper feeling. There is no vaunting, no contempt; there are no anathemas, and no imputations; but many serious and seasonable cautions, the fruit of experience and sound piety."—*London Eclectic Review*.



jealous care, walling them around with the massive blocks of his logic, and the warm cement of his love. Of whatever tended to weaken their foundation he had a godly fear. For he said, "If the foundations are destroyed, what can the righteous do?" and that "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

The *social disposition and moral sentiments* of Dr. Woods were as marked as the intellectual qualities with which they formed so delightful a harmony. A naturally ardent and impulsive temperament, blending with his cautious habit of mind, resulted in a cheerful equanimity and self-control, as attractive as it was happy in its influence in both public and private life. If, for a moment his feelings were disturbed, they almost immediately subsided, as the wave dies upon the shore. He was peculiarly confiding, sometimes to his own injury. Practising no arts himself, he was little inclined to suspect them in others. Kindness constituted a prominent element of his nature. He would not unnecessarily injure the smallest insect, and he was more careful than any man we have ever known, not to utter a word that could wound the feelings of any human being. In his connection with the Seminary, if, in the duty of admonition and discipline, which in a great measure was assigned to him, aught occurred making a contrary impression on any of his pupils, a few years of mature reflection have, in most such instances, led to a frank acknowledgment of both the friendliness and discretion of their teacher.

Out of this natural kindness, by the refinements of human culture and divine grace, grew that woman's tenderness of sympathy, of which so many sorrowing hearts have had a most consolatory experience in his visits and by his letters. How many chambers of sickness have been illumined by the light of his presence! How many murmuring spirits have been hushed to submission by the great Comforter through the subduing tones of his touching prayers! How many could say to him as David to Jonathan, "Very pleasant hast thou been unto me"!

In a large family circle, never was a brother cherished with

a warmer sisterly and fraternal affection, and never was there a more full and sincere return.

The filial tie was peculiarly strong; and during the life of his excellent mother, he was accustomed to make a semi-annual pilgrimage to her home, ministering to her in the infirmities of age, in such tokens of affection as were prompted by filial gratitude and love. To her sympathy and energy in encouraging and assisting him in his early struggles for an education, he was wont to ascribe much of his subsequent success. Shortly after her decease, he writes, "When I go to Princeton, it will be a gloomy place to me. Our beloved mother gone! It cuts me to the heart to think of it. I shall go away to my rock and my bower, and shall weep at the remembrance of departed parents, and days and years that are past. I shall take a farewell of that house where I was born, and where once were hearts that loved me, and made my improvement and happiness one of the dearest objects of their life. I shall take a farewell of those hills, and pastures, and trees, and rocks, so associated with the most tender and interesting recollections."

The strength of his home affections was not less marked. He was not "as a bird that wandereth from his nest." He lived in the bosom of his family. If parental love, as it is wont, made him sometimes blind to the failings of his children, it gave him, nevertheless, an ever-present corrective influence, which sternness of authority alone does not command. He entered into all the little joys and sorrows of his children, remembering that he was once a child, and continuing in some respects still to be one. His peculiar affection for little ones is manifest from a letter to a bereaved mother, in which he says, "It seems to me I should be very happy to be in the paradise of God, with a company of children; that the company of such darling children would be more delightful to me than that of Newton and Locke."

His social nature was developed and matured by being brought into all the relations of life, and by suffering bereavement in them all. After the death of a dear child, he writes, "I find the wound is likely to heal with most others while it is all fresh with me. I cry out when I am alone, 'O,

when shall I see her smiling face again, and hear her pleasant voice?" When suffering from a still severer stroke of the chastening hand, he exclaims, "O my poor, stricken heart! I cannot bear up under my thoughts. Away I must go to the blessed world, where the object of my love shines in perfect beauty, and serves and glorifies God with a heavenly activity and fulness of joy." His was a *whole* humanity, a capacious social nature. There were no general emergencies in the experience of others, for which he could not draw something of comfort or guidance from his own. In the sympathies of life he was ever young. Years came upon him, but his heart did not grow old. It beamed in his countenance in the glow of his warm and cordial greetings. Much of this affluence of his social nature was laid open to all. But there were refinements of feeling, delicacies of affection within the veil, visible only in those infinitesimal expressions which affection alone can appreciate or even interpret. And of the kindness and sympathy of others he possessed a grateful sense, as exquisite as was his delight in bestowing them. "Kind, tender feelings, and words, and actions," he said in a season of trial, "are flowing in upon me from dear children, and grandchildren, and friends; and how they cheer my sorrowing heart! I thank God for these precious favors. All the love that is found in human hearts is from him; it is a stream from the inexhaustible fountain. The stream is refreshing; but the fountain—O, if we may but drink at that!"

His attachment to those who had been early and long associated with him in the instruction and government of the Seminary grew stronger with years. They had mingled together their desires and prayers for its welfare. They had stood side by side in times that separated other men. And on the decease of Professor Stuart, with whom he was longest united in his official duties, he writes, "The death of brother Stuart is a serious matter to me. He has been very dear to my heart. Men fall away as apples from the tree in autumn. And now, of my old associates, I am left alone—as a single apple; and who knows how soon the wind will shake that off!"

In the purity of his social affections, and the reciprocal influence of his moral sentiments and intellectual powers, lay the secret of his high enjoyment in social and professional life. He was a stranger to that ennui which makes life a burden to some. He knew nothing of those disgusts with society which afflict so many others. He was never weary of labor, though often weary in it. His habits of industry, which remained unbroken at the age of fourscore, were not more the result of moral principle than of the zest with which, to the last, he continued his mental toils.

At the general meeting of the alumni of the Seminary in 1847, Dr. Woods made a brief address. "He ascended the pulpit," says one who was present, "with the same erect form, and serene, benignant countenance as in former years. Some of us had not seen him since we began to preach, twenty or thirty years before, and few of us were to hear his voice again."

Adverting to his personal experience, he remarked, "It is not common that a man says, at the end of forty years in any pursuit, he has enjoyed as much as he expected. I am permitted to say that I have found more happiness in my professional labors than I anticipated. But I have one regret. It has been my purpose and delight to honor Christ in my course of public instruction. My regret is, that I have not honored him *more*."

But it is the distinctively *Christian* character of Dr. Woods which awakens our deepest interest and attracts our profoundest regards.

At the age of ten, he was the subject of religious impressions, which, however, in a great measure passed away. It was in his twenty-third year, — the year after he left college, — that he made a confession of his faith, and united with the church.

The purity of his early religious sentiments had been corrupted by the infusions of a seductive and vain philosophy. But in the seclusion of his own room, he is led to read, not elaborate treatises on the evidences of Christianity, but that unpretending, yet most admirable confuter of carnal wisdom,

Doddridge's Rise and Progress. It was in such resistless agreement with the plain sense of the Scriptures and his own consciousness of sin, and it came with such demonstration of the power of God, that his disenchantment from all merely rationalistic philosophies was complete. No experimental measures were tried upon him. No heat of an excited assembly fused his mind, and heart, and nervous sensibilities into an amalgam of merely human elements, to be afterwards hardened into more obdurate forms. But in the anguish of his spirit, he knelt alone, and clasping his Bible, he raised it over him as did John Huss, and cried, "O God, my Lord, and Master of my life." Henceforth Christ was to him all and in all, the beginning, the middle, and the end of his theology and his life. The free fields by day, and the star-lit canopy by night, now wakened in him a keener sense of the beautiful and the sublime in nature, because they spake to him of the great and good Father who so loved the world. The bold Wachuset, on which, in after years, he so often, from this hill, gazed with delight, as it lay bathed in the glories of the setting sun, now breathed upon him the language of invitation and of love, as from the lips of that Father.

"For several months preceding," he says, "I was the subject of distressing convictions of sin. I found in myself painful evidence of what the Scriptures teach — that the carnal mind is enmity against God."

Under date of September 30, 1796, he writes to his friend, Mr. Church, from whose discreet counsels and affectionate interest he derived great benefit, "You wish to hear of the health of my soul. After I wrote to you, I grew lower and lower. The exercises of my mind were very violent. I feared a relapse into carelessness and unconcern. I could not obtain an answer to my prayers. I was clamorous in address to God. I could not find him. I sank, I sank — O the depths of despair! Terror, amazement, cold chills of body and mind, sometimes a flood of sorrow, hard thoughts of God, dreadful conceptions of his character; — I have no words to express my state for about a week. I felt my health declining. I wandered about. I tried to run from myself. I awoke in the morning, and read my sentence



for having committed the unpardonable sin. I should have preferred millions of millions of millions of centuries of the most exquisite misery to my *chance*." Six weeks later, he writes to the same friend, "I am a poor, tempest-beaten creature. Pride, and doubt, and false hopes, and reasonable fears, and dangerous joy, and dark apprehensions compose the round of my existence. I care not, however, what I suffer, if I can but be truly humbled. When I say I am humble, I find afterwards it was spiritual pride. I have built up and torn down a hundred times. One day I feel quite easy; the next I chide my foolish hopes. One time I give myself to Christ; another I find I did not do what I thought I did. When I get a little joy by supposing that Christ will accept me, then I begin to think I am a little less sinful. That thought proves that I am more so. Alas, what snares I have been in!" At length the Spirit of God, through the message of mercy, gradually raised him up from his despondency, and inspired him with a hope of salvation by free grace. He was never accustomed to speak of his change with the confidence which many feel. The greater his advancements in holiness, the more visibly did the evil of his sinful nature and life stand out before him. His was a style of character which there is some reason to fear is passing away. It arose into an attractive elevation and symmetry from a deep and broad foundation in the consciousness of sin and adoring views of divine sovereignty. After forty years of Christian pilgrimage, he says, "The sight of a thousandth part of my sinfulness of heart and life has filled me with amazement and shame." But his experience of the amplitude of divine grace was as elevated as his sense of sin was self-abasing. In the same connection, he adds, "But O, there is very plenteous redemption—sufficient even for me; and if for me, for any one on earth." Here is the root from which grew, in such beautiful harmony, contrition and confidence.

From this base rose the character of Edwards, like a monumental shaft, in the simplicity and loftiness of moral grandeur. "My wickedness," says he, "seems to me perfectly ineffable;" and hence came his iron firmness in battling with it.

Between the religious character of Dr. Woods and his theological system there was a peculiar and living harmony. "As face answereth to face in water," so did his Christian experience correspond with his doctrinal belief. It was the union of both which constituted the substance and symmetry of his intellectual and moral life. He could no more essentially change his creed than he could change the course of his consciousness, or the facts of his religious history. The Holy Spirit had quickened the truths of the divine Word into a living and resistless demonstration in his heart, thus making them equally a matter of the affections and the intellect. The self-distrust and humility which were observed by all, and most by those who knew him best, grew out of his clear discovery of his own sinfulness. His conceptions of the divine character and sovereignty had a counterpart in his abasement before God and desire to be changed into his image.

The particular providence, so vital in his system, enabled him to see a paternal love in the government of the material not less than of the moral world, and led him, with an equal filial confidence, to pray for the arrest of a wasting pestilence and of a blighting heresy.

His ideas of moral agency came to a result in his sense of personal responsibility. His doctrine of divine efficiency deepened the feeling of his absolute dependence, and made him a man of much prayer. Justification through faith by the righteousness of Christ, which, with Luther, he regarded as the article of a standing or a falling church, led him to discard all merit from the best of his own works, resting his hope for salvation solely on the merits of another. At the same time, it was one of his firmest and most controlling convictions, that no faith can be verified as genuine except by the fruits of obedience and love.

His belief in the lapsed condition of the race, and his faith in Christianity as adequate to its recovery, was the occasion of his deep interest in all movements for the diffusion of the gospel, and gave him a pure and permanent satisfaction in whatever he was able to do for the promotion of this object. From the necessity imposed upon him in the struggles of his

early life, he formed a habit of economy and of exactness in little things as well as great. But his was a liberal heart. To the poor he opened his hand wide, and the needy never went from his door empty away. The economy and self-denial commenced in necessity were continued from Christian principle. He gave largely to charitable objects in proportion to his means, because he had a plan for doing it. The simplicity of his domestic arrangements, and his remoteness from prodigal expenditure, became a part of this plan, and received from it, not only the vitality of Christian virtue, but its dignity and beauty.

The view he took of the kingdom of Christ made him hopeful with regard to the final triumph of truth. His confidence was not derived from the experimental philosophy, although it is no longer an experiment that the gospel, as the power of God, is adequate to the transformation of the rudest and most malignant specimens of human depravity. If the prevalence of error, and the din of strife in the church, and the intruding of iniquity agitated him for the moment, he remembered that God is a sovereign, and was calmed. There are mysteries in providence and redemption which he could not fathom ; but in the simplicity of his faith, perceiving in this the finiteness of his own nature, and the infiniteness of God's wisdom and power, he thence rested with a more unwavering confidence in the stability and equity of the divine administration. In such a trusting spirit he writes, " Wonderful things in the course of God's administration will take place, scenes of overwhelming interest will open before us, and the universe will see that there is no fault in God, no mistake in his government. He will be glorified and admired forever."

From his long experience as an instructor, from his exalted views of the sacred office, and his discernment of the signs of the times, he was impressed with the peculiar qualifications required in those who aspire to be preachers of the gospel. To a pupil, many years ago, after listening to his first sermon in this chapel, he wrote, " We want men at this day who have clear and deep views of the doctrines of revelation, and of the duties and graces of Christianity ; men who

cleave to the Bible, who avoid unscriptural speculations and offensive phrases, who are as firm and as pliable as Paul,—men who are free from party spirit, who guard and qualify their positions, so that while they teach the truth, they may mix no error with it; we want men of sober judgment, of candor toward those who differ, men of a lamb-like, dove-like spirit, and who will so preach, and so write, and so live as to secure the entire confidence of the whole Christian community. Now, it is the desire of my heart that you may be one of this number.”

Many students of this Seminary could bear testimony to the earnestness and fidelity of his personal efforts, by correspondence, and conversation, and prayer, to raise their character into agreement with such a standard. He felt the importance of a varied learning in the ministry. But he regarded as much more essential to ministerial success, fervent and humble piety. He considered the power of the pulpit as peculiarly a moral and spiritual power, not literary or philosophical; that it is acquired more by increase of holiness than by scientific attainments. During his long connection with the Seminary, it was his first object, of which he never for a moment lost sight, to advance the piety of his pupils, by increasing their knowledge of God and man, and of the way of reconciliation through the cross. It was for this that the institution was founded, and on this account he placed it in the front rank of human agencies for promoting the kingdom of Christ. He loved it with a pure and permanent love. If to some he may have seemed over-fearful, it was the solicitude of intense affection for an object dear to him as the apple of his eye, and to which a near approach to the heavenly world only gave purity and intensity—an affection which, in the last hours of his earthly life, fervently implored for the students, and teachers, and trustees, and visitors of the beloved Seminary the guidance and blessing of Him who is head over all things to the church.

As the shadows of life were lengthening upon him, his humility and sense of the divine favor evidently increased.

A year or two before his death, he writes, "My trials have been not a few; but O, how do the divine favors predominate! I wonder at God's forbearance and goodness, and at the poor returns — the *no* returns — I have made to the God of all grace." On the 18th of last June, the day preceding the eightieth anniversary of his birth, in a letter to one of his children, he says, "To-morrow is my birthday. I know not how to express my admiration of the long-suffering and goodness of God toward me during these fourscore years."

During the last winter, the health of Dr. Woods was unusually good. But the time was drawing nigh when the silver cord must be loosed. On the 8th of the last month, from over-exertion in the extreme heat, an affection of the heart, which for thirty years had been comparatively dormant, was roused into activity. The following day, which was the Sabbath, he called in the physician, but could not be persuaded to remain from his wonted place in the sanctuary. He had a cherished plan, which at this time he greatly desired to execute. In a letter communicating the disappointment occasioned by his sickness, he said, "It was a favorite object, but I give up all, because such is the will of God." He continued to take gentle exercise in the open air till the 27th, when the difficulty of respiration was greatly increased. For much of the remaining time, his distress was like the agonies of death; yet he bore it all without a murmur. During the last three or four weeks, he was unable to talk, except with great difficulty. But the few words he uttered were in delightful harmony with the language of his life. To one of his former pupils, who inquired respecting his views as expressed in his works, he replied in broken language, "No change." But immediately, with a pleasant smile, he added, "Yes, there *is* a change. Those doctrines appear to me more truthful, more weighty, and more precious than ever." The sweetness of the Saviour's love was inexpressible, and on this rock he rested with unwavering trust. He repudiated every idea of worthiness in himself, and felt that he could be accepted only



through the merits of Christ. When asked by one in attendance, if he should offer prayer for him, he replied, "No prayer will suit my case but that of the publican." And when it was repeated, "God be merciful to me a sinner," he gave his most significant assent. At another time he said, "I value your prayers, that I may have the grace of a full salvation." The last night, in the midst of extreme suffering, it was remarked to him, "You are almost home." Feebly he responded, "Blessed home!"

During his last few hours, his breathing became easy as that of an infant. As the sun was sinking in the west, and the vail of darkness was settling upon the face of the earth, gently the light of his life passed away. That noble and venerated form now lies silent before us. Those feet, ever swift to run at the call of sorrow, will no more tread these shady walks or yonder quiet grove, where he was wont to listen to the music of the rustling leaves, and hold sweet communion with Heaven. That mild blue eye, which so often lighted up his benignant countenance in this sacred desk, as redeeming love glowed in his heart, is now closed forever. That pleasant voice, from which, within these hallowed walls, for so many years, fell the accents of instruction and love, is hushed in death.

But that redeemed, immortal spirit, soaring from earth, has risen to the higher and glorious life. With Spring and Morse, with Abbot, and Bartlett, and Brown, and Norris, with Porter and Griffin, with Stuart and the Edwardses so recently preceding him, he walks the golden streets of the New Jerusalem, or stands entranced amid blazing glories now bursting on his view. Vailing his face from the ineffable brightness, he yet presses onward. With patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, through the divine oracles, he had long been familiar. He now talks with them face to face; with Abraham and Paul, discoursing on that wonderful theme, more wonderful as seen in heaven — justification through the righteousness of faith; with the beloved John, who leads him farther and farther into the opening mysteries of the great Triune, and of incarnate love. But he

still presses on, nor rests content till he reaches the throne of the Lord God and the Lamb. O the effulgent glory that now breaks on his enraptured vision !

“ *Light ! light !* — Look up ! ’tis rushing down from high !  
Regions on regions — far away they shine :  
’Tis light *ineffable*, ’tis light *divine* !  
IMMORTAL LIGHT ! AND LIFE FOREVERMORE ! ”





# SYMBOLIC PROPHECY,

REMARKS

ON

“AN EXPOSITION OF THE APOCALYPSE, BY DAVID N. LORD.”

BY

AN INQUIRER.

BOSTON:

GOULD AND LINCOLN,

59 WASHINGTON STREET.

1854.



Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1854, by  
GOULD AND LINCOLN,  
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

CAMBRIDGE :  
ALLEN AND FARNHAM, PRINTERS.

# REMARKS

ON

“AN EXPOSITION OF THE APOCALYPSE, BY DAVID N. LORD.”

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It is the object of the ensuing remarks to furnish some account of the method and rules of interpretation which distinguish the Exposition above named, from all preceding works upon the same subject, and which constitute the basis of its claims on the attention and confidence of its readers. The relations of the subject to the condition and aspects of the religious and the political world, and to the events now passing and on the wing, are such as to arouse curiosity and demand examination, and cannot be neglected by the thoughtful and devout. The minds of men in every quarter of the globe are, in an unwonted manner, impressed with monitions and forebodings of the future. Portentous events, new scenes of strife and tumult, vast changes, calamities, revolutions, are looked for; but their extent, their tendency, their ends, their bearings on the governments, hierarchies, and peoples of pagan, moslem, and popish faith, these are but matter of conjecture. If the vail which excludes them from mortal foresight, is to be in any measure drawn aside, it must be by a

right interpretation of the symbols by means of which they are representatively foreshadowed. If former attempts to disclose the import of those symbols have been unsuccessful, there is the more reason to welcome an attempt, made on different principles and a new theory.

The volume opens with an introduction, well suited to prepare the reader for the Exposition, and treating successively, of the inspiration of the Apocalypse, its reception by the church, its distinguishing character as a literary composition, showing it to be "a description in prose of symbolic agents, actions, and effects, exhibited in vision to the eye of the apostle, and the recital of voices he heard;" and lastly a statement and verification of "the Laws of Symbolic Representation."

On the reality and authority of these laws the validity of the Exposition wholly depends. If they are well founded, then it must undoubtedly be acknowledged that the application of them to the symbols of the Book, results in a satisfactory, and, generally, in an indubitable indication, of what is revealed through the medium of those symbols. If, as the author holds, "The distinguishing characteristic of the Apocalypse is, that it foreshadows what it reveals, not by words, like ordinary prophecies, but by representative agents and phenomena exhibited to the senses of the apostle:" and if, as he argues from the interpretation given of many of the symbols by the Great Revealer himself and the attending angels, "the ground of symbolization is, not a similarity of nature, but analogy;—general resemblances, by which objects of one species may be employed to represent those of another;" then the laws which he has deduced, from a careful consideration of all the prophetic symbols of the inspired vol-

ume are well founded, and are manifestly adequate and, appropriate to the office which he assigns to them. They are as indispensable and as exclusively applicable to the interpretation of revelations made through the medium of symbols, as the common rules of grammar are to the interpretation of the various parts of speech, in revelations made through the medium of words.

The whole question turns upon this. If the author's view of revelations by symbols, in distinction from revelations in language, is established on the basis of Scripture interpretations and usage, and on the reason and nature of the case, then his exposition of the symbols of the Apocalypse, conformably to the laws which he has propounded, must be regarded as exhibiting the things intended to be revealed. It is an exposition,—an interpretation,—an exhibition of the meaning of the original; as truly so, and as much to be relied on, as an exposition of a language prophecy made in conformity with the established laws of language.

On the contrary, if the distinction asserted by the author, and confessedly original with him, between revelations by symbol, and revelations in language, and the laws of symbolic representation, deduced and set forth by him, are not received as just and well founded, then the questions, What does the Apocalypse reveal? and, How is it to be interpreted? remain as they were before.

The more fully to illustrate the point at issue, let it be observed:—

1. That none of the numerous works written since the second or third century, and now extant, purporting to interpret the meaning of the symbols, has furnished such solutions as to satisfy any class of readers.

This we presume will be universally conceded. Something new is therefore greatly to be desired.

2. Of the authors of those works, no one, so far as is now known, ever dreamed of there being any difference between symbolic and language revelations; nor, consequently, of there being any laws or rules peculiar to the use and interpretation of symbols. They had no peculiar or uniform rules for the interpretation of symbols; but supposed that they must be interpreted by conjecture, or by the ordinary rules of philology, as though the revelation was conveyed in the words employed in the description of the symbols. They supposed that a symbol had no other import than that of the words employed to describe it; and of course that it foreshadowed itself or something identical in nature, species, form, station, agency, or object. Thus of the first seal:—the white horse and he that sat on him, having a bow and a crown, and going forth conquering and to conquer, was supposed to represent a conquering Roman warrior; by some, as one who had already appeared in the person of Nero; by others, as referring to emperors of a later date; by all, according to their fancies, without regard to analogy, in distinction from sameness as the ground and rule of symbolic representation.

3. But the prevalent theory, that the language in which symbols are described conveys the intended revelation, and accordingly that the symbols and the agents, acts, or other phenomena symbolized, are of the same nature and species with the symbol is, in numerous instances, impracticable and absurd; so that in such cases the expositor is compelled to abandon it. If, generally, he proceeds on the assumption that a conquering Roman warrior is employed as a symbol to



foreshow the appearance at some future time of just such a warrior, that the sun shrouded in darkness foreshows the obscuration of that material orb, that a dejection of stars from the firmament to the earth foreshows a physical occurrence of that nature; his progress in that course is arrested by the occurrence of symbols to which there is nothing similar in the natural or the spiritual world. The monster locusts, for example, of the 9th chapter, the dragon with seven heads and ten horns of the 12th, the wild beast with ten horns and seven heads of the 13th, could not probably symbolize creatures of the same nature or class, for none such ever existed. In such cases, therefore, unless an inspired interpretation is found, conjecture must be resorted to.

4. The prevalent theory is in no degree countenanced in any of the inspired interpretations of prophetic symbols. On the contrary they all proceed upon the principle of analogy, and exhibit the symbol as representing a resembling agent or phenomenon of a different class and sphere. Thus the rough goat exhibited as a symbol and seen in vision by Daniel, is interpreted as representing, not an animal of the same species, but the king of Grecia, between whose characteristics and those of the animal there was sufficient resemblance and analogy to render the latter a fitting symbol of the former. So the ram with two horns symbolized the kings of Media and Persia. (Daniel 8th.) And in the Apocalypse, chap. 1, the seven golden candlesticks seen by the apostle, are declared by the Divine Revealer to be (that is, to signify, symbolize, represent), the seven churches; and the seven stars, the ministers of those churches. To these examples might be added more than an hundred others, of which,

on the same obvious grounds of analogy, inspired interpretations are given.

These numerous examples, embracing symbols of every description, both in the Old and New Testaments, may well be deemed sufficient to establish the general rule, and to sanction the laws of symbolic representation propounded by the author. And since none of those laws have, to our knowledge, been shown to be unfounded or erroneous, and no symbol has been pointed out to which they are inapplicable, or to the interpretation of which they are inadequate, we are constrained to regard them as entitled to the authority and importance which they claim. The subject is, on all hands, admitted to be of the highest importance. The Apocalypse is invested with the highest claims of inspiration and authority. It is a revelation from the omniscient One to the Church, and pronounces a divine benediction upon those who read and hear—or understand—the words of the prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein; and an awful retribution upon those who add to or detract from them. Nothing can be more manifest than that the failure of former attempts to interpret its symbols, has arisen from the want of rules peculiar to symbolic revelations,—rules founded in the nature and office of symbols as a medium of prediction, in contradistinction to language as such medium.

5. Pursuant to hereditary and prevalent opinions, expositors have regarded the Apocalypse as not containing the means or elements necessary to the interpretation of its predictions. Some hold that no certain interpretation can be made till after the events have transpired, which is, in effect, to hold, that the revelation is not made in the book, but is to be made in the

events; and, therefore, with respect to what they regard as future, they offer such conjectures as they deem most probable, virtually assuming the office of prophets. Others, regarding the language by which the symbols are described as figuratively denoting such objects and effects as the terms literally signify, searched the records of history for the counterpart. If, for example, the killing of men with famine is asserted of the symbolic agent, they seek in history for an account of such a famine as they supposed might be intended. Others, equally unaware of the nature of symbolization, proceeded upon the assumption that the prophetic symbols were of the same nature, and to be construed in the same manner, as the Egyptian and Chaldean hieroglyphics; while many treated them as metaphors, or as enigmas, susceptible of various interpretations, and subject to no fixed rules. All these theories and methods have notoriously failed to accomplish the object intended; and it is very generally felt and acknowledged, that some new system must supersede them, or an interpretation of the Apocalypse must be regarded as hopeless. A system must be proposed, which, in contrast to the theories, assumptions, and conjectures of the past, shall manifestly comprise the means necessary to the end; a system of interpretation founded not in any thing external, but in the nature, medium, and authority of the revelation itself.

Without transcribing at length the laws of symbolic representation as given by the author, with the arguments and illustrations connected with them, it may suffice briefly to exhibit their leading and peculiar features. And the first thing to arrest the attention of those who examine them, is the fact, that whatever is employed as a symbol, is so employed, to represent

something of a different nature or species from itself; and solely on the ground of analogy in characteristics of nature and agency: "the symbols of the Apocalypse and of all the prophets being taken in all cases, where the subject is of a nature to admit it, from objects or phenomena of a different class from those which they are employed to represent, but that present striking resemblances in their chief characteristics." The only deviations from this primary law are, when the agents to be represented are of a nature that cannot properly be symbolized by any thing else than themselves, and are therefore exhibited as symbols of themselves, such as the incarnate word, saints raised from the dead, separate spirits.

This view of the nature of representation by symbols accounts for the fact, that in every instance the symbolic agents and phenomena were exhibited visibly to the apostle. He described and attested, literally, what he saw. The revelation being conveyed not in the words employed by him in describing the symbol, but in the symbol itself, it was necessary in order to his perceiving what was revealed, that he should see the symbol, and discern its characteristics and their analogy to those of the agents or phenomena of a different nature, intended to be foreshown. Had the revelation been conveyed in the words employed by him, as in the case of other inspired communications, no propriety would be discoverable in the exhibitions made to his senses of the agents or inanimate objects which he describes. The terms employed in his descriptions, are used in their ordinary literal acceptation, and if the things foreshown are revealed in those terms, no reason can be assigned why he should not have been inspired to employ them in these as well as

in other cases, without seeing any symbols. The symbols, on that supposition, could have added nothing to his intelligence, as to the import of the terms, any more than they can add to ours, who only have the description. And it is quite obvious that if the things foreshown are revealed in the words of the description, the fact that the apostle saw the objects which we denominate symbols, is wholly superfluous, and can be of no possible use to us in our attempts to interpret the words. For example,—when, after the Lamb had opened the first seal, the apostle says, “I looked and lo, a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given to him, and he went forth conquering and that he might conquer;” if the things foreshown are revealed in the words, then his having seen the objects described could have added nothing, nor helped him any more than ourselves to interpret them. We have a plain literal description of a conquering Roman warrior, an object previously familiar, no doubt, to the apostle; and, so far as the literal import of the words is concerned, revealing nothing future, nor any thing in any respect, unless it be that a Roman military leader was correctly described by the terms employed. To say that what the apostle saw was a symbol of such a functionary, adds nothing to the import of the description; unless the symbol as seen and described is intended to represent, not a military hero, but a human, or succession of human functionaries of resembling characteristics, in another department of society. Then indeed we may confidently look for a revelation of such significance and importance, to the church and the world, as is implied in its having been sealed up with other counsels and purposes of the Most High, and disclosed only by the



personal agency of the Lamb. The incongruity, not to say impiety, of supposing that such a scene and such an interposition as that which introduced and attended the opening of the seals, was exhibited and described, merely to foreshow that just such pagan warriors as had appeared and been crowned for their exploits and conquests, would appear again, is wholly avoided by regarding the symbol as representing, not in the military and civil, but in the religious world, conquerors in the faithful ministers of the church, and their conquests in the conversion of men.

In addition to this primary and most important law, the author specifies a number of subordinate laws, founded likewise on the principle of analogy, which he sustains by cogent arguments and appropriate illustrations, and in the following order:—2d. When intelligent beings or creatures of life are used as symbols, they represent intelligent agents; never mere abstractions, actions, or qualities, in distinction from beings of whom they are predicable. 3d. The Son of God, when appearing as a symbol, is a representative only of his own person, never of his mere agency, the agency of the Spirit, or an act of Providence. 4th. In all instances where beings appearing as symbols represent their own persons, it is clearly shown by declarations and descriptions who they are. 5th. When purely fictitious agents are employed as symbols, they are exhibited in vision to the prophet acting out their agency, and invested in that manner with a sensible existence. 6th. When the real persons appearing in the visions are exhibited with symbolical insignia or accompaniments, the uses ascribed to those symbols are also symbolical. 7th. The terms in which the symbols and their actions are described, are always

literal, never metaphorical. 8th. There are no representative agents in the apocalypse, except those that are exhibited as actors in the visions. 9th. The exceptions to the 8th rule in other prophecies are distinguished by two characteristics;—the symbolic agents were such as were known to the prophet and to those whom he addressed; and they are accompanied by an express designation of the persons or communities which they are employed to represent. Under this head the author observes, that similes and metaphors are founded on partial, not like symbols on general resemblances, and are used only for illustration, not as representatives; and that types are founded on more general resemblances, and used according to the following laws:—(1.) No mere fictitious agents are made representatives of real agents in typical predictions. (2.) No person is exhibited as a type of another, except in a relation or station which he has himself sustained. (3.) No action of a person except one that he has already exerted, is made a representative of an analogous act of another person or community. (4.) The Son of God in his exaltation is never exhibited as a type or representative of any other being; nor any action of his, as a type of the action of any other being. 10th. All the agents and phenomena exhibited in the visions of the Apocalypse are symbolic, except the interpreting angels and those bearing the trumpets and vials, whose office is merely to assist the revelation. 11th. The symbolic agents attending the throne of the Almighty, and serving in his presence, are to be distinguished from those that appear on the earth. 12th. In complex symbols, the representative person is to be distinguished from the symbolic accompaniments, which are merely designed to show his office, character, and

relations. 13. Symbolic agents that are representative of man, denote an order and succession of agents, acting in the same relations and exerting a similar agency. 14. The periods ascribed to those individual agents which represent an order or succession, are denoted by terms proportionably diminished, by the substitution of days for years and months, for a number of years equal to their number of days. 15th. In interpreting symbols like those drawn from the physical world, embracing many classes of objects, they are to be contemplated as a whole, and a counterpart sought, sustaining towards them an analogy as a whole. 16th. The import ascribed to a symbol is to be limited to that which it naturally involves, irrespective of any peculiar or metaphorical use of its agents, actions, or terms, which other passages may present.

There is in these laws, apart from the proofs and illustrations by which they are sustained, a very strong intrinsic probability of their truth; a concinnity to the principle of analogy, a consistency with each other, and an appropriateness to their object, which must impress, if it does not convince and satisfy the intelligent reader. And if symbols are allowed to be in any manner representative, then it is safe to assume that they have in themselves, and are selected in every instance because they have, a fitness for the office assigned to them, and a fitness which may be perceived; for otherwise we could not interpret them, or conclude with any degree of certainty what they were intended to represent. But grant these conditions, and it follows of necessity that they must be selected and employed in conformity with appropriate and invariable laws. This conclusion seems to us indubitable. If symbols are not representative, but

are mere puzzles, fanciful vagaries, selected at random, then no laws with respect to them are to be supposed to exist; but if they are representative there must be, independently of the words employed to describe them, reasons common to them all why they are so. There must be a reason why a creature, a rough goat for example, which in itself, and naturally, or by means of the words employed to describe it, does not symbolize or represent any other creature, does, when designated and exhibited as a symbol, represent a bold, aggressive, impudent king, a king whose chief characteristics resemble its own. And the reason lies in the analogy apparent to every one's observation, between the distinguishing characteristics of the one to those of the other. That analogy exists whether the animal is selected and exhibited as a symbol, or not. It is founded in the similarity which exists and is recognized between the natural propensities, habits, and character of the two agents. Of course when the goat is taken and used as a symbol, the words employed in naming and describing it, are used in their ordinary literal sense; for otherwise they would not truly indicate the characteristics which distinguish that animal, and qualify it to be used as a symbol representing or foreshowing the appearance of a king who would in his headstrong aggressions, and reckless atrocities, exhibit similar characteristics. The fact that such a king would arise, is not asserted or predicted in the words employed in describing the goat. The words contain no prediction whatever. They are employed for no other purpose but that of literally describing the animal. The prediction is contained in the inference legitimately and necessarily to be made from the fact that the goat, as literally described, with its known natural and

notorious characteristics, was, like other prophetic symbols, exhibited to the prophet in vision, as representative of a different agent, having like characteristics. When the prophet at Babylon, saw in a vision — an he goat coming from the west on the face of the whole earth, and having a notable horn between his eyes, and furiously attacking the ram that had two horns, which he had previously seen standing before the river, smiting him, breaking his two horns, casting him down to the ground, stamping on him, waxing very great, etc. (Daniel, viii. 5–7,) he might with perfect safety, have inferred, as the inspired interpretation, (verses 20 and 21,) shows, that a Grecian king would arise, and invade the Babylonian empire, and conquer his predecessors, the two kings from Media and Persia, denoted symbolically by the ram with two horns. The characteristics and actions of the goat and the conspicuous horn, clearly indicated the analogous characteristics and acts of the first invading king of the Grecian dynasty.

On this view of the nature and intelligibleness of symbolic revelations, the wisdom and propriety of employing symbols as a medium of revelation is apparent. They are far more comprehensive than language, and far more certain and invariable in their meaning. And yet, though at all times susceptible of being rightly understood and interpreted, they so veil the predicted facts and events as to preclude the foresight of them by the mere philologist, and so with respect to the agents foreshown, as to exert no influence on their conduct. Those agents, therefore, as in the instance of the Romish hierarchy, or that of pagan or infidel rulers, are left to act out their character, just as if no prediction of their acts or opinions existed. Whereas, on the contrary, had the things which are foreshown, been so



revealed as to be universally understood and believed, it cannot be supposed that those agents would act out their character in the same manner. They would undoubtedly in that case, like Joseph's brethren, and some of the kings of Israel and Judah, and Julian the Apostate, do their utmost to prevent the occurrence, at least of some of the things foreshown, and thereby to impugn the evidence upon which the predictions of them were believed, as well as to avoid the threatened consequences.

For these and other reasons, the predictions of Ezekiel, Daniel, and Zechariah, having reference to the future conduct of men, and to the events to be connected therewith, were made through the medium of symbols: and so of the Apocalypse, the distinguishing characteristic of which is, as our author observes, "that it foreshadows what it reveals, not by words, like ordinary prophecies, but by representative agents and phenomena exhibited to the senses of the apostle." Of the prophetic revelations, therefore, relating to the events of the last 2,500 years, and to those of all future time, nearly all were made by means of symbolic representation. Some of the included events were indeed predicted by the same, and some by other prophets, by means of language; but for the most part those language prophecies relate to insulated events, the influence of the foreknowledge of which on the faith and the agency of those to whom they were made known, was appropriate and necessary. The great field of prophetic indication, more especially with reference to the times, agencies, and results, which are yet future, is, however, almost solely occupied by symbolic representation. In particular, the scenes, agencies, and events with their connections and consequences,

which are revealed in the Apocalypse, are for the most part not predicted in any language prophecies.

These considerations not only indicate the preëminent adaptation and rank of symbols as a medium of prophetic revelation, but strongly imply that as a medium of prediction they are peculiar, having nothing in common with language, whether tropical or literal. That they have in their nature and office any thing in common with literal language, will not be pretended by those who consider them representative; and that they have nothing in common with tropical or figurative language is conclusively shown by our author, and may be rendered apparent by a reference to the analysis and definition of the figures of speech, and statement of the principles on which they are employed by the sacred writers, which the author, in the present, and more fully in a later work, (*The Theological and Literary Journal*,) has furnished. Of the principles on which language is tropically employed, he observes that, paradoxical as it may seem, “the first and universal law of figures is, that the terms in which they are expressed are used in their ordinary and literal sense. 2d. The agents or objects to which figures are applied, are always expressly mentioned. Figures, in that respect, differ wholly from symbols, which never formally indicate, unless an interpretation is given, who the agents, or what the objects are which they represent,—*that* being left to be inferred by analogy from the characteristics of the symbol. 3d. The figurative terms are always predicates, or are employed in affirming something of some other agent or object. 4th. As their terms are used literally, the figures, when they are employed in an unusual manner, lie simply in their being applied to subjects to which they do not

properly belong. Thus, when a ship is said to fly, the verb fly is used literally, and means to move through the air on wings, not to sail on the water. The figure consists in the unusual application of the literal word. 5th. They are used, accordingly, in all such cases for the purpose of illustration, and their explication is accomplished, not by assigning to them some new and extraordinary meaning, but simply by conjoining with them the terms of a comparison which express the relation in which they are employed. Thus, when a ship is said to fly, the meaning is precisely the same as though it had been said, she sails as a bird flies. 6th. In a large share of figures, however, there is no such unusual application of terms. It is in metaphors and personification only, that acts and qualities are ascribed to agents and objects that are incompatible with their nature, or do not properly belong to them. In comparisons, allegories, and parables, nothing is affirmed of the agents or objects but what is proper to them.

These characteristics and rules he verifies by an analysis of the several species of figures employed in the Scriptures. We quote briefly, omitting his copious illustrations:—

1. “The simile or comparison, which is the first and most simple species of figure, is a formal affirmation of the likeness of one agent, object, or act, to another.

2. “The next figure, the most frequently used, the most important, the most intricate, and the most often misunderstood, is the metaphor, which differs from the simile, however, in nothing except that it directly ascribes to agents and objects, the natures, characteristics, or acts of other beings or things, which in the comparison, are employed for their illustration. Thus it is said of our race in one revelation, ‘Man is a

tiger,' — in another 'All flesh is grass,' — 'Wisdom is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her.' In each of these and all other metaphors, the agent or object to which the figure is applied is expressly named. It is man, wisdom, etc., of which the affirmation is made; not some unmentioned agent or object. The subject of the proposition is not left to be ascertained by interpretation, as the agent or object represented in symbolization is. (2.) The terms of the figure, or the words in which the predicate is expressed, are employed in their literal sense—it is a tiger which man is declared to be, not any thing else, and a tree of life that wisdom is said to be. (3.) When a nature is ascribed to an agent or thing that does not belong to it, the acts or events which are then affirmed of it, are such as are proper to that imputed nature, not to its own. (4.) The meaning of metaphorical passages is precisely what it would be, if the proposition were transformed into a comparison. This is manifest from the consideration that the literal truth of metaphorical affirmations is impossible. Man is not literally a tiger; but he is like one, he may with propriety be compared to one.

3. "The next species is the allegory or parable, in which usually an intelligent agent, acting in one sphere of life, and the object and effect of his actions are employed to represent and illustrate another, acting in a different sphere. In some instances, instead of intelligences, the parabolic agents are unconscious objects—the office of the allegory and parable is, like that of similitudes, mere illustration. They are not like a symbol, strictly representative. They are not always prophetic. Like the simile and metaphor, they always designate the persons whom they are employed to

illustrate. 4. The figure by which, without a comparison or metaphor, a description of agents and objects is substituted as an illustration, in place of a direct description of the real agents and objects referred to. 5. The *prosopopœia*, or ascription to inanimate objects of the passions and actions of intelligences. The figures by which a city or country is exhibited as a person, and the population as an individual, are regarded, not as personifications, but as metaphors.

“From these figures, in which agents and objects of one class are employed in the description of another, the transition, though natural and easy, is yet great to prophetic symbolization, in which one set of agents or objects is used as the representative of another. The symbolic use of agents and objects is wholly different from their figurative use. First, when employed as symbols, they were always present to the prophets, and the objects of their perception either naturally or supernaturally. Agents and objects that are used figuratively were not always, nor often, and never necessarily, present to the prophets who used them. Next, the symbol is always of a different species from that which it represents, when a proper symbol of a different species can be found. And thirdly, the relation that subsists between them, when they are of different species, is that of analogy.

“From this analysis of the several species of figures, it is apparent that they differ essentially from symbols, and are to be interpreted by wholly different laws. (1.) In the figurative use of agents, objects, and acts, it is always stated who or what it is that is the subject of the figure; but not in their symbolic use, except when an interpretation of them is given. In other instances, it is left to be deduced from the nature of the symbol.



(2.) Figures are used for illustration merely ; symbols for representation. They, therefore, who mistake metaphors for symbols, or symbols for metaphors, necessarily misinterpret them."

The results of these investigations are summed up by the author in the following sentences, as evincing that "symbolization is a peculiar method of foreshowing the future through representative agents, actions, and events ; that its distinguishing difference from other modes of expressing thought is, that the meaning of the signs, instead of being arbitrarily annexed to them, depends on themselves, and corresponds to their several natures ; and that interpreters, heretofore, overlooking this fact, have proceeded in their endeavors to explain them, on the assumption that they are used conventionally in the same manner as letters, spoken and written words, and hieroglyphs, and have thence necessarily missed their true signification. That the principles on which the two species of signs are employed are wholly unlike, is manifest from the fact that all arbitrary means of expressing thought, such as voices, words, and hieroglyphs, may be employed in the description and explanation of symbols ; while symbols themselves, and their acts can only be used to represent things to which they bear a resemblance. Thus, the Apocalypse might be translated into the hieroglyphs of Egypt by a master of those signs, with as much facility and precision, probably, as into the hieratic or enchorial methods of writing that were used by the Egyptians ; or into Hebrew, Syriac, Latin, or any modern language, without in any degree confusing them, or altering the principle on which they would then require to be interpreted : but no such translation is possible of Christ's Sermon on the Mount, or Paul's epistle to the Romans into

symbols; because no sensible objects can be found that present such an analogy to their thoughts that they can adequately express or represent them. Arbitrary signs, whatever their nature may be, — whether those of the voice, written words which are employed to represent the voice, or hieroglyphs, may be used to describe every external object of which we have a knowledge, and express every species of thought and feeling of which we are conscious; — symbols can only be used to represent agents, acts, and events, that have a resemblance to themselves, their actions, and effects. As the principle, then, on which they are employed is thus peculiar, it is manifest that they are to be interpreted by a peculiar law; and that that law is to be deduced from themselves.”

The author's views of the nature and office of symbols as a medium of prediction, and of the method of interpreting them, are thus distinguished from all other instruments or media of revelation, and cleared from all interference and confusion with literal and figurative language: and they exhibit symbolization not only as a peculiar, but as an authorized, adequate, and preëminent method of foreshowing the future. With a knowledge of the rules and discriminations which he has furnished, a person wholly ignorant of the fact that agents and acts had been employed symbolically, to represent future agents and acts, might clearly discern their fitness for that purpose and appropriate them to it. Such a process on his part would, indeed, do nothing towards making it certain that such future agents and acts would ever appear, unless he had the power infallibly, to cause their appearance. But it would illustrate the subject, the fitness of the medium to indicate what was to be foreshown; and if he had the

power and had infallibly determined to cause their appearance, then by exhibiting to the view of persons around him, an agent as a symbol of another resembling future agent, he would intelligibly foreshow what he intended. The beholder, regarding the exhibited agent—not as foreshowing another agent of the same nature or species, for that would be tantamount only to a description in words, hieroglyphs, or picture writing, and less intelligible than a verbal statement—but as a symbol, he would reason analogically from the nature and characteristics of the one agent to those of the other.

Had the king of Babylon, at the period of Daniel's vision of the ram and he goat, B. C. 553, perceived in the state of affairs in his kingdom, indications that it would ere long be conquered by some rival power, and on considering the character and resources of the neighboring empires, the Roman, founded above 200 years before, the still older one of Greece, that of Media, nearly as ancient as the Roman, and the more recent kingdom of Persia, fixed on the two latter jointly, as most likely to be the first invaders and conquerors, arguing from their local position, as well as from the tendency of their known ambition, pride, and jealousy, to rouse their zeal, and deter any rival from another quarter from anticipating them in a war on Babylon: and, on further considering their character and the tendency of their success to prompt the ambition of a more distant power to invade and wrest from them not only Babylon and their more ancient possessions, but all such adjacent kingdoms as might endanger the main project, or promise fame or plunder, had fixed on Greece as most likely, with Macedon, to furnish such a conqueror; and had he on considering the

character of the Greeks, and the characteristics necessary to such a conqueror as the supposed case would require, and the extent and heterogeneousness of the empire he would find it necessary to compass, persuaded himself, that on the death of that invader, his conquests would fall into foreign hands, more powerful and more competent to exert over them an efficient and enduring sway, — which, could be no other than the Roman ; then it may be supposed that, having fully considered this probable course of events, and not deeming it expedient to express his apprehensions and forebodings in direct terms, and yet willing to give his counsellors sufficient data to enable them to infer what his sentiments were, he put to them the following questions for their solution : — 1st. Supposing the kingdom of Babylon to be invaded and conquered, what domestic animal, considered in respect to his leading characteristics, manner of fighting, etc., would the conqueror most resemble ? — Before answering this question, they would consider attentively the extent and condition of the surrounding kingdoms, and their leading military characteristics, and those also of such domestic animals as had any fitness to be contrasted with them. They would naturally conclude that an invasion was most likely to be made by monarchs nearest to Babylon, as remoter ones would have first to fight their way to the vicinity ; and would soon decide as to the powers to be considered, and as to their existing and probable future relations to each other. They would be apt to conclude that Persia, the nearest, was not in the existing and probable state of things, equal to the supposed conquest, but that by alliance with Media, the joint power would be sufficient, while all other considera-

tions pointed to those kingdoms as most likely to wage the necessary war, and in deciding which of the domestic animals most resembled in his characteristics the Medo-Persian kings in their aggressive and military character and habits, they would be likely to fix with confidence on the ram, not only on account of his strength and wilfulness, his aggressive propensity, and his headlong and pushing manner of fighting, but also because he had two horns, indicative of two united powers or kingdoms: all which characteristics strikingly resembled those of the kings in question, while some of them were not to be found in any other domestic animal. They therefore would answer confidently, that the kings of Media and Persia would be the conquerors, and that their leading characteristics most resembled those of the ram.

2d. Suppose the Medes and Persians should conquer Babylon, and that after ruling over it for a time, another power should invade and wrest it from them, what domestic animal would, in his chief characteristics, most resemble those of that invader? The counsellors, in solving this question, would consider the naturally quiet and effeminate habits of the Medes and Persians, when not engaged in war, and the tendency of the wealth, luxury, and ease obtained by conquests to enervate and disqualify them for resistance; and, on the other hand, every consideration would point to the Greeks as most likely to furnish a leader and an army competent to the supposed conquest. Referring to the characteristics of the Greeks and their kings, to their rapid movements, the fierceness and fury of their attacks, their daring imprudence, their recklessness, arrogance, and vanity, their violence and cruelty even to



the fallen, they could not hesitate to reply, that the he goat would, by his characteristics, most fitly represent the supposed leader.

Without pursuing the illustration further; suppose the monarch, satisfied with their replies, to dismiss those, and summon other of his counsellors, and require them to answer the same questions stated in the following manner. 1. What domestic animal will, by his leading characteristics and habits, most distinctively represent or symbolize the analogous characteristics of the conqueror, should Babylon be invaded and conquered? The same course of reasoning as that supposed above, would obviously lead to the same result. And so likewise with respect to the 2d question. The relative position, strength, and other circumstances of the Medo-Persian and Greek kingdoms, sufficiently indicated the order in which, if at all, they must be supposed to invade and conquer Babylon. And it is too apparent to need a comment, that the he goat with one horn, would not fitly represent the kings of Media and Persia, nor the ram, or any other domestic animal, but the fiery goat, the king of Greece.

Suppose, now, that the king of Babylon had caused the substance of his forebodings to be written down, as having been exhibited to him in a dream, to the effect, that while ruminating on the condition of his kingdom, and the probabilities of its being conquered, and subjected to the dominion of foreigners, he saw in his dream, "a ram, standing on the bank of the Euphrates, which had two horns: and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher [Persia] came up last: that he saw the ram pushing westward, [towards Babylon from Persia,] and northward and southward; so that no beast might stand before him,

[no rival power interfere,] neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great. And as he was considering, behold, an he goat came from the west, [Grecia,] on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground [with celerity as if borne on wings]: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which he had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And he saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hands. Therefore the he goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken, [by the death of Alexander]; and for it came up four notable ones," [the four chieftains between whom the conquests of Alexander were divided].

Suppose the king to have referred this as a natural dream to his wise men who were skilled in the knowledge of signs and the art of interpretation, and to have required them to answer the following questions: Does the dream forebode future conquests of Babylon by foreigners? Does the ram with two horns denote by its characteristics and actions, not itself merely or an animal of the same species, but the leaders of the first invasion and conquest? Is it a symbol, representing them by the analogy between its characteristics and theirs? Does its pushing westward, its having two horns, and the difference in their height, indicate who the kingly invaders are to be, and the kingdoms from which they are to come? Is

the he goat with one horn, in like manner a symbol representing the conqueror of the first invaders denoted by the ram? Does his coming from the west, and his characteristics and actions also, indicate the country from which he is to come?—With the literal narrative of the dream before them, and a competent knowledge of the kings and people of the surrounding kingdoms, and of the characteristics of the animals exhibited, can there be any doubt but that those interpreters would have readily answered each of those questions in the affirmative, and that they would have declared the kings of Media and Persia to be intended as the first invaders, and the king of Grecia as the second?

Their decision, indeed, if so rendered, and if legitimately derived from the indications of the dream, would by no means render the occurrence of the events certain. But He who exhibited the ram and goat to Daniel in a prophetic vision, as representative symbols, knew perfectly the characteristics of the symbols and of the agents represented, and all future events; and by the symbolic prediction, interpreted in like manner as the dream, the occurrence of the events, and the designation and succession of the consequences was rendered certain.

A further illustration and confirmation of the foregoing inductions, and the method and certainty of the interpretation in the case supposed, may be taken from the narrative, (chapter 7,) of the exhibition to Daniel in a dream of a succession of wild animals as symbols of the same kings or dynasties. After having seen a lion with eagle's wings, as the symbol of the first of the reigning dynasty in Babylon, and with the wings plucked off, as representing the existing king; "he beheld another

beast, a second, like unto a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, etc. And after that he beheld, and lo, another like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl, [aptly denoting the rapid movements of the Grecian monarch]; the beast also had four heads, and dominion was given unto it, [denoting the four chieftains who shared his conquests and succeeded him]. After this he saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly, etc., and it had ten horns," [representing the Roman power from the date of its acquisition of its Eastern territories, to the division of its original or western empire, and afterwards].

Further to illustrate the theory of symbolic representation:—Suppose a foreigner residing in Constantinople, well acquainted with the character of the several nations of Europe and Asia, and of their civil and military chiefs, and having intercourse at pleasure with the sultan, had, some twenty or thirty years ago, in view of the then state of things, and by way of indicating his apprehensions of the future, related to him that he had dreamed of seeing a great beast, like a bear, invading the Turkish Empire, and threatening its capital; that he saw also an inferior beast, like a ram with one horn, advancing to support the bear; and that he saw a beast like a lion with two heads, one the head of a lion, the other that of a leopard, coming from another direction to oppose the first beasts; and suppose the foreigner to request the Turkish monarch to interpret the dream as he would if he believed that such an invasion of his dominions, and such aid in resisting it, would actually happen: can there be any doubt but that the party so appealed to, would, though wholly ignorant of representative symbols as employed in the

Scriptures, at once, and without hesitation, construe the beasts as foreshowing certain kings or military chiefs; and that in seeking to distinguish the countries of such chiefs, he would consider the characteristics, on the one hand, of the beasts decided, and on the other, of the military powers which, from the local and political relations to the Ottoman Empire, and to the dominions, policy, and interests of each other, would be likely to act in the manner indicated? And by pursuing this obvious process, and reasoning from the local position, contiguity, and policy of Russia, and from the analogy of the characteristics of the Russian military emperors, chiefs, and armies, to those of the bear, would he not confidently infer, that the bear as seen in the dream, represented, foreshowed, symbolized, the Russian emperor as chief of the invading power? And from the like considerations and reasonings, would he not with equal confidence decide that the king of Persia was foreshadowed as the helper of Russia? And looking westward, would not every consideration point to the monarchs of England and France, as represented by the beast with two heads; the lion's head representing the monarch or dynasty of England, and the leopard's that of France?

It is manifest that such an interpretation would be natural and obvious; and assuming that the beasts were representative of agents thereafter to appear and act the parts ascribed to them, they could not, with any plausibility, be regarded as symbolizing any other than the monarchs of the nations above specified. From the local position, internal strength, and political relations of these and the adjoining kingdoms to each other, no one but Russia could be thought to have sufficient motives to induce it to invade Turkey; for such a step



by a rival, would assuredly enlist the utmost efforts of the superior power of Russia to aid the Turks in resisting the invasion. Persia, exposed to the colossal power and grasping ambition of the Czar, and without hope of protection from Turkey or any other power, would be likely to become the ally of Russia. Of the western kingdoms, England and France only could be supposed to have motives or strength to defy and resist the northern bear in his attempts to conquer either European or Asiatic Turkey.

On the other hand, there is a manifest absurdity in supposing the Turkish monarch to continue the dream as foreshowing the incursion into his domain, at some future period, of a monstrous wild beast, a literal bear, to devastate his empire and trample down and devour his subjects; and the access of another wild beast with two heads, to resist and drive back the invader. For, omitting other particulars, there are no such beasts with two heads. Nor would it in any degree relieve the difficulty to say that the beasts and their agency, or the language in which they are described, are figurative; for in the terms by which the beasts are described, no figure can be pointed out. If they do not form a literal description, then we have no means of knowing what kind of animals are meant by the terms bear, lion, and leopard; and, consequently, no means of knowing what was intended to be represented or figuratively indicated by them. In a word, if they were regarded as representative symbols, then the interpretation was well founded; if not, no interpretation was possible, — the dream indicated nothing.

The nature of symbolic representation, and the principle on which symbols are employed as vehicles of prediction, are thus shown to be peculiar, and wholly

unlike language, whether literal or figurative ; and it is no less clearly shown that the process by which symbolic prophecies are to be interpreted, is wholly unlike that by which the interpretation of verbal predictions or language prophecies is or can be accomplished. No two methods of revealing future events, no two vehicles of intelligence concerning agents, acts, or any phenomena cognizable by the senses, can be more dissimilar, more clearly distinguishable from each other, or a confusion of which requires more violence.

We come, therefore, to the unqualified and unembarrassed conclusion, that if the symbols employed in the Scriptures are representative, their import — the revelation which they are employed to convey — must be interpreted by laws peculiar to themselves, and not by the laws of philology ; and that their peculiar laws are as obligatory on the interpreter, and as essential to a true interpretation, as the laws of philology are to a true interpretation of ordinary language. And it follows with no less certainty, that if the Scripture symbols are not representative, and their significance therefore does not depend solely on analogy in characteristics of nature and agency, then they are susceptible of no interpretation, being subject to no fixed or uniform rules, furnishing no discernible basis even of conjecture, nor any mark or quality common to them all, to constitute them the vehicle of revelation from the Deity to man.

It is, then, the first duty of the student to examine the question, till he is fully convinced, whether or not the symbols exhibited in the sacred oracles are employed as representatives of agents, acts, and other phenomena of a different nature or species from themselves ; for if they are so employed by the Inspiring

Spirit, they are intelligible as a medium of prediction, and susceptible of being correctly interpreted. There are in the Scriptures more than four hundred distinct symbols, many of which occur repeatedly in different books and chapters. The Apocalypse, the last and most comprehensive portion of the Bible, consists essentially of a description of symbolic agents, actions, voices, and effects: "And blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein I, Jesus, have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. For I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book. If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book: and if any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life, and out of the holy city, and from the things which are written in this book. He that testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly."

These testimonies most forcibly indicate that the Apocalypse may be read and understood prior to the occurrence of the events foreshadowed, for how else can the things written therein be kept? If the media of its predictions, the symbols exhibited to the senses of the apostle, cannot be interpreted correctly and with certainty and conviction, with what propriety can it be called a revelation? How can that be kept, observed, complied with, which is not understood? If that which is prophetic, cannot, prior to the events, be understood, how can any one be guilty of adding to, or deducting from it?

But if the symbols of the Apocalypse are intelligible as the peculiar instruments and vehicles of its predic-

tions, and may, therefore, conformably to the laws of symbolic representation, be interpreted with certainty, then the solemn testimonies and warnings of the Omniscient Revealer are appropriate, and have a direct bearing upon our responsibility, and a relation of the greatest importance to the faith, agency, hopes, and prospects of the church. For, when so interpreted, they forewarn us of a course of events still future, widely different, and in its leading particulars opposite to that now commonly anticipated. They forewarn us of a series of startling and wonderful events yet to occur, before the commencement of the millennial period; such events to the church, and its confessors and martyrs, and to its enemies, the kingdoms, hierarchies, and peoples to which the predictions relate, as heretofore have never been exhibited.

According to the view generally entertained throughout the protestant and the nominally Christian world, the obstacles to the universal prevalence and triumph of Christianity which exists in the systems of paganism, Mahomedanism, Romanism, rationalism, atheism, and infidelity, and in the apostate hierarchies, despotic governments, antichristian institutions, corrupt practices, depravity, and wickedness of the world, are to be overcome, and a state of millennial blessedness to be introduced, by a gradual progress of the preaching of the Gospel, and diffusion of religious knowledge; and that no extraordinary exhibitions of retributive and vindictive wrath are to be interposed, for the destruction of idolatrous and apostate nations, and persecuting hierarchies, or extraordinary works of Divine grace and power to be wrought for the protection, vindication, and rescue of the righteous. This view of the future has been so long and so generally cherished as

to induce a vague, though powerful and controlling impression, that the prophecies, whatever they may appear to indicate, cannot be intended to teach any thing different, and must be construed accordingly, as figurative, allegorical, or spiritual.

But if the language of prophecies may, with propriety and certainty, be interpreted by the use of the ordinary laws of language, and the symbolic predictions by that of the laws of symbolic representation, then it is certain that events of a widely different nature from those commonly expected, are to intervene before the earth will be the scene of peace, holiness, and happiness; that vials of vindictive and exterminating wrath are to be poured out upon kingdoms and hierarchies, that have tyrannized over men, persecuted the saints, and usurped the rights and prerogatives of the Most High; that the coming of Christ for the introduction of his millennial kingdom is to be simultaneous with the destruction by his power of the Antichrist and the antichristian rules, symbolized by the ten horned wild beast and false prophet; that prior to this scene and to the dejection of the nationalized hierarchies of the ten kingdoms of the Western Roman empire, the supporters and vassals of those hierarchies are to be alienated from them, and to turn against them; that in the progress of these events and of the persecutions and trials which will attend them, the servants of God will exhibit proofs of their allegiance to him, as manifest and decisive as if their foreheads bore an indelible impress of his name; that at the close of the second woe, and therefore prior to the millennium, the literal slaughter and resurrection of the witnesses is to happen; that one of the nationalized hierarchies will then fall, a great number of men will be slain, and



the domination of the Turkish power over the Eastern empire will cease; that proclamation will be made to all nations, kindreds, tongues, and peoples, to fear God, and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come, and to worship him that made the heavens, the earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters; that the hierarchies of the Western kingdoms, that is, great Babylon, are to be denationalized, or cast down from their station as civil establishments; that the kings and people of the kingdoms are, at the instigation of unclean spirits, to be gathered to "the battle of that great day of God Almighty."

On the other hand, it is by such interpretation rendered no less certain that during the whole course of these events, down to the final battle, and close of the present dispensation, the church is to continue as hitherto in a state of depression, humiliation, trial, and suffering, that her witnesses are to prophesy in sackcloth, that tares and wheat are to grow together, that Jerusalem is to be trodden down of the Gentiles, till the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled.

The succession and connection with each other of the events above referred to, down to the period of the final conflict and the coming of Christ in the clouds, have been so manifest even to those unaware of the nature and laws of symbols as vehicles of prediction, that many commentators, pursuant to their preconceived theory, have sought to locate those events, and the advent referred to, and even the resurrection in the history of ages that are past, referring some to earlier, and others to more recent dates than that assigned to the book of Revelation; and have thereby, no less than by the diversity and inconsistency of their

conjectures, shown the absurdity of supposing that the prophecies may, on their method of interpretation, be any better understood after than before the occurrence of the events predicted: for, on that method, there can be no certainty whether specific events exclusive of all others were referred to, whether they were to be real or figurative, literal or spiritual, civil or religious, or whether they had occurred, or were yet future.

The Gentile Expositor, adhering to the prevalent figurative system, must, after the occurrence of events foretold in the New Testament, find himself in much the same condition with respect to them, as the modern Rabbi with respect to the Old Testament predictions of the advent of the Messiah. The Messiah has come; but the Rabbi does not admit or believe it, because it is inconsistent with the Jewish interpretations to which he adheres. His system stands between him and the historical event which the predictions literally foreshowed. So the Gentile, should the Israelites, according to the philological import of the ancient prophecies, be literally restored to Palestine, would, to be consistent, be obliged to conclude that their restoration was not a fulfilment of those prophecies,—but that the predictions were figurative, and had reference to the return from Babylon or to the Christian Church.

In whatever light the subject is regarded, it is manifest, that if the prophecies are to be truly understood, just, adequate, and invariable rules of interpretation are absolutely necessary. And if the alleged distinction exists between revelations in language, and revelations through symbols, that distinction must be admitted and its results adhered to. The subject is, there-

fore, in this relation, of the utmost importance. The Church and its teachers cannot innocently, or without great hazard, be ignorant of the import of the prophecies, if they are so revealed as to be capable of being interpreted and understood. If some of them are revealed in literal terms, some by the figurative use of terms, and some by symbolic representation, the nature and laws of these several methods must be clearly understood.

Nor can it be doubted but that increased and more earnest attention will be directed to these subjects of inquiry as the storm now impending over Europe and Asia advances. A general war, induced by considerations and involving issues not dreamed of in the times of the first Napoleon, and but faintly indicated in some of its local aspects and relations in the popular outbursts of 1848, will doubtless arouse attention to the prophetic Scriptures. Is the second woe to be terminated by the extermination of the Turks and their faith together? Are the despotisms of Europe to be violently subverted? Are the masses to forsake, and withhold their support from the nationalized hierarchies? Is there yet to be a period of unprecedented persecution? Is the Gospel not only to be extended to all nations and tongues, but emphatically with reference to the obstacles now met in Romish, Mahometan, and Pagan countries, by the proclamation to fear, glorify, and worship God and not men, because the hour of his judgment has come in which he will punish those who have opposed him and usurped his prerogatives? Is great Babylon — the nationalized hierarchies — to fall by violence and disappear from the earth, as a mill-stone cast into the depths of the sea? Or are

the members of those hierarchies, with their head, to be exempted from violence and be converted?

Of those who make the Scriptures a study, is there one in a thousand, who has any definite idea as to the point, in the progress of events, which has been already reached? Or any definite notion as to whether any of the events symbolized by the pouring out of vials of plagues, have transpired; or which, if any, of the vials have been discharged, and where; or, to the effects of which, the events of the last fifty years, or those now passing, are answerable? Is there one in a thousand who has any satisfactory notion as to the probable order of events in the scenes before us? or, as to the relation of impending European wars and revolutions, to the fortunes, duties, and prospects of the church? Or as to whether the great questions yet to be tried and settled in view of the whole universe, prior to the universal triumph of the Gospel, are, who is the Supreme, and only Lawgiver, Ruler, and Saviour of the church? "Who are men bound to regard exclusively as having the right to determine whom they shall adore, what worship they shall offer, and what doctrines they shall believe and profess?—The Almighty, who has prohibited the ascription of divine honors to any being besides himself, revealed the method of salvation which he has appointed, and designated the homage which men are to pay to him,—or civil rulers and ecclesiastics, who claim that he has constituted them his vicegerents, and authorized them to legislate over his institutions and rights, and appoint the religion of their subjects?" In a word, whether Christ alone is the Lawgiver and Redeemer of his people: and whether in accomplishing his work, vindicating his

prerogatives, vanquishing the great adversary, and assuming the throne of his mediatorial kingdom, he will punish and destroy the apostate and idolatrous hierarchies and rulers, who have usurped his right, persecuted his followers, and tyrannized over the souls and bodies of men ?

No one who believes that the Apocalypse really reveals any thing yet future, can doubt but that the settlement of these and kindred questions is to take place prior to the day of millennial grace and glory, and that there is to be on the apocalyptic earth, a work of unprecedented wrath and vengeance, the preliminaries and signals of which are already manifest, and in the progress of which, the ministers, missionaries, and followers of Christ are to be called to manifest their allegiance to him in the endurance of unparalleled trials and sufferings. And if these things are revealed, they can be read and known, only by a right interpretation of the symbols by which they are foreshown, the nature, office, and laws of which are so fully disclosed in this Exposition.

In regard to the Missionary work, the writer of these remarks fully believes that it will go on and be greatly extended in all parts of the world, and the more widely and rapidly after persecutions arise ;— that native preachers and confessors in great and increasing numbers in every land will appear, fulfilling the office of witnesses, and proclaiming the everlasting gospel ;— that the Redeemer will gather an election of great numbers out of every nation ;— that the converts will be subjected to severe trials and persecutions from the intolerance and enmity, by which their allegiance will



be made conspicuous, while visitations of wrath will fall on the persecutors. In the great and final conflict on earth between Christ and his followers on the one side, and the adversary and his hosts on the other, the almighty power and grace of the Redeemer will signally appear, so that his Deity, supremacy, and prerogatives will no longer be denied or questioned.





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THE TIME TO FAVOUR ZION;  
OR,  
AN APPEAL  
TO THE  
GENTILE CHURCHES  
IN BEHALF  
OF THE  
J E W S .

BY THE REV. E. BICKERSTETH,  
RECTOR OF WATTON, HERTS.

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*PHILADELPHIA:*  
ORRIN ROGERS, 67 SOUTH SECOND STREET.

E. G. Dorsey, Printer.

1840.





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## P R E F A C E.

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THE author of these Sermons complies with the earnest requests of friends who heard them, and wished for their publication. He willingly has acceded to these requests, in the hope that the deeply touching and interesting cause which he has pleaded in this city, may be thus more generally known and more largely aided, in both the Established Churches of these kingdoms. He preached these sermons somewhat more fully, but they are in substance given as delivered by him. May the Divine Spirit lead us, and all Christians, more and more to the mind of Christ for Zion, and to the spirit of that blessed Apostle who could testify, "my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is that they might be saved."

EDWARD BICKERSTETH.

19 RUTLAND STREET, EDINBURGH,

*May 23, 1839.*

## SERMON I.

### *The restoration of the kingdom to Israel, and our present duties to be witnesses for Christ.*

ACTS i. 7, 8. "And he said unto them, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power (*ἐξουσία*), but ye shall receive power (*δύναμιν*) after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."

THE subject on which our Lord is speaking is the restoration of the Kingdom to Israel. He is answering the last inquiry which his Church put to him while here on earth. When they were come together they asked of him, saying, "Wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?"

This was a subject of intense interest to every believer of the Old Testament, and to every attentive disciple of our Lord's public ministry. He had again and again alluded to it. He had given a prayer with reference to it—*thy kingdom come*—and in his last forty days on earth he had been speaking of the things pertaining to it. No wonder then that the disciples agreed with one mind to ask him when this kingdom should be restored.

The answer of our Lord is full of instruction to us as well as to them. It is also specially applicable to us on this sacred festival, when we commemorate the first outpouring of the spirit on the Christian Church.

Let us consider,

1. The answer given to the inquiry of the disciples.
2. The growing importance of the subject.
3. The duties which lie upon the Church.

#### 1. THE ANSWER GIVEN TO THE INQUIRY OF THE DISCIPLES.

*It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power.*

It seems very darkening to their hopes and deadening to their wishes at first sight, very discouraging and discomfoting; but let us see if we cannot gather, as we often may, from apparently dark sentences much profitable light and instruction.

The very darkness shews us that he could not mean merely a spiritual kingdom; that was already begun—that was set up in power on the day of Pentecost—that he had often described as subsisting and consisting of tares and wheat, good fishes and bad. There was no reason to inquire when this kingdom should be restored, nor to withhold from them the fact of the time and season of its commencement.

The inquiry and the answer, then, relate to another form of that kingdom yet unestablished.

We may observe next, that our Lord does not in the least deny the fact that the kingdom would be restored to Israel. He had been instructing them forty days in the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, and he had been opening their understanding to understand the Scriptures, they could not have made then so gross a mistake as still to have kept, what, in case no kingdom was to be restored to Israel, would have been a visionary notion; nor would he have at such a time left them in such an error.

Again, the words the Father hath put in his own power the times and seasons when the kingdom shall be restored to Israel, assuredly imply that the kingdom shall be restored. Our Lord by them encourages the expectation and strengthens their hope of the ultimate restoration of the desired kingdom.

And this corresponds to his whole previous ministry and to the whole tenor of the prophetic word.

You may just mark a similar mode of reply to the sons of Zebedee. When they came to him, "Master, we would that thou shouldest do for us whatsoever we shall desire;" and when he asked, "What would ye that I should do for you?" they reply, "Grant unto us that we may sit, the one on thy right hand and the other on thy left in thy kingdom." He answers there too, "Ye know not what ye ask," tells them of the sufferings to be gone through, and that the right and left hand seats will be given to those prepared of his Father. We see the wisdom of this reply, and we shall find similar wisdom in the present case.

The great hopes that our Lord had all along held out, were the kingdom of heaven. From that early promise, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," up to the time when he assured the apostles that he had appointed to them a kingdom, and that they should "sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel." The hopes which he continually held out had a reference to this kingdom.

The prophetic word of the Old Testament brings it before us from Genesis, till we come to the clear and full light of the chronological prophecies of Daniel.

Without here entering further into the nature of this kingdom, it is clear that the Scriptures predict a pre-eminence to Israel, under the immediate sovereignty of Christ, as a blessing to the whole earth. (Isa. ii. lx. lxi.; Jer. xxxi.; Ezek. xxxvii. xlviii.; Zech. xiv.; Luke i. 32, 33.)

Our Lord then did not intend to check the hopes of this kingdom, but he does manifestly check their curiosity as to the time when it should take place. It is not for you to know the time or the seasons. He withheld the time.

I would notice why he withheld the time, and why he told them that it was put in the Father's power.

WHY DID HE WITHHOLD THE TIME?

Look back. You stand on the eminence of eighteen centuries. See what these centuries have been. Generation after generation, apostles, martyrs, fathers, confessors, and reformers, have lived and died. Mark all the conflicts through which the early Christians attained their triumphs—their labours, sufferings, persecutions, and martyrdoms. Go on to the rise of Popery and Mahomedanism,—see the dark ages,—mark the struggles of infant Protestantism and its subsequent decay,—look at the present spread of infidelity among professedly Christian nations. Had the Apostles been told all this must previously take place,—all this corruption must spread over the world,—O what needless despondency and heart-sinkings must have overwhelmed them! Eighteen hundred years of deferred expectation,—eighteen hundred years of Israel's dispersion and desolation,—eighteen hundred years yet to remain of the Gentile monarchies,—and eighteen hundred years the treading under foot of Jerusalem: with that wisdom and love which marks all his providence to his Church, this dark scene was kept back!

Why also did he tell them that the time and seasons WERE PUT IN THE FATHER'S POWER?

It seems to point out the entire filial confidence they might have in the paternal wisdom and love of all the Divine arrangements.

It seems also to point out that the Father himself will take into his own hands the overthrow of all obstructions to this kingdom. Thus it is said, in the 110th Psalm, "Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool."

It is not merely the Almighty power of a Mediator to *save*, but the Almighty power of the Father that is engaged to *subjugate* all enemies to Christ.

It points out also a prolonged time of delay: it was not for the good of the Church to know it then. This view concurs with other similar statements.



You remember what our Lord says, speaking of the time when they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds with power and great glory. He declares, "Of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." It was a hidden mystery—not given to the Son to reveal; and the lesson was, "Take ye heed, watch and pray, for ye know not when the time is." By the Son not knowing, we are clearly taught that he had a real human mind, as well as a real human body. As man, his Divine omniscience was no more put forth than his Almighty power. But as time rolled on, farther light was to be given on this point.

In the prophecies of Daniel, we find that he was directed to shut up the vision, for it shall be for many days. He was also afterwards told to "shut up the words, and seal the book even to the time of the end. Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." And this was repeated—"Go thy way, Daniel; for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end."

And when farther light was thrown by the Book of Revelation on the mysterious and wonderful predictions of Daniel, we read that this was accomplished, because "the lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David, had prevailed to take the book and loose the seven seals thereof."

In the close of the Book of Revelation, therefore, we have the very reverse of the direction given to Daniel: "Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand."

It would appear, then, that our Lord told his Apostles that the times were put in his Father's power to intimate a prolonged season of waiting, and that, therefore, it was not profitable for the Church then to know exactly how long that period would be.

Another reason seems to be this: Our God would never have his Church without the lively hope of the coming of Christ the second time, and the glory that should follow. It is a hope so purifying and heavenly,—so deadening our hearts to the world,—so filling us with joy and holy expectation,—that it is one of the richest privileges of the Church of Christ. This great hope is the last lingering word of the sacred volume—"Surely I come quickly;" and its last recorded prayer corresponds to it—"Amen, even so come Lord Jesus." That his Church then might have a waiting spirit for this day,—that expectation might be kept alive,—that all the benefits of a prepared, watchful, prayerful, desiring spirit, might be continued, and all the animation of hope, from age to age, fill the souls of

his people, the Son of God was not in the beginning commissioned to give any date of the time. This view seems to me to overthrow ideas of a merely spiritual coming and spiritual millennium yet to take place before the visible and personal return of our Lord; for how can we be waiting for and expecting that which we think to be at least a thousand years distant?

When the fuller light of the Book of Revelation was given, the times were still hidden in such obscurity, that nothing but the prolonged series of ages has developed to the satisfaction of the great body of the Reformed Church, the advancing fulfilment of its predictions, and the approach of the promised kingdom. So that, all along, nothing was distinctly revealed that would hinder the Church from the full fervency of prayer, "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven." The direction, "Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book, for the time is at hand"—shew us, that, as the time of fulfilment approaches, clearer and fuller light will beam from God's providence upon his prophecies. Amos declares, "Surely the Lord will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets." And our Lord leads us to the conclusion, that we may know beforehand when the Jewish redemption, and the redemption, indeed, of all his Church, draws nigh; for, after giving the previous signs, he says, "When these things begin to come to pass, then lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh. When ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand."

I beseech you, then, despise not—neglect not, the word of prophecy. God himself has said, "Ye do well to take heed to it as to a light that shineth in a dark place until the day dawn (or shine out), and the day star arise in your hearts."

## 2. THE GROWING IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT.

If the kingdom is to be restored to Israel as I have shewn it is,—and if connected with that kingdom be all the hopes of ultimate blessedness to the world (and we are led to this conclusion also by the assertion of the apostle, that their recovery and fulness shall be far more *the riches of the world* than their fall)—then is the subject of immense and growing importance, as time rolls and brings us near its restoration.

May we then put the inquiry which the apostles did, with any hope of now receiving a fuller light than was given to them? As to certainty respecting a *precise* point of time, I apprehend not. I have always dreaded fixing dates positively, when our Lord has so expressly said, "Of that day and hour

knoweth no man." This is still written upon the precise time; but as to the approach of it, and as to a general period, we may, I think, gain very valuable light.

The assertions in Daniel, that "at the time of the end, many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased"—the direction to St. John, "not to seal the sayings of the prophecy of this book"—the signs given by our Lord, and his instruction, "When ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand," all lead me to think that we may know enough beforehand greatly to increase preparedness for it when it is approaching.

It is to this point I wish to direct your attention. The restoration of the kingdom to Israel is, through the Scriptures, intimately connected with the coming of the Son of Man, in his visible glory, full, finally, of spiritual blessedness to our whole earth. Consider what plain promises and statements on this point are yet unaccomplished. It is yet unfulfilled what our Saviour said in his last public address to the Jewish nation, "Ye shall not see me henceforth till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." It is yet unfulfilled what he mentioned to Caiaphas when adjured by him, "Hereafter shall ye see the Son of Man, sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven,"—alluding to Daniel's prediction, which is followed by the statement, "And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him." It is yet unfulfilled what St. Paul quotes from Isaiah: "All Israel shall be saved, as it is written there shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob." It is yet unfulfilled what David predicts: "When the Lord shall build up Zion, he shall appear in his glory." It is when Christ comes in the glory of his Father that he addresses his people: "Come, ye blessed of my Father; inherit the kingdom prepared for you from," &c. St. Paul joins together the appearing and the kingdom of our Lord, when he says, "He shall judge the quick and dead at his appearing and kingdom." The deliverance of the people of Israel is by the prophet Daniel connected with the great Prince Michael standing up for them; and a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation, even to that same time; and a resurrection from the dead taking place at that time. These are the testimonies of God's Word; and they link together, with an adamant chain, the appearing of our Saviour and the establishment of his kingdom.

You will see at once, that this gives an indescribable magnitude and reality to all affecting the Jews. It makes their

restoration the crisis of all nations, the fulfilment of the largest hopes of the Church, the momentous event on which all the kingdoms of this world are suspended, and at the arrival of which, they pass away, to give place to Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords.

This also makes the establishment of a distinct society, for their spiritual welfare, a matter of vast importance. It answers one of the most plausible objections against the formation of the Jews Society; that other Missionary Societies might undertake this work. No! their case is peculiar; it lies at the root of all other good. It demands, by the magnitude of its consequences, a distinct effort and an undivided attention.

But, are there signs that this event then is approaching nearer and nearer, so as to be at the doors, and really interest us on this day?

Unquestionably we live in very peculiar and remarkable times. The state of Europe ever since the first French revolution, has been a state of change and transition, and is at the present, to all reflecting minds in each kingdom of Europe, one of great and just anxiety. In that time the thrones of the greater part of the European kingdoms have been subverted; and every capital, except our own, occupied by foreign armies. After a temporary but feverish state of cessation, the revolutionary spirit burst forth again at the second French revolution, and shaking the kingdoms of the Continent one after another, it has very largely spread its spirit through our own land and the nations of the earth. Every thing is shaking and moving.

In these things we seem to realise the beginnings of the time of which our Lord speaks: "There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon earth, distress of nations, with perplexity, the sea and the waves roaring, men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth, for the powers of heaven shall be shaken."

Daniel has clearly foreshewn, that "The God of heaven will set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold, the great God hath made known to the king, what shall come to pass hereafter."

Let us, then, consider some of the signs of these latter days, which are preparatory steps to the establishment of Christ's kingdom; and I would notice these four:—



### 1. THE CONSUMING OF POPERY.

We have seen the preparatory steps in the judgments on Papal kingdoms for the last forty years. Popery, though it has greatly increased its energy, has, except, alas! in our own country, lost its political and temporal power. It no longer directs and wields the strength of Europe for Papal superstition. In the chief parts of its former territories, the property of the Church of Rome has been alienated to other purposes. Its ability to persecute and destroy is already taken away in France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, and other countries. In these things we see before our eyes that prediction of Daniel, which immediately precedes the kingdom of Christ, fulfilling—"The judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it to the end." As also that of St. Paul, respecting the man of sin, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth; and then, as he goes on, "destroy with the brightness of his coming." Popery is, too, more and more developing its real character, by open and avowed infidelity. It is throwing off the mask, and taking its last form as the wicked and lawless one. This will be the case till its final fall; for this mystery of iniquity is only to be destroyed with the brightness of the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

### 2. THE WASTING OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE.

This also is connected in the pouring out of the sixth vial with the solemn warning, "Behold I come as a thief: blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame. Events of each year strengthen the conviction of a large body of interpreters, that the past history of Turkey for the last twenty years is the pouring out of the vial upon the great river Euphrates, and the drying up of the water, that the way of the kings of the east may be prepared. We see that vast empire, according to the accounts of all travellers and residents, and unquestionable facts, in all its population, continually wasting and drying up, that the mystical Babylon, or the Papal kingdoms, may fall, and the Jews return.

3. THE PREACHING TO THE GENTILES fulfils that plain prophecy: "I saw an angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, fear God and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come, and worship him that made heaven and earth, and the sea, and the fountains of waters." And delightful, most delightful, is it, to witness the extended preaching of the Gospel through the world. The Word of



God is diffused into 157 of the most general languages of the earth, so that it may be read by nine-tenths of its inhabitants. The various missionary societies, thank God, with enlarged means, and multiplied missionaries, and increasing ardour, fly east and west, north and south.

This, too, is connected with that prediction. "This gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness to all nations; and then shall the end come." This sign of the times, this witnessing of the Gospel, is already fulfilling, not only in its typical fulfilment in the spread of the Gospel previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, but in the larger accomplishment now taking place.

4. THE PREACHING TO THE JEWS is another sign of these times. You find, in the 37th of Ezekiel, a most striking description of the restoration of Israel. Israel is now like the stone in the mountain, but it is to be cut out without hands. Israelites are now like dry bones in the graves, but they are to be raised by Divine Power. There is to be, however, a distinct prophesying to these dry bones; and a distinct prophesying to the wind to come into them, and then God will open these graves, and cause them to come out of these graves, and bring them into the land of Israel, and under the government of Christ their king. This prophesying we witness in the circulation of the Hebrew New Testament, and in the efforts of our own Jewish Society, and of other similar societies elsewhere, labouring for them. And all this is connected, as the 102nd Psalm shews, with the time to favour Zion, and with the kingdom of Christ, and his appearance in glory. For this follows from the fact, that God's servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof.

Pleading for the Jews' Society, it will be right here to enter into more particulars. The Society has about forty-seven ordained missionaries or agents, twenty-three of whom are Jewish converts, preaching the Gospel to the Jews. The chief body of the Jews is in the Russian Empire, and God has disposed both its late and its present emperor to protect and assist its missions. The king of Prussia renders the same aid. Our own country has taken a most important step to favour the Jews, in establishing a vice-consulate at Jerusalem for their protection. Our own Church has taken an important step for the same, in establishing a mission at Jerusalem, under the highest ecclesiastical sanction. And truly thankful I am our sister Church of Scotland has, as a church, manifested her interest for the Jews. The Jews have at length largely heard the true nature of Christianity. They thought it simply idolatry, from what they had seen of it in Papal countries, and

in the Greek and eastern churches. They now know its spiritual character. The Scriptures have been very extensively purchased by the Jews; and thousands, and tens of thousands, have listened attentively to the preaching of the Gospel; and several hundreds have been baptized in the name of Jesus.

Amidst all its trials and difficulties, the Jews' Society long had this special and unrivalled honour in our own land, of proclaiming to Jews through the earth the only Saviour, and furnishing the Church with this striking sign of the times.

But I must stop, though accumulating signs are pressing into our view; as if it were the very voice of our Lord, "Can ye not discern the signs of the times?"

This leads me to consider,

### 3. THE DUTIES WHICH LIE UPON THE CHURCH.

*Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judæa, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth.*

The duty is, in dependence on the power of the Holy Ghost, to be witnesses for Christ.

Our Lord, after refusing to gratify the unprofitable curiosity of the Apostles, proceeds according to his invariable custom to give a more profitable practical lesson, with fuller immediate instruction and consolation. As when he was asked, Are there few that be saved? he answered not the question directly, but bid them strive to enter in at the strait gate; so here he told them not the times, but called them to a high and holy duty, and furnished them with adequate strength for it.

Notice the power to be bestowed and the duty to be fulfilled.

1. THE POWER TO BE BESTOWED.—The power over the times is with God. The power to work is imparted to us.

Nothing apparently could be more hopeless than the attempt of the Apostles at this time to convert the world. Their Lord crucified; his cause despised; his few followers disheartened and scattered; the whole world serving Satan, and arrayed therefore against them.

But there was a divine power that out of weakness could and did make them strong. The Holy Ghost in all his varied gifts and miraculous powers soon changed the very character of the Apostles; made them who were once timid, faint-hearted, and full of the fear of man, when he came, invincible to all the power of Satan, bold and intrepid in danger, unwearied in labour, open and unreserved in confession of the truth, confident and joyful in sufferings and ready cheerfully to go on to

prison and to death in its most horrible forms for their Master's sake.

O the mighty energy and power of the Holy Ghost. May we and our missionaries but be baptised with the Holy Ghost, and we are prepared for all the work of Christ.

But was not that power confined to the Apostolic age? By no means. However the miraculous operations may have been limited, that power on which alone depends the conversion of the sinner, never has, never will, leave the Church. "Lo I am with you," says Christ, "always to the end of the world. I will pray the Father and he shall give you another Comforter that he may abide with you for ever." Most vain then, while we have this promise, is it for the infidel world, or for the formal church in the spirit of the world, to say the Jews cannot be converted. There would be insuperable difficulties had we but the arm of flesh; our dependence is on the promised power of God. How accordant, then, is it with that festival of our Church which we this day celebrate, to stir up your hearts to consider this blessed hope and look for this divine power. May it be largely granted to us!

There is farther,

THE DUTY TO BE FULFILLED.—"Ye shall be witnesses to me." This is the main character of the people of Christ in this world. They are Christ's witnesses. And what is it they testify? "We have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world; *testifying* both to the Jews and to the Greeks, repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus." The whole company of believers is *the cloud of witnesses*; the Church in its time of darkness and humiliation bears the name of the *witnesses prophesying in sack-cloth*. First we must know Christ for ourselves, and then spread the savour of this knowledge in every place.

Here, my brethren; it is our duty, our present duty, boldly to confess Christ, plainly to avow our principles. Never was it more important for us to take to those solemn instructions. "Whoever shall be ashamed of me and my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. Whoever shall confess me before men him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven.

O my beloved brethren, how short is time, how near the all-changing, all-deciding, most tremendous, and most joyful scene. O how your present conduct infinitely affects your situation then, your state through everlasting ages. And what is there on which you can depend to say that this scene may not in your own life burst upon you. Believe and act upon

the solemn warning, "Ye know not the day nor the hour when the Son of Man cometh." The grand directions are, "Watch and pray always. Be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh."

Help, then, to the uttermost, every good cause. "Lay up treasure for yourselves in Heaven." Give your money to the exchangers, that your Lord at his coming may receive his own with usury. Shew your faith by your works. Now is the day of grace for your own salvation. There is grace; there is free and full redemption that you may now obtain by flying to Christ. Fly to him. Now is the day of work for the salvation of others. And O how largely are you promoting this when you are seeking the conversion of those whose recovery shall be as life from the dead to the world. The kingdom will be restored to Israel; if faithful now to our Lord Christ, you may share its brightest glories. "If we suffer *with him*, we shall reign with him. They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever." God help us, however, we may be counted foolish by the vain world to be thus wise for eternity.

And in now going to the table of the Lord, let us remember how his word joins his second coming with the memorial of his death, "As oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew forth the Lord's death till he come."



## SERMON II.

### *The mind of Christ respecting the Jews.*

ISA. lxii. 1, 2. "For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth. And the Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory."

THE indifference felt towards the Jews by Christians at large has been very great. Much have they, in former ages, been oppressed and injured by those bearing the Christian name. The days of open persecution have indeed passed away;\* but days of neglect and unconcern have by no means passed away. True scriptural knowledge, as well as true Christian feeling,

\* An exception to this remark has recently occurred at Damascus and Rhodes.

gives the Church of Christ a deep interest in the actual state of the Jews.

My text speaks this with a power and life that I am almost afraid to injure by attempting to unfold and to manifest. It discovers to us, with the most vivid light, the Divine mind. And truly thankful do I feel, to be permitted, in God's gracious providence, first to open this blessed subject, in this pulpit and in this city, on a festival of our Church so adapted to such an occasion.

When we consider that it is now eighteen hundred years since the Holy Ghost was first poured out on Jews in Jerusalem, and so by them the Gospel came to us, well may we celebrate such a day by stirring up Christians to seek to return again to the Jews the blessings which they once gave to us.

May the Lord himself assist me to lay this subject before you, and may the same Holy Spirit be largely shed forth upon us.

1. The person speaking.
2. Those for whom he is interested.
3. What he desires for them.
4. The earnest expression of those desires.

#### 1. THE PERSON HERE SPEAKING.

It is the Messiah, our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the beginning of the former chapter, he is introduced as the speaker in these words: "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord." We can have no doubt about this, as our Lord himself applied it to his own person in the Synagogue at Nazareth.

The remainder of that chapter is full of promises of the restoration and conversion of the Jewish nation, and of its blessed effects on all nations. And now, in the beginning of this 62nd chapter, the Redeemer pours out his fervent desires for the accomplishment of this all-important object. The various expressions can have no inferior speaker. Thou shalt be called Hephzibah, that is, my delight is in her, applies pre-eminently to Christ.

Let us see then, very clearly, that our Lord Jesus Christ here speaks and here discovers his mind. To know what are his views and purposes is infinitely important to us, and I will lay this before you as discovered to us in his life.

Who can adequately describe all the toils of his most labo-



rious ministry? His disregard of personal ease and comfort; his incessant preaching by day; his nights spent in prayer; his not having leisure so much as to eat bread; when hungry and thirsty himself, giving spiritual food and drink to sinners; always going about doing good, and not having where to lay his head for repose at night.

And what was his mind in all this!—the salvation of Israel. He expressly says, “I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel.” His Apostles declare “Jesus Christ was a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God to confirm the promises made unto the fathers.” He bids the twelve “Go not into the way of the Gentiles, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.” The word was first to be spoken to them.

And when they rejected that word, what was the mind of Jesus? See it on his last approach to Jerusalem; regardless of the acclamations of his faithful disciples that crowded round him, his heart was full of sorrow for Jerusalem; “when he was come near, he beheld the city and wept over it, saying, If thou hadst known, even thou at least in this thy day the things which belong to thy peace.”

On more than one occasion, he appears to have thus sighed over the city; “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not.” (Luke xiii. 34; Matt. xxiii. 37.)

But when they had rejected him; when they had cried Away with him, away with him, crucify him; when they had spit upon him and scourged him, has he still the same mind? When they revile him on the cross, and bid him, with taunting words, “Save thyself and come down from the cross;” what are his thoughts then? Hear his words, “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.”

But when he rose from the grave, when he gives his last commission to his Apostles, what are his directions? “Let repentance and remission of sins be preached in my name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem.”

See, then, here distinctly the person speaking; the mind of Christ is the mind set before us in this text. It is clear, whatever may be the reason of it, there is in the mind of our Lord Jesus Christ a deep concern for the salvation of the people of Israel in particular; a special regard for them, as will be yet more fully seen in the farther consideration of this subject. And if it be the mind of Christ, O how plain is the conclusion it will be the mind of all his followers.

## 2. THOSE FOR WHOM HE IS INTERESTED.

It is for *Zion's sake*, it is for *Jerusalem's sake*; and you will observe this is distinguished from the Gentiles and their kings, who come in a subsequent relation. It means, then, the literal Zion and Jerusalem in its primary sense; the Jewish nation as distinguished from the Gentiles, including, however, all the spiritual seed of Abraham.

We will first briefly notice, that the spiritual seed is included, and then dwell on the literal Zion.

1. THE SPIRITUAL SEED.—All who believe in our Lord Jesus Christ “are come to the Mount Zion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem.” The Jews, as a distinct nation, as a body of people, have, for a season, fallen and been broken off, that a people from among the Gentiles might be grafted in to their olive-tree, enriched and saved through their fall. “If ye be Christ’s, then are ye Abraham’s seed, and heirs according to the promise.” In this view, we are included in this prayer. For us the Lord Jesus is now thus deeply interested. It is his own word in his prayer to God before his Jewish Apostles: “Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their words, that they all may be one.” All believers in Jesus are partakers of his promises. “They are all yea and amen in Christ Jesus. It is of faith that it might be by grace, to the end that the promise might be sure to all the seed, not to that only which is of the law, but to that also which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the father of us all.”

Our Saviour here, then, includes his believing people in every age, and pours out the largest and richest desires for the full triumph and glory of his whole Church. But this larger and more extended sense of the words by no means interferes with, or weakens, their more direct, though restricted, meaning.

Our Lord specially prays for the LITERAL ZION.

The Jewish nation, now fallen, now for a season cast away and broken off—for them he is specially interested. You have seen how he was interested for them in his life, on his death, and at his resurrection. And think not that he has any other mind still. We are in great danger of being ignorant on this very point through high-mindedness; and, therefore, the Apostles, in the 11th chapter of Romans, dwells at large on this subject, and charges us, “I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, (lest ye should be wise in your own conceits,) that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in;” that is, till the

number to be gathered from the Gentiles be completed. "And so all Israel shall be saved; as it is written, There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob." The Apostle adds: "As touching the election, they are beloved for their fathers' sakes; for the gifts and calling of God are without repentance. For as ye in times past have not believed God, yet have now obtained mercy through their unbelief; even so have these also now not believed, that through your mercy they also may obtain mercy."

On New Testament evidence, then, you see the mind of God our Saviour respecting the Jews. But let our faith rise to the undoubted confidence that all Old Testament prophecies will be literally accomplished. God's words are given to be understood. Though, as the message of infinite wisdom, they *MAY* contain, and do contain, a farther and deeper meaning, which the wisest men and angels themselves can but in part comprehend, they *MUST* have at least that meaning which they convey at first to the simplest mind. The Old Testament prophecies were given to the Jews before the times of the Gentile dispensation. They could not then have understood them but in the letter, that Jerusalem meant Jerusalem, the city of David; and Zion, the Mount where the Temple stood; and Israel, the nation separated from others for God; and the truth of these promises was to be the anchor of their souls in the midst of trouble and darkness. To rob them of these promises is most hateful to God, as he says in the chapter before our text, "I the Lord love judgment, I hate robbery for burnt offering." Our Lord himself, in opening his ministry, solemnly cautions us, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets."

The rejection of the Jews has been literally and minutely accomplished, so that all men that dwell on the face of the earth have sensible and visible witnesses of the truth of God's threatenings, and the certainty of his judgments. And as the righteousness in the threatening has been so visibly accomplished, we may be sure that the mercy and loving kindness in the promise will be also fulfilled literally and exactly. To think otherwise would be to have a very unjust view of the real mind of Him whose name is LOVE. The very sight of their present degradation and unbelief may be, to us who believe God's word, a palpable evidence of the reality of their future conversion, and shew us how to interpret the innumerable plain predictions which foretell this their future glory.

### 3. WHAT HE DESIRES FOR THEM.

"That the righteousness thereof may go forth as brightness,

and her salvation as a lamp that burneth, and the Gentiles shall see thy righteousness and all kings thy glory.”

Here are three blessed things: (1.) Bright righteousness; (2.) Glowing salvation; (3.) Universal benefit.

1. BRIGHT RIGHTEOUSNESS.—Far at present are the Jews from this. And very affecting is the testimony which St. Paul gives to this. “Israel which followed after the law of righteousness hath not attained to the law of righteousness. Wherefore? Because they sought it not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law.” How solemn and affecting the truth, that when the righteousness of faith is rejected, all real righteousness is lost. As a nation they grew worse and worse. *They both killed the Lord Jesus and their own prophets, and persecuted his Apostles; they pleased not God, and were contrary to all men; filling up their sins till wrath came upon them to the uttermost.*

Nor, notwithstanding their lengthened punishment for eighteen hundred years, have they returned to the Lord and looked unto him whom they have pierced, and mourned for him. But another and a better state is clearly predicted in God’s word, when the Jews shall become as eminent for faith as now for unbelief, and for righteousness as now for unrighteousness. Then “the Lord shall be unto Zion an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory.” Christ is yet to be the glory of his people Israel. In that day the promise is to be realized, “Thy people shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land for ever, the branch of my planting, the work of my hands, that I may be glorified.

The Jews will eminently be “the righteous nation which keepeth truth.” It is emphatically said, “every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holiness unto the Lord of Hosts.” The same inscription which was on the mitre of the High Priest when he entered into the Holy of Holies, shall be appropriate to the commonest use of every vessel in every dwelling.

What a bright righteousness is this! If even single Christians are *the light of the world*, what will be the blazing brightness of a whole nation thus dedicated and devoted to God!

Connected with this is

2. GLOWING SALVATION.—“And her salvation as a lamp that burneth.” Here, as every where else, righteousness precedes full deliverance. The promises of complete restoration and full blessedness to Israel are connected with being brought to a righteous state of mind. Thus it is said, “When thou art in tribulation and all these things are come upon thee even in the latter days, if thou turn to the Lord thy God, and shalt be



obedient to him, for the Lord thy God is a merciful God, he will not forsake thee, neither destroy nor forget the covenant of thy fathers which he swore unto them." All the varied wonders of their restoration and salvation are largely dwelt upon in the prophecies of the Old Testament. The miracles of their return are described as far exceeding those attending their deliverance from Egypt. It is twice predicted by Jeremiah (xvi. 14, 15; xxiii. 7, 8), "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that it shall no more be said the Lord liveth that brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt. But the Lord liveth that brought up the children of Israel from the land of the north, and from all the lands whither he had driven them, and I will bring them again into the land that I had given into their fathers." The passing through the Red Sea, and the drying up of Jordan, the feeding with manna in the wilderness, and Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego's walking in the fiery furnace, may be yet outdone for them in what is to come. "When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee (Isa. xliii. 2). The Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea, and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the seven streams, and make men go over dry shod."

Realize, then, the wonderful fact of the Jews gathered from all their dispersions! God has promised, and it cannot fail, "I will bring thy seed from the east, and gather thee from the west; I will say to the north give up, and to the south keep not back, bring my sons from far, and my daughters from the ends of the earth." Imagine then all the varied countries of Europe—England, France, Germany, Poland—sending forth their Jewish population. The vast empire of Russia yielding its stores. The extended shores of Africa and India; the various nations surrounding Palestine, as well as more remote Afghanistan, Bokharra, and China, all searched and made to give up every descendant of Israel, as it is predicted, "They shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain in Jerusalem, saith the Lord."

What a movement must this occasion among the nations of the earth! What a burning lamp will this salvation be! O how will it shine all over the earth! If the Christian, amidst all his afflictions, and the corruptions still adhering to him, and the wickedness of a surrounding evil world, now shines as a



*light in the world holding forth the word of life*, what will the light of Israel be when God appears by his mighty miracles in their behalf, and they become distinguished as the righteous nation.

3. UNIVERSAL BENEFIT.—“The Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory.”

The testimony of the Scriptures is very full that the conversion, restoration, and future glory of the Jews will be the means which God will use for the universal conversion of the Gentiles to Christ. The Psalmist thus addresses God: “Thou shalt arise and have mercy upon Sion; so the heathen shall fear the name of the Lord, and all the kings of the earth thy glory.” In a former chapter, Isaiah testifies, “The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising.” Nay, how strongly God speaks, “I will cause the captivity of Judah and the captivity of Israel to return, and will build them as at the first, and I will cleanse them from all their iniquity. And it shall be to me a name of joy, a praise and an honour before all the nations of the earth which shall hear all the good that I do unto them.”

We owe the present diffusion of the Gospel to the casting away of the Jews; but their restoration shall be as life from the dead to the whole world. Now Christ is the light of the Gentiles, but so greatly will he manifest himself that he will be the glory of his people, and through them bless the whole earth.

There is, then, a largeness and fulness in the object which our Saviour desires, of unspeakable moment and blessedness to the whole earth. O that we may rise to the grand comprehensiveness of the mind of our Lord Jesus Christ, in this blessed hope.

Let us view the subject not with the mere reasoning of a carnal mind, but with the full light and warrant of true scriptural faith.

#### 4. THE EARNEST EXPRESSION OF THOSE DESIRES.

I will not hold my peace—I will not rest. Let us consider here,

1. THE REASON OF THESE EXPRESSIONS.—Look at the Jews now. See their scattered, degraded state. Look at them from the time of Isaiah till now, 2500 years. See Israel carried captive by the King of Assyria, and never restored. Judah carried captive by the King of Babylon, and but partially restored, and that remnant carried into a more lengthened captivity by the Romans, and now for 1800 years oppressed, insulted, a proverb and by-word, and every where trodden

under foot. See the lengthened treading down of Jerusalem by the Gentiles. Hear his expression, "This is Zion whom no man careth for." Hear her own lamentations, "Zion said the Lord hath forsaken me, and my Lord hath forgotten me." But is it really so? O far from it. To meet all these desponding circumstances, to assure the heart of God's people, the tenderest and strongest expressions are used. "Can a woman forget her sucking child that she should not have compassion upon the son of her womb; yea she may forget, yet will I not forget thee. Behold, I have graven thee on the palms of my hands, thy walls are continually before me." So hear again God's expostulations, "Why sayest thou, O Jacob, and speakest, O Israel, my way is hid from the Lord, and my judgment is passed over from my God?" This enquiry is met by a statement of the deep and extended purposes of God. "Hast thou not known, hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Creator of the ends of the earth, fainteth not, neither is weary; there is no searching of his understanding." And then he afterwards proceeds to shew his ultimate purposes of mercy. And so in our text, to strengthen their faith amid peculiar difficulties, we have the strongest divine assurance of continued interest and exertion.

2. THE CORRESPONDING ACTINGS OF THE REDEEMER.—The desired object is carrying on by the Redeemer even now. It is but a limited view that we can gain of this, but even that limited view may shew us the wonders of God's grace. I pass by that intercession which our Redeemer is ever making for Israel. Pray for the peace of Jerusalem is his direction to us; and prayers for Israel, it is clear from the expression "I will not hold my peace," mark his present actings for Jerusalem in intercession above.

But let us notice, 1st, THE OUTWARD ACTINGS OF HIS PROVIDENCE. Where there is a great and lasting good to be produced, a long previous preparation is required. The humiliation and conviction for sin must be deep and lengthened, where the righteousness is to be bright, and the salvation as a lamp that burneth. In the low ground of humility will be found the rich soil to bear the abundant fruits of righteousness; 400 years of depression prepared the way for their first conquest of Canaan, and their being the depositories of God's word for the world; 2500 years of depression prepare the way for their permanent possession of Canaan, and their being the living exhibition of a righteous nation to bless the whole earth.

2nd, THE EFFECTUAL COMMUNICATIONS OF HIS SPIRIT have also been given from age to age to the Jews. We this day celebrate the first outpouring of that Spirit, and in this may clearly discern the actings of the Redeemer according to his

prayer. His Apostles, according to his direction, preach first to the Jews. Myriads of them receive the Holy Spirit, and the gift of repentance and remission of sins. What a glorious church the primitive church at Jerusalem! it is yet unequalled in deadness to the world, union, love, and joy.

But the nation still rejecting their Messiah, *to provoke them to jealousy* the Gospel is sent to us Gentiles. Nor are they even yet wholly rejected. "God hath not cast away his people." In every age Jews have been converted to Christ.

The Gentiles, indeed, chiefly receive him and bring forth fruits, but the very way in which they are welcomed shews the love of Jesus to Israel, and his acting for them. They are grafted into the Jewish olive-tree. Thus the Jews, though now broken off literally, yet spiritually are multiplying *as the sand on the sea-shore*. What is every believer in Jesus but a son of Abraham? What are all the Churches of Christ among the Gentiles but *the seed of Abraham*? What is the Saviour's prayer for his people, both from Jew and Gentile?—*that they all may be one*. And when Israel is restored, and when the saints are gathered, and when the heavenly Jerusalem is completed, what will be the enraptured triumphs of the Jewish Church, looking back on the time of its widowhood, and seeing that, in that very time, the Lord was doing so much for her! "Thou shalt say in thine heart, who hath begotten me these, seeing I have lost my children and am desolate, a captive, and removing to and fro? And who hath brought up these? Behold I was left alone. These, where had they been?" O how deep are the counsels of Jehovah! How unsearchable the riches of his love! He himself testifies to the Jews: "Ye shall be comforted concerning the evil that I have brought upon Jerusalem, even concerning all that I have brought upon it. And they shall comfort you when ye see their ways and their doings, and ye shall know that I have not done without cause all that I have done in it. Ye shall be satisfied, and praise the name of your God, that hath dealt wondrously with you."

The glorious results of God's purposes are set before us in the two last chapters of Revelation, in those "new heavens and that new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness," and that heavenly Jerusalem of which it is said, "The nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of it, and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it."

3. THE EFFECT THESE THINGS SHOULD HAVE UPON US.—Need I dwell upon this. If there be such glories to come to our world through the Jews, the deepest and highest benevolence to your fellow-men calls you to help in their conversion and salvation. If the destinies of the world are bound up in

their future glory, what believer in God's word can be indifferent to them? Or again, Christians, you who love your Redeemer, who see him chief among ten thousand, altogether lovely, who desire, above all things, the mind of Christ, see what is true wisdom in your desires and labours for the good of others by this expression of your Redeemer's mind.

O contrast for a moment the mind of Christians in past ages, and the mind of Christ. In our mind what indifference, what neglect, what scorn, what contempt, what insults, what injury! In the mind of Jesus, what patient, self-sacrificing, unwearied, persevering love! The mind of Christ must mark, does mark, his most devoted followers. The strongest expression of feelings for others in the Scriptures are on this very point. Paul declares, "I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart, for I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh. Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is that they might be saved." And can we be indifferent to that which thus interests our divine Redeemer, and the Apostle of the Gentiles?

O the emptiness of this world's wisdom, that affects to despise the Jews as of no importance! Let us have faith in God's word. Let us rise to the full glory promised to his church through them, and rejoice to take our full part in a work thus dear to Christ and his most devoted servants.

And thanks be to God that he is putting this spirit into his Churches. It was to me a source of peculiar joy to find that our sister Established Church in this country\* had, as a Church, sent forth a deputation of devoted men to seek the good of Israel. May the fullest blessing rest on this truly scriptural work of Christian love.

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### SERMON III.

*The mind of Christ overflowing, and given to his people.*

ISA. lxxvii. 6, 7.—"I have set watchmen upon thy walls O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night. Ye that make mention of the Lord keep not silence and give him no rest till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.

THE prophecy whence these words are taken is one of pecu-

\* Scotland.

liar interest. It contains the first opening of the gospel message by our Lord himself in the Synagogue of Nazareth. It gives the fullest statement of his gracious mission, the clearest intimation of his heart and mind in visiting his own people, and in the general preaching of the gospel. He was anointed "to preach good tidings unto the meek," he was sent "to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord;" to commence, carry on, and perfect a work which issues in the glory of Israel, and the blessedness of the whole earth.

We may see, then, the importance of this prophecy at all times, and especially now, when the dawn of its glorious fulfilment seems divinely in the distance to appear.

I would direct your attention to three truths suggested by this text.

1. Messiah's enlarging expressions of zeal for Jerusalem.
2. The gracious promise announced.
3. The urgent duty to which we are called.

#### 1. MESSIAH'S GROWING EXPRESSIONS OF ZEAL FOR JERUSALEM.

The 61st and 62nd chapters are one continued address from our Lord Christ. He is the speaker throughout. He appropriated to himself the 1st verses of the 61st chapter, saying in the synagogue, when the eyes of all were fastened on him, "This day is the Scriptures fulfilled in your ears; and all bear him witness and wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth."

But Israel rejected their Lord and Redeemer; "he came unto his own and his own received him not." Our Saviour foresaw the bitter fruits following this rejection, and wept over Jerusalem. How affecting from time to time his expressions. "O that thou hadst known even in this thy day the things belonging to thy peace. Behold your house is left unto you desolate. Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, till the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled. Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children." In the midst of the grace of the Gospel, the righteousness also of God was awfully exhibited. Their sin being filled up, "the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermost," till according to the prediction of Isaiah, "the city was wasted without inhabitants, and the houses without man, and the land was utterly desolate, and men were removed far away."

Thus the day of vengeance was associated with the accept-



able year; a day, as it respects the Jewish nation, that has lasted 1800 years, and is not yet terminated.

What was the design of this? The Apostle asks, "Have they stumbled that they should fall? God forbid, but rather through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles to provoke them to jealousy." There is mercy yet in store for them.

The Redeemer's eye of love, eagerly desiring their good, shoots beyond their fall to the time of recovery, and rejoices in the comfort they should then receive. With him a thousand years are as one day, and he sees in the distance (v. 6, 7,) "the building of the old wastes and the raising up of former desolations," and the double honour for shame, and the everlasting joy for confusion: the exaltation shall be as high as the humiliation has been deep.

The length of delay indeed, which raises difficulties in our minds is only a confirmation of the truth of the promise; for it was from the first in the mind of the Redeemer. If their rejection had not been long, how could the Lord have fulfilled those words: they shall build the *old wastes*, the desolations of *many generations*. The lapse of years only confirms the depth of his counsel and the truth of his word. In the midst of this joyful proposal of good to Zion, the Lord sees the wrong done to the Jews, and utters this sharp reproof. "I the Lord love judgment, and hate robbery for burnt offering, and I will direct their work in truth, and make an everlasting covenant with them." For centuries upon centuries, Christians, under the assumption of superior spiritual discernment, and the pretext of more spiritual views, have been robbing the Jews of all right and interest in these promises expressly made to them. Though St. Paul has explicitly applied them, in the 11th of Romans, to the literal Israel; from age to age Christians have been exclusively applying them only to themselves, and thinking that they have given by this a great evidence of their spirituality, and rendered the Word of God much more perfect, and done an acceptable service to the Lord. All Christians have indeed, through faith in Jesus, a title to the spiritual blessings, but they have become high minded, forgetting the solemn warning of the Apostle, "boast not against the branches, for if thou boast, thou bearest not the root but the root thee."

The very wresting of these promises becomes then a motive with Jehovah for their fulfilment. His promised mercies are the highest portion of a people. God hates the stinting of his mercies, and the setting of narrow bounds to his love. The Gentiles having disbelieved his love to Israel shall therefore

see that love in its fulness. "Their seed shall be known among the Gentiles, and their offspring among the people; all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed."

In the two next verses, the 10th and 11th, we have a farther stage of the prophecy. The glory of his people approaching, Christ utters the exulting song. "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God, for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation; he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness." I apply this to Christ himself. "They shall hang upon him all the glory of his Father's house, the offspring and issue." (Isaiah xxii. 24.) "He shall build the temple of the Lord and he shall bear the glory." (Zech. vi. 13.) He it is then that exults in the prospect of that joy and glory which will accrue to him in the happiness of his people.

From this triumphant, joyful prospect of faith, our Lord proceeds to a fervent intercession. "For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace; for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth." This shews that, amidst all apparent delays and lengthened desolation, he is, however hidden it be from men's eyes, unceasingly pursuing that which in the result shall make them a righteous nation, to inherit the land for ever. The Lord is taking the surest and the wisest method to bring on that glorious issue of his purposes, so often foretold.

From intercession our Lord proceeds to renewed and fuller promises. "The Gentiles shall see thy righteousness, and all kings thy glory." The choicest and highest figures of exaltation and blessedness are used, the crown of glory, the royal diadem, delight, rejoicing, bridal gladness, married happiness. God thus joying in Zion, and glorified in her glory. Such are the rich and varied emblems, and such the wonderful truth which they convey.

At length the time to favour Zion draws nigh. The love of Christ, like Joseph's, shut up in secret, for a prolonged period, a period of now nearly 2500 years, overflows into the hearts of his servants, fills them with the like spirit, and awakens in them the like desires, reveals to them his own longing, opens to them his free promises, leads them to take pleasure in her stones, and favour her dust, and thus gives them a token that the time of his promises is drawing nigh. "I have set watchmen upon thy walls O Zion, which shall never hold their peace."

It is the correspondence of the signs of the times to this,

which leads me to call your attention to-day to this passage of God's word. Let us consider

## 2. THE GRACIOUS PROMISE ANNOUNCED.

*I have set watchmen.*

God's freest mercies come through appointed means. The deliverance of Zion is accomplished through the appointment of watchmen, and their fervent prayers.

In considering this promise of watchmen, we will notice their office, their stations, their charge, and the signs of its accomplishment.

1. **THEIR OFFICE.**—The watchmen seem especially intended to point out the ministers of Christ, yet not exclusively; all who are his true servants and receive the hope and wait for the consolation of Israel, are included. Our Lord's direction is universal, "What I say unto you I say unto all, watch." The office of the watchman is to foresee and forewarn of enemies, to look to the hills and distant mountains, and give notice of approaching succour. (Psalm 121.) Another part of the office is to announce the approach of the morning. "My soul," says David, "waiteth for the Lord more than they that watch for the morning." Men fulfilling this office are here promised, the eye of the watchman shall be intent on the fall of that which has ever been the great enemy of the Jews, the mystical Babylon or the Roman Empire. On the accomplishment of this we find in Rev. xix. the Jewish Hallelujah again is heard in the songs of the Church. We have a striking description of this, Isaiah xxi. 6—9: "The Lord said unto me, Go, set a watchman, let him declare what he seeth. And he saw a chariot with a couple of horsemen, a chariot of asses, and a chariot of camels (apparently alluding to the combined efforts of the Medes and Persians); and he hearkened diligently with much heed. And he cried, A lion; my Lord, I stand continually upon my watch-tower in the day-time, and I am set in my ward whole nights; and, behold, here cometh a chariot of men with a couple of horsemen. And he answered and said, Babylon is fallen, is fallen; and all the graven images of her gods he hath broken unto the ground." The drying up of the mystic Euphrates is to us a leading symptom, preceding the fall of Babylon, denoting by consent of interpreters long ago, the wasting of the Turkish power. Many striking marks of time are given to shew the watchmen the approach of morning, and the rising of the sun upon the Jewish nation. The hours of the night have been passing away, and the morning cometh. To these things the watchmen, duly regarding their

office, shall, it is here promised, take diligent heed. They shall be *wise to discern the sign of the times*.

Their STATION is on the walls. It may well be asked how can this be? if Jerusalem be not yet established, but desolate, what are her walls? Jerusalem has other walls than those of stone. "I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her," Zech. ii. 5. "Salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks. Walk about Zion, and go round about her and tell the towers thereof." God's promises and his covenant are its bulwarks, and, like Mount Pisgah, an eminence from which the coming glory may be seen. He has promised the protection of Zion and its future security and glory; and by faith in this promise the watchman is raised on high with a wide range of blessed prospect. From these walls he can discern the various enemies of Zion, and their sure defeat; from these walls he can oversee all its dwellings, and their promised place. "Look upon Zion, the city of our solemnities, thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down." By the same faith in God's promises he is enabled to catch the first dawn of the day of glory. "When ye see these things come to pass, know ye that the Kingdom of God is nigh at hand. The night is far spent, the day is at hand." Faith, then, in God's precious promises is here assured to the watchmen.

The CHARGE which he gives to these watchmen whom he appoints is "never to hold their peace day nor night;" they are the same words as express the mind of Christ in the 1st verse, "For Zion's sake I will not hold my peace." Christ's own spirit is at length on this point given to his watchmen. This unceasing ardour marks the heavenly worshippers, "they rest not day and night" in the service of God; the same ardour marked the Apostle's spirit; "night and day praying exceedingly that we might see your face and perfect that which is lacking in your faith." This includes all outward exertion for the spiritual good of others, but mainly intends fervent prayer, praying always with all prayer for the progress of the gospel, and here more especially for the blessedness of Israel. This is an absolute promise of such a spirit of prayer to the watchmen. As prayer is the channel by which all blessings flow, so the constancy and fervency of them, after the perfect pattern of the Redeemer, and the largeness of them for the full glory of Zion, are here promised as the character of these watchmen. O gracious promise! O amazing love of Christ in giving it! Large desires bring large blessings, such watchmen then raised

up of God are a special mercy to his Church. To his grace alone we are indebted for such gifts.

We notice once more THE SIGNS OF THE ACCOMPLISHMENT of this gracious promise.

How long and dark a night has passed over Israel, ever since her rejection of her Messiah, while no watchmen thought of her welfare. The Apostle Paul indeed could testify, My heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is that they may be saved; but for what a lengthened period since, how few have been pleading for Sion; the Jew might truly have said, no man careth for my soul. But it is not so now. Honoured instruments have been raised up, one after another, to think of, and pray, and labour for the good of Zion. God is more and more giving his servants faith in the plain and literal meaning of his promises. The Jewish nation may now address not a small company of the Lord's watchmen, in the glowing language of Isaiah, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth! Thy watchmen shall lift up the voice; with the voice together shall they sing; for they shall see eye to eye, when the Lord shall bring again Zion."

How striking in this view is the last address on this subject, of the venerable and departed Simcon of Cambridge from his death-bed. In the last half of his ministerial life, for the last quarter of a century he was a watchman thus fulfilling our text. The Jews' Society itself is a combined body of such watchmen, acting in the spirit of this promise. All its steps, its Hebrew New Testament and Liturgy, its tracts, its missionaries, its schools are a part of that unresting spirit of zeal for Zion here promised.

And already are first symptoms, dim, it is true, but full of promise and good hope, beginning to appear of the restoration of Israel. The silence of eighteen centuries is broken; the prejudices of eighteen centuries are giving way. Jews and Christians are beginning to sympathise in one hope; the Jews are looking into our New Testament to compare it with the predictions of the suffering Messiah. Christians are looking into the Old Testament to discern the fulness of its promises as to the glorified and reigning Redeemer. In the meanwhile Babylon is consuming under the Spirit of the Lord; the waters of the mystical Euphrates are visibly drying up by the wasting of the Turkish Empire, that the way of the kings of the East may be prepared, and the Jews in increasing numbers are every year returning to their native land, and the British nation, politically and ecclesiastically, thank God, in both our



establishments of England and Scotland, seeks the good of Zion.

The watchman may have to wait indeed on his watch-tower a season, according to his office. The prophet Habakkuk brings this delay before us; but he is cheered by the divine assurance, "The vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak, and not lie; though it tarry, wait for it; because it will surely come, it will not tarry;" a passage applied by the Apostle in the Hebrews to the return of the Redeemer.

But the Church is stirred up to do its appointed work in this time of waiting; "to write the vision and make it plain; to prepare the way of the people; to remove stumbling stones," and to proclaim to the daughter of Sion every where, "Behold thy Saviour cometh."

Cheering it is to know that the Jews are now sought out through the earth; the Gospel is every where preached to them, and even in Jerusalem itself a missionary proclaims to them their own Messiah.

For 2500 years this promise has been buried like seed in the ground. O what riches of blessings are yet to be reaped through its budding forth! The bearing of the fulness of fruit of such precious promises, in God's own appointed time, will fill the world with a harvest of glory, to the everlasting praise of Jehovah.

But Christ's zeal does not rest here. Having appointed watchmen he quickens their earnestness by a gracious title and a solemn direction. Let us proceed then to consider

### 3. THE URGENT DUTY TO WHICH WE ARE CALLED.

*Ye that make mention of the Lord (or are the Lord's remembrancers), keep not silence, and give him no rest till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.*

How intensely fervent is the Saviour's zeal for Israel! Not content with his own earnest intercession, not content with appointing watchmen to the same end, he quickens them by the authority of his command to the like fervency of spirit with his own, he urges them to plead with God in terms that, without his direction, would seem to be daring presumption, *keep not rest* and give no rest to him; *keep not silence* and give no silence to him. How little we know yet of the mind of Christ, and how much we need to seek it! Truly blessed is that mind when attained. When our prayers go forth as brightness, Jerusalem's salvation will go forth as a lamp that burneth.

I would remark also that EVERY PRIVILEGE LEADS TO A

**DUTY; EVERY DUTY REPOSES ON A PRIVILEGE.** Our Lord appoints watchmen and promises to them the spirit of supplication, and in the strength of this gives a command to pray. "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure." We must look to the promised Spirit of grace if we would pray earnestly. To pray in the Holy Ghost is the means to pray fervently. The privilege of being the Lord's remembrancer is the spur to earnestness and the motive for confidence. And if signs of the accomplishment of the promise are now appearing, this may well be a farther and special encouragement to the duty.

But let us proceed to consider the duty itself and in harmony with the whole passage, we are led not merely coldly to state it in the forms of a duty, but rather affectionately to urge it upon you in several important views.

1. **REMEMBER YOUR HIGH OFFICE.**—God's remembrancers—what a trust he reposes in you! what a title he gives you! In heaven exhaustless treasures of mercy are in store; but in earth there is sin, misery, and desolation; you, my brethren, are the appointed channels through which streams of mercy may descend and make the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose. Christ appoints you his officers to this, and gives you the title, the Lord's remembrancers. It is a mystery of wisdom far beyond our thoughts that God's blessings should, as it were, wait on his people's prayers; yet is this plainly revealed, and it is our part not to raise questions but to act in faith and pray without doubting. There is a bright bow of promise shining on the face of the dark cloud of judgment impending over our world. That cloud shall become through prayers a cloud rich with mercy also, waiting our prayers, like Elijah's for Israel, to be opened in showers of blessings on the earth.

2. **BE FERVENT IN PRAYER.**—Keep not silence or rest. "*O pray for the peace of Jerusalem;*" give the Lord no silence or rest. "*The fervent effectual prayer of a righteous man availeth much.*" It is your great privilege that the Lord delights in fervent prayer. Plead, then, his gracious promises, be deeply sensible of the greatness of what we ask; be deeply sensible that it is our happiness to plead with him; be deeply sensible that this is the way by which his choicest blessings come to his Church. I press upon you then this solemn command to keep no rest till Jerusalem be established.

3. **BE CONFIDENT IN PRAYER.**—We have "access with boldness into the holiest of all by the blood of Jesus." This wonderful command, "Give the Lord no rest," may well encourage us to confide in God's love. To this confidence we are re-

markably called by the parable of the unjust judge, given for this end, "that men ought always to pray and not to faint. Hear what the unjust judge saith. And shall not God much more avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him, though he bear long with them. I tell you that he will avenge them speedily." The more bold and confiding, the more acceptable. God delights in the confidence of love; and you cannot expect too much from his goodness.

4. HAVE SCRIPTURAL OBJECTS IN PRAYER.—Let your prayers be enlightened according to God's will. Let your prayers be in the line of his revealed counsel. Pray for all men without exception; "for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth." But since the receiving of Israel is as life from the dead to the world, and here and elsewhere pre-eminently commanded and encouraged, therefore first and especially pray for Israel. Prayer should be like the Gospel, for the Jew first, and also for the Gentile. In prayer for all men, we honour God's love to all men; but in special prayer for the Jew, we honour not only his love to all men, but also his sovereignty and wisdom in the way by which that love shall be manifested.

5. HAVE ENLARGED DESIRES IN PRAYER.—Seek not only the establishment of Jerusalem, but that it may become a praise in the earth. The last question of our Lord's disciples was, "Wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel." Nor should we imagine our Lord was displeased with that question, as his command here may shew us. But what is the establishment of Jerusalem? Read the 60th of Isaiah; read the latter chapters of Ezekiel and of Revelation. See Jerusalem, as our Lord calls it, "the city of the great King." Mark the titles given it by God himself: "The place of thy throne, and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever." By the mouth of Jeremiah he gives the promise: "I will cause the captivity of Judah, and the captivity of Israel, to return, and will build them as at the first." O the wonders of this great establishment! Enlarge your thoughts and desires very greatly, and you will be sure, after all you imagine, to fall short of the reality. Then think of it as "a praise in the earth." The continuation of the passage just quoted from Jeremiah shews us this: "And it shall be to me a name of joy, a praise and an honour before all the nations, which shall hear all the good that I do unto them, and shall fear and tremble for all the goodness, and for all the prosperity which I procure unto it." Or in the language of Revelation: "The nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light of

it; and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it." Thus, at length, shall every nation be led to know and rejoice in Christ, and the whole earth be filled with his glory. Nothing less than this is the mind of Christ: the blessedness of the whole earth through the blessedness of Israel. Be you then enlarged to this hope. Here is an object of unspeakable moment. Here is the Divine method for bringing all men to Christ. It is his gracious purpose. "The Lord God will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all nations."

6. Once more, **ABOUND IN THANKSGIVING.** Our Lord, in the triumph of faith, says, "I will greatly rejoice in the Lord; my soul shall be joyful in my God." We should partake of his Spirit, giving thanks always for God's gracious and holy purposes. Our Lord is a pattern to his remembrancers. True knowledge of his word will shew you his mercy in all things, past and present; and, above all, in the good things to come. "When Israel shall blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit. Be ye glad and rejoice for ever in that which I create; for behold I create Jerusalem a rejoicing, and her people a joy."

And now, brethren, need I plead with you for the Jews' Society? It is the living voice of my text; at present, indeed, uttered feebly, but seeking every where to bring the Lord's remembrancers to the state of mind and the plain duty here set before us. Fulfil, then, your Saviour's directions: join the little company of his servants. If our minds have been raised to the largeness of this subject, we shall rejoice to make sacrifices for it, better suited than in time past to its vast moment and unspeakable importance. "The silver is mine and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts. He that is faithful in the least is faithful also in the greatest; and if you have not been faithful in the unrighteous mammon, who will commit to your trust the true riches, *the riches of God's eternal kingdom?*"

Let our collections, in this interesting cause, brethren, then begin on a scale that shall be a worthy pattern for future years.

## SERMON IV.

*The Jews brought to Repentance.*

**ZECH. xii. 10.**—And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications, and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him as one that is in bitterness for his first-born.

THE Prophecies of Scripture have a general and a special purpose. The general purpose is to teach some great doctrine, promise, or duty, applicable to believers in all places and at all times. The special purpose is to reveal some distinct fact of God's providence, in which that doctrine, promise, or duty, is specially manifested.

The verse from which my text is taken contains a rich promise of grace, with a general view of the cause and effects of true repentance. It also contains a special prophecy of Israel's conversion in the time to come.

May the Divine Spirit here promised be largely given to us, while we consider the blessed subject.

1. The source of Israel's conversion.
2. The object of Israel's contemplation.
3. Their godly sorrow.

## 1. THE SOURCE OF ISRAEL'S CONVERSION.

"I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and supplication."

Here notice:

1. THE GIFT OF THE SPIRIT OF GOD.—Here only is the source of true conversion to God. A grand mistake men in general make here, as if they could convert themselves to God whenever they pleased. And no doubt so far this is true, that the entire blame of their not being converted rests wholly upon themselves. This is clear, when God commands them, "Cast away your transgressions whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new heart and a new spirit, for why will ye die, O house of Israel? Ye will not," says our Lord himself, "come unto me that ye may have life." "They hated knowledge," says Solomon, "and did not choose the fear of the Lord; they would none of my counsel, they despised all my reproofs, therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices."



And, yet, still salvation is so wholly of grace, that "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy." Our Saviour testifies: "No man can come to me except the father draw him, and I will raise him up at the last day, as it is written in the prophets; and they shall be all taught of God; every man therefore that hath heard and learned of the Father cometh unto me."

If we attain a new heart and a new spirit, it is because God puts his Spirit within us. And what an unspeakable consolation is this! Who that knows any thing of our God, does not rejoice that the power of conversion is wholly in his hand? What Christian that has been converted does not delight to ascribe it all to sovereign grace and love?

Such is our aversion to the things of God, such our weakness in them,—so mighty are the impediments raised by the world, the flesh, and the devil, that our only comfort is in Divine power new creating us—in the workmanship of God within us. To be born of the Spirit, to be thus made new creatures in Christ, is that all-important, really spiritual, divine, and lasting change, without which we cannot see the kingdom of God.

Every promise, then, of the Spirit of God should be unspeakably precious to us.

2. THE OFFICES WHICH HE SUSTAINS.—We have two offices here set before us.

*The Spirit of Grace.*—A most blessed title of the Holy Spirit, shewing us how good and gracious he is in himself, how he delights to reveal the grace and loving-kindness of God to man, and that he is the source of all grace in man. We have too little realized the exceeding love of the Holy Ghost to man. The love of the Father is clear, *he spared not his Son*; the love of the Son is clear, *he died for us*; and so let the love of the Divine Spirit be equally dear to us. O how much he has done for us; how ready he is to do all things in us! Who was it raised up all the righteous men of old to be our patterns? Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, Prophets, Kings, Apostles, Martyrs, in every age. Who was it raised them up to maintain the truth for us?—the Holy Ghost. Who inspired the whole Bible in every jot and tittle?—the Holy Ghost. By whom did the Virgin Mary conceive our Divine Redeemer?—by the power of the Holy Ghost. Who raised him from the dead?—he was quickened by the Spirit. Who called forth witnesses in each age of the Church of Christ; Christian fathers, Waldenses, Lollards, Reformers, Puritans, and faithful men to this day?—the Holy Ghost has thus blessed the world, and conveyed to us the truths of God.

And is he not the spirit of grace? Who convinces of sin, enlightens the mind, quickens, regenerates, converts, sanctifies, consoles, and produces in us all the fruits of righteousness?—the Holy Ghost. Well then is he called the Spirit of Grace. O may you feel its truth in your own heart!

Equally also is he THE SPIRIT OF SUPPLICATION. All real prayer is entirely his work in the heart. “We know not what to pray for as we ought; but the Holy Spirit helpeth our infirmities, and maketh intercession for us.” This he does in a vast variety of ways, first shewing us our great sinfulness, need, and danger; then shewing us what fulness of grace there is provided for us. He it is who discovers to us the throne of grace set up for us, and with what freedom grace may be obtained on asking; he enlarges our desires after he has thus prepared our hearts,—supplies us with cries and fervent desires,—puts words, and pleas, and arguments into our mouths, and strength into our souls, to continue seeking. O may you know, my dear brethren, each in your own heart, what “the fervent effectual prayer of a righteous man is!”—what it is to receive faith, and waiting, and longing, and striving in prayer for him; in short, what it is to “*pray in the Holy Ghost!*”

HIS OUTPOURING ON ISRAEL.—Many are the gracious promises thus made, particularly to the Jews. See especially Isaiah xlv. 1–5, “Yet now hear, O Jacob my servant, and Israel whom I have chosen. Thus saith the Lord that made thee, and formed thee from the womb, which will help thee; fear not, O Jacob, my servant, and thou Jerusalem whom I have chosen; for I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground. I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing on thine offspring.” And then there follows a description of the blessed effects produced by it. So again, Joel ii. 23, “Be glad then ye children of Zion, and rejoice in the Lord your God, for he hath given you the former rain moderately, and he will cause to come down for you the rain, the former rain and the latter rain in the first-month.” But there is here a more special application of the promise to the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and no doubt this will also have a literal fulfilment. In the time mentioned both in Ezra (ii. 63) and Nehemiah (vii. 65), “when the priest shall stand up with Urim and Thummim,” the genealogies of the families shall all be divinely revealed, and the house of David clearly distinguished from others as the royal line of princes. The inhabitants of Jerusalem, also, as dwelling in the chief city, and most exposed in the last trials of the Jews, seem to be the first blessed. What a type has the Divine Spirit here furnished us with of those brought

into the family of the Messiah. See the sons of David, Amnon, Absalom, and Adonijah; and see the first followers of David, "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him;" 1 Sam. xxii. 2: and learn the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ to us sinners. Truly of our Lord Christ was it said, "this man receiveth sinners and eateth with them." And what were the inhabitants of Jerusalem when our Lord was crucified. Those who said, "Away with him, crucify him, his blood be on us and on our children." O wondrous grace, that for such our Lord prayed on the cross, and on such the Lord should pour out of his spirit, and bestow the riches of his grace! Let us never think there is a Jew so prejudiced, so guilty, as to be beyond the reach of this infinite love. Let us never think our sins have placed us beyond the reach of his pardoning mercy, and the fullest outpouring of his grace.

THE TIME OF ITS FULFILMENT IS YET FUTURE.—First fruits there were indeed of this on the day of Pentecost, when 3000 souls were "pricked in their hearts, and said, Men and brethren what shall we do?" and were baptized in the name of Christ. But the large mass of the nation rejected him. The full outpouring of the Spirit is yet to come.

Our prophecy also is clearly connected with other times yet unarrived; when *all nations*, as we read in the former verses, "*shall come against Jerusalem;*" when Jerusalem shall be "a burdensome stone to all people, and all that burden themselves with it shall be cut to pieces." The Jews are yet to be restored, restored mainly in an unconverted state. The nations of the earth are yet to join together in a war against the Jews, and in a future siege of Jerusalem, and their armies to perish there. These things are fully described here, and in the 38th and 39th of Ezekiel, and in the 3d Joel; as also in their heavenly aspect in the book of Revelation. This is the war of Armageddon, as described in the 19th of Revelation. And at this time, probably now very rapidly approaching, shall be fulfilled the prediction Ezek. xxxix. 28, "Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God which caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen, but I have gathered them into their own land, and have left none of them any more there," (not one Jew ungathered from the heathen.) "Neither will I hide my face any more from them, for I have poured out my spirit upon the house of Israel, saith the Lord God." Nothing can be more clear than that these predictions have yet to be accomplished. In every Jew sojourning in a Gentile land, we behold it unfulfilled.

## 2. THE OBJECT OF ISRAEL'S CONTEMPLATION.

"They shall look on me whom they have pierced."

As soon as the Spirit is given to them, at once they look to Jesus. This corresponds to the office of the Divine Spirit, as described by our Lord, John xvi. "If I depart, I will send the Comforter to you. And when he is come he will convince the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment. He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you." Notice,

1. THE PRESENT OBJECT OF THE JEWS' EXPECTATION.—How low are they fallen! On what grovelling objects do they now fix their minds? "They all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter." They are a proverb and a bye-word for their covetousness, and degradation, and miserable employments. The "precious sons of Zion, comparable to fine gold, how are they esteemed as earthen pitchers, the work of the hands of the potter." They desire still a merely visible kingdom, and an earthly glory, and to have a worldly pre-eminence above all nations. Spiritual blessedness, righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, is little in their thoughts. Their guilt in rejecting the Messiah is yet wholly unacknowledged by them as a nation. They still count Jesus, their own Messiah, a deceiver. When they are again in part restored also, they will still be in a self-righteous state. They are regarded in the 66th Isaiah as building a temple, and glorying in it; as making their sacrifices, and trusting in them; "Yea they have chosen," says the Lord by Isaiah, "their own ways, and their soul delighted in their abominations; I also will choose their delusions, and bring their fears upon them." Following their false christs, false teachers and leaders, and expecting mere carnal and earthly glories, their last troubles come upon them, exceeding even their former troubles, so that two-thirds are described as cut off, and the third part only brought to a real repentance, in this last furnace of affliction, at length call on the Lord, and are fully saved from their enemies.

2. THE ENTIRE CHANGE WHICH IS HERE FORETOLD.—It begins in the spirit of prayer, arising from the greatness of their trouble. As Jeremiah predicts, "Alas for that day is great, so that none is like it; it is the time of Jacob's trouble, but he shall be saved out of it;" Jer. xxx. 7. And he afterwards (xxxi. 9) tells us how, saying, "They shall come with weeping, and with supplications will I lead them." As they first rejected Moses, and then he became their deliverer and their glory, when they put themselves under his charge; so



will it be as to our Lord Jesus Christ. He who is now counted as a deceiver, is yet to be the glory of his people Israel. His kingdom now is disregarded, because it is an inward kingdom, veiled and hidden from the eyes of men, and which, without conversion, cannot be truly discerned; "except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." It will then be seen in its real excellence, full of spiritual blessedness and heavenly glory, for the Jews will have the stony heart removed, a heart of flesh given; a new heart and a new spirit put within them. O what a veil of darkness will be removed, what scales of darkness will fall from their eyes, when they behold the long rejected and despised Jesus as their own, their true, their ever-glorious Messiah! How it will open all the beauties and glories of the divine character to them! What a reality it will give to their types and sacrifices! What a view of the abomination of self-exaltation, of self-righteousness, and pride! What a preparation for their being "a peculiar treasure unto God above all people, a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation!" And then how great the glories of their future state! The Scriptures labour for figures and expressions to describe it. "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. Thou shalt be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God. I will make you a name and a praise among all the people of the earth."

THEIR VIEW OF CHRIST'S ATONEMENT is, however, specially pointed out as the great object of their contemplation. And no wonder. Jehovah himself says, "They shall look upon me whom they have pierced." Where can a sight be beheld comparable to this. The Lord of all worlds in a human form! What grace and condescension thus to humble himself! The Lord of all worlds, in this form, nailed to the tree by his own creatures, his own people, whom he came specially to save and to bless, to exalt and to honour! This object, then, attracts every eye; just as in the time of the deep trouble of the brethren of Joseph in Egypt, their conscience flashed in their faces, and they said one to another, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear, therefore is this distress come upon us." But O how much more will it affect them when, not a brother merely, but their own eagerly expected and long waited for Messiah, their Lord and their King, as well as their brother, whom they valued at thirty pieces of silver, the price of a slave (Exod. xxi. 32), and crowned with thorns, beat with stripes, spit upon, reviled, stripped naked, and fixed with nails to the tree, and thus pierced, and scorned,



and crucified, they killed the Prince of Life—when this despised one is seen to be their God, their own God and Saviour.

And then they contemplate all this suffering on his part as a sacrifice to put away their sins. While they gaze on their once wounded Saviour, at length they will say, "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities, the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed." They will behold a full atonement made for their own sins, and for all sin of all men. They will say, what the beloved disciple who stood by the cross while he was pierced has said, "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world."

Their memory of national guilt will then be deep, abiding, humbling, and quickening. How often in the Scriptures is this view of Israel brought before us. The goodness of God humbling them, and effectually at last bringing them to true repentance. "That thou mayest remember and be confounded, and never open thy mouth any more, when I am pacified toward thee for all that thou hast done, saith the Lord;" Ezek. xvi. 63. "Ye shall loathe yourselves in your own sight for all your evils that ye have committed;" Ezek. xx. 43.

O brethren, what a lesson is this to us Gentiles, not to neglect Christ and his salvation, as the Jews have done, lest our guilt be greater than theirs, and our punishment and our misery parallel with theirs. Remember how, in allusion to this very piercing of Christ, it is foretold, not only with reference to the Jews, but to all nations, "Behold, he cometh with clouds, and every eye shall see him, they also which pierced him, and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of him." The world's redemption is not by its goodness, but in the conviction of its vile ingratitude towards its only and Divine Saviour.

### 3. THEIR GODLY SORROW.

"And they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him as one that is in bitterness for his first born."

THE SOURCE OF THIS GODLY SORROW is a pierced Immanuel, a view of Christ crucified applied to the heart by the Spirit of Grace; and none other but a pierced Saviour can realize this promise to Jew or to Gentile. Jesus of Nazareth nailed to the tree and pierced, is therefore clearly the Messiah predicted here. He alone is God and man; he alone is the Son of David who was pierced by the Jews. They shall see this, they shall feel this; and O what compunctions of heart will the

knowledge of it really felt give to them! They shall mourn for him, as having suffered by their sin; that they by wicked hands crucified and slew him. Their national guilt in crucifying Christ will be the great spring of their national sorrow at their conversion. It is the feeling of deepest grief in the sufferings of the most beloved object. When David had committed his fearful crimes of adultery and murder, all other sins were lost in the blaze of his ingratitude to God, and rebellion against him, so that he exclaims, "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight;" so will the Jews in this day view their sin in crucifying their beloved Messiah. And say not the Jews now living had no hand in it. It is a sin continued to the present day, and the present generation, not only by the saying of their forefathers, "his blood be on us and on our children," but also by their own yet persevered in rejection of Christ. O how will they apply David's words and say, "Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness." The deed of the cross has yet to exert its liveliest power in producing godly sorrow in the Jewish nation.

THE DEPTHS OF THIS SORROW deserve also our consideration: "as one mourneth for his only son." Christ is the only begotten Son of God. Christ is the first born of many brethren, and they bring now all those tender relations into their own sympathies and feelings; and in the strength of such love, aggravate their own past sinfulness in their minds, and imbitter their sorrows, just as we see persons to do in deep and real grief, dwelling on every thing that increases their sorrow. The way in which they now view Jesus is, he is dear to us as an only son: O yes, the glory of Israel is Jesus of Nazareth, and his very name among them shall be *David, the beloved*. And their eighteen hundred years' rejection of him, and the deed which their forefathers did to him, and they have so long approved, shall at length fill them with the intense sorrow of a parent weeping for an only son. They have in past days thus mourned on account of their national judgments (Jer. vi. 26; Amos viii. 10). But this their last sorrow here predicted is not the sorrow of the world, that worketh death, but "a godly sorrow that worketh repentance unto salvation not to be repented of:" deep bitterness there is in it, as for the first born; but it is like the bitter weeping of Peter when he went out from denying his Lord, which precedes complete restoration. Most extensive it is; each family weeps apart, and their wives, and it reaches families of families; but it is followed by a foun-

tain opened for sin and uncleanness, and the full recovery of Israel.

ITS FRUIT is most blessed. How the evangelical prophet speaks, when, with such redoubled earnestness, he is taught to cry, "Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people; speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned, for she hath received of the Lord's hands double for all her sins." Blessed is the fruit that flows from this mourning. Israel becomes, instead of a proud, self-righteous nation, humble, meek, and lowly. Israel becomes, instead of a self-justifying nation, a nation acknowledging its sinfulness, and justifying only God; instead of a bitter, persecuting enmity towards other nations, Israel becomes a nation full of zeal to spread the good tidings of the dying Saviour to all the world. Instead of hatred of Christ and his name, his truth and his people, Israel becomes full of ardent attachment to Jesus, and the largest love to every human being. Instead of hardening their hearts in unbelief, they become the most confiding of all nations in the truth of God. Instead of being remarkable for a revolting heart, they alone of all the nations revolt and backslide no more, and remain *the camp of the saints and the beloved city*, in the midst of the last apostasy, before the final judgment of all the dead. Righteousness and love become their stamped character for ever. Such is the fruit of their godly sorrow in spiritual graces, and blessedness to themselves.

And what its fruit is in their national honour and exaltation, and what its fruit is in blessedness to the whole earth, is the theme of many an inspired prophecy from Genesis to Revelation. The Redeemer has then a throne on which he can sit,—a nation over whom he can reign,—a city in which he can dwell,—“and the name of the city shall be, the Lord is there; for Jerusalem shall be the city of the great King, and the whole earth shall be filled with his glory.”

But I must hasten to bring before you the rich PRACTICAL LESSONS with which this subject abounds.

1. THE SPIRITUAL USE OF THE DOCTRINE OF TRINITY.—This doctrine here is very apparent. All the power of the prophecy is in Jesus being Jehovah. All the change in the Jewish nation is by the Spirit poured out upon them. All spiritual blessings have their source in the Father's love. The Trinity comes, not merely as a theory, but with a rich cluster of blessings; not merely in the New Testament—it is interwoven with all the prophecies and promises of the sacred volume. It is full of unction and comfort, full of practical use and daily benefit.

2. PRAYER FOR THE OUTPOURING OF GOD'S SPIRIT is a practical lesson clearly taught us here. Why is the promise given, but to lead to prayer? I will yet for this be enquired of by the house of Israel to do it for them.

And, truly blessed is the thought that God is now leading both Jews and Gentiles to prayer, and it is not impossible but that a mutual agreement may speedily take place between them to pray together, at least, at stated times, for those blessings which God has promised to the Jews, and which, all Christians long that they should have.

3. FAITH IN CHRIST CRUCIFIED is a practical lesson taught with great distinctness in this passage, As when the Jews beheld the brazen serpent, lifted up on the pole in the wilderness, they were healed of the poison of the fiery serpent—so, looking to Jesus, hung on the tree for their sins, shall they be healed of the more poisonous bite of Satan, by unbelief causing to them more venomous and deadly destruction. As they view God manifest in the flesh, wounded and pierced by their sins, they will be saved. Look unto me and be ye saved, all ye ends of the earth.

4. THE FURTHERANCE OF THE PREACHED GOSPEL is a farther practical lesson. The sum of the gospel is Christ crucified—not to be reserved or hidden as the Jesuits did in China, and some alas! even in England would advise; but to be preached FIRST OF ALL as St. Paul did, "I delivered to you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures." As he is thus set before men lifted up on the cross, he will draw all men to him. No other way is given to us for the conversion of men than proclaiming far and wide the glorious gospel of the grace of God.

5. TENDER COMPASSION FOR THE JEWS. This is our proper feeling towards our elder brother of Israel. "Thy servants take pleasure in her stones. It pitieth them to see her in the dust." Think of their past sufferings; think of their coming anguish and mourning. Think that we have been received through their rejection; by their fall salvation is come to us. And if one spark of ingenuous feeling be left in our bosom, it must fill us with tender emotions of sympathy and commiseration for our long rejected brethren of the house of Israel.

6. CONFIDENT HOPE OF ISRAEL'S CONVERSION is the last lesson which I would bring. Not a shadow of doubt should remain on our minds that all Israel shall yet be saved; that they have not been so long spared, and preserved amidst such mighty evils as those through which they have passed, but with a design full of mercy and goodness to them in the end.

They shall be grafted in again. They shall glory in Jesus their Lord, they shall be a full blessing to the whole earth.

Let us then help forward this to the utmost of our means and power. Thanks be unto our God for all the contributions that have been offered up already. All glory to his name for any interest which has been excited on this occasion in the minds of the inhabitants of this city on this subject. May it spread through every part of the nation. Let Edinburgh set an example to be followed by their brethren through the whole kingdom; that England, Scotland, and Ireland may be united in one combined effort to give to the Jews those blessings which they once conveyed to us.





12 A

# COURSE

OF

# ENGLISH READING,

ADAPTED TO

EVERY TASTE AND CAPACITY:

WITH

ANECDOTES OF MEN OF GENIUS.

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BY

THE REV. JAMES PYCROFT, B.A.

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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PHILADELPHIA:

CAREY & HART, 126 CHESNUT STREET.

1845.

STEREOTYPED BY L. JOHNSON.

PRINTED BY T. K. & P. G. COLLINS, PHILADELPHIA.

## PREFACE.

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MISS JANE C. divided her indoor hours into three parts: the housekeeping and dinner-ordering cares of life claimed one part; hearing two younger sisters say their lessons a second part; and during the third and most delightful remainder she would lock herself up in her bedroom, and move on the marker of Russell's "Modern Europe" at the rate of never less than fifteen pages an hour, and sometimes more.

Being so vexatious as to ask wherein her satisfaction consisted, I was told—in the thought that she did her duty; that she kept her resolution, and exercised self-denial; that she read as much as the best educated of her friends; that continually fewer histories remained to read; that labour sweetened leisure, and that she hoped one day to excel in literature.

A few torturing questions elicited that all the labour, all the self-denial, and all the resolution aforesaid, had not produced any sensible increase, or more than a vague but anxious expectation, of available information, love of study, confidence in society, or mental improvement. In short, my very deserving friend was all but convinced that there was some truth in the everlasting annoying remark of a certain jealous and idle companion, that she was "stupefying her brains for no good."

A few days after I received a letter, from which I extract the following:—

"I'll tell you what:—I will never forgive your vexatious sifting of my ways and means of reading, if you do not sit down and write me a list of books which *will* do me good; and such plans and contrivances of study as may enable me to improve as fast as you say that my incessant toil and trouble deserve. Now, mind—I'll follow your plan to the letter, and if it does not succeed, the fault must be yours."

In reply, I gave half an hour's instructions, which led to such an increase in the knowledge, the entertainment, the habits of reflection, and sense of improvement of my pupil, that, after modifying the same instructions to suit the taste and capacity of other literary young ladies and literary young gentlemen, and after putting their value repeatedly to the test, I venture to publish them in the following pages.

J. P.

Bath, May 15, 1844.

# SUMMARY OF COURSE OF ENGLISH READING.

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# A COURSE OF ENGLISH READING.

ALL the world would allow that a traveller would pass more easily from any one point to any other point by having a distinct picture of the road before he started. All the world would approve of a traveller's stopping once or twice in his journey, and asking himself, "To what place am I going?" and "Is this the best way to reach it?" But how many myriads in this world aforesaid do set out on the long and intricate road of life without a map, and, while they can only keep moving, never stop to ask whether they are in their latitude or out of it. So blindly do men run after all the imaginary prizes of life, and just as blindly do they pursue any one of them. Consider intellectual pursuits. Many young persons have said to me, "I should so like to possess general information, and to be well read, like our very amusing friend. Is it not strange that, amidst all the toils of a most engrossing profession, he can find time to acquire so much knowledge on every subject?"

"Not at all; a few minutes a day, well employed, will be quite enough."

"Really I do not find it so. What I read very rarely interests me; so I forget nearly as fast as I read, and grow more and more confused."

"Too little interest, and too much confusion! Really you have enough to complain of. Do you know that this may constitute all the difference between your acquirements and those of our friend?"

"But he is so clever."

"Can he do as much in one hour as you can in six?"

"No! I am sure he cannot. I see your argument. I know you are going to remind me I have more than six times the number of hours to study."

"Is there no one subject on which you feel yourself equal to him? Think of gardening, drawing, scriptural reading," &c.

"True, but I am so fond of the subjects; for—"

"You would say your attention never flags, and your memory never fails."

"Just so. But I am not so fond of some other subjects, which still I very much wish to know."

"But do you not remember a time when you were not so fond even of these favourite subjects?"

"Certainly; you would infer therefore—"

"I would infer what I positively have experienced both in myself and others, that we may acquire a fondness and interest for study, and that under good guidance it is hardly ever too late to begin."

"And the advice you intend to give me is founded on—"

"Is founded on certain simple and self-evident means of creating an interest in all we read, and thus insuring attention, and consequently memory. Suppose you wished to nourish a man's body, you would say, 'Feed him.' 'But he does not digest.' 'Probably he has no appetite?' 'Yes; he will eat some few things.' 'Then choose these few; attend to his appetite, and by that judge when and what he can digest.' So with the mind; attend to the curiosity,

which is the appetite of the mind, and be sure that whatever the mind receives with avidity will tend to its maturity and strength."

In this way I have reasoned with many of my friends: I have had the satisfaction of seeing my advice followed, and attended with more success than I ever anticipated. One pupil in particular is now present to my mind, and that a lady—a circumstance most encouraging to all who distrust their own abilities—and it is her experience especially which induces me to think that the same advice may be generally useful. My prescriptions, I trust, are not like the panacea of the day, the same for all patients in all stages; but such as, being based on the same principles of mental health, are nicely modified to suit every age and constitution. If my rules seem obvious, and what all well-educated persons may be presumed to know, I answer, Do we not often hear readers say, I like a book that begins at the beginning of a subject—that presumes not that I have knowledge, but that I am generally ignorant? Have the best informed never searched for information, though with affected indifference—they would not, on any account, be seen to do so—even in a child's story-book, or penny catechism? Hesiod, as quoted by Aristotle, divides the world into three classes:—the first have sense of their own; the second use the sense of their neighbours; the third do neither one nor the other. Now all the advice I have to offer is addressed to the second class, with a slight hope and a sincere desire to make converts of the third. As to arrangement, I will not promise to be very exact. As a traveller in the boundless fields of literature, I shall take the privilege of describing fair flowers and curiosities as they occurred to me, and to quote the very words of many fellow-travellers, some pointing out my way, and some asking theirs. Full well I know that a man who will stand forth like a witness in a court of justice, and say not what he thinks, but what he knows and has seen, and sometimes what effect these occurrences produced upon his mind, may find his humble testimony decide knotty questions and promote high purposes he knew not of. Thus, by truth copied from the plain tablets of memory, do I resolve to try so to lay down the law that each may find his own case, and to hold up a mirror in which every man may see himself.

The first case that occurs to me—the case of nearly all who have the ambition, but not the method, to be literary characters—is the following:—A young lady of great intelligence asked, "What would you recommend me to read?"

"That depends on what you have been reading lately—the new matter must assimilate with the old, or it will not digest."

"Well, then, I have read nearly all Hume and Smollett, and I want to know some more of the history of England, and the continental nations too—shall I read Russell's Modern Europe?"

"Excuse me for saying you have rather a large

ground-plan for your historical edifice. Will you be able to build up in proportion? Remember the Tower of Babel and the confusion of tongues. A dozen and a half of thick volumes! Can you remember all this?"

"Oh no. The worst of it is I cannot remember even common facts, succession of kings, wars and peace, and the like, which even children know from their little books. I was so long over Hume, that I forgot the first part before I had read the last."

"And if you had only read the child's history through twice, you would possess more real knowledge at the present moment."

This was allowed: my pupil also agreed that Hume dwelt too long on some topics in which she felt no interest, and too little on others; that with all long histories it was difficult to grasp the outline of events so comprehensively as to enjoy the advantage of comparing one period with another, and that in proportion as these defects caused her interest to be less, it required her perseverance to be greater. An admission which called to mind the expression of another literary pilgrim, who exclaimed from the very slough of despair, "What am I to try next—I have waded through two volumes of Russell, and am heartily tired by a third?"

I now took a sheet of paper and drew what was intended for an historical tree. The trunk bore in straggling capitals the words Hume and Smollett; and in smaller letters the names of the sovereigns, each of whom was allowed a space commensurate with his reign. "Here," I said, "you have one continuous history, as it were, the stem and prop, or the connected chain of your knowledge:—a less substantial supporter than Hume would do as well at present, because you seem to have forgotten (which is about the same thing as never having read) his History. I wish you to have a comprehensive knowledge of this whole chain, so take the History of England<sup>1</sup> by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, one small duodecimo of 140 pages, price 1s. 3d. This you may know thoroughly in four or five days; and afterwards keep it in mind by writing out the answers of the questions given at the end. In this way your chain of history will be connected, and you may learn to run over in your mind all the events from Queen Boadicea to Queen Victoria without the book; at least I have known children of ten years of age do so."

"Then what shall I do with Hume?"

"I'll tell you: Hume's history will strengthen particular parts of this fine chain I have mentioned, and make the imaginary trunk the thicker and better able to bear leaves and support the weight of branches. You will guess that by the leaves and offshoots I mean biographies and other works read in connection; the desire for which will be excited by this chain of reading, or grow out of the tree of history."

"But how am I to do this, and with amusement too; for you promised it should be amusing, and with less bootless labour than I have been enduring hitherto, for my studies have been literally 'bubble, bubble, toil and trouble'?"

"Tell me, first, what *desire* or curiosity has *grown out of* your chain of reading?"

"Why, I have a curiosity to know more of Ridley, Cranmer, and those glorious martyrs."

"First cast your eye over the three or four pages of Mary's reign in the little history, you will then have a vivid recollection of their times; and then read a separate account of these champions of Christendom in some other books."

"Just so; but then must I go through four or five volumes of the Reformation?"

"There is no kind of necessity; continue to read about the martyrs as long as your curiosity lasts.

You may find a short mention of them in a Cyclopædia or Biographical Dictionary;<sup>2</sup> or you may turn to a full and graphic account in Southey's Book of the Church, by help of the Index. See, I keep my promise; when 'toil and trouble begins or interest ends,' I say, stop and read something else."

My friend was laudably solicitous as to whether all this was sound advice: she thought "that where there was no pain, there would be no cure;" so besides urging my own experience, I sought and found authority, and that, by the way, in a book in which authority may be found on subjects almost as multifarious as we would expect in a famous book purporting to treat *De quolibet ente et multis aliis rebus*; "about every thing in the world, and many other things besides."

Dr. Johnson said that for general improvement a man should read whatever his immediate inclination prompted him to take up: he added, "What we read with inclination makes a much stronger impression. If we read without inclination, half the mind is employed in fixing the attention, so there is but one half to be employed on what we read;"<sup>3</sup> and this the Doctor said when sixty-seven years had rolled over his sober head.

This was a case in point; but I soon found one bearing still more forcibly on my argument. "Idleness is a disease which must be combated; but I would not advise a rigid adherence to a particular plan of study." My plan requires no rigid adherence, but allows full latitude, as the Doctor goes on to require. "I, myself, have never persisted in any plan for two days together. A man ought to read just as inclination leads him, for what he reads as a task will do him little good."—Vol. ii. p. 213.

My advice will not, I trust, be found at variance with that of the Doctor: I would give to power all the direction of method without cramping the strong spring of inclination. Where two books, or two courses of reading, are equally amusing, there is no hardship in being ordered to choose the one which is the more improving.

This advice was followed. A few evenings after, I found my pupil had read with the sharp edge of curiosity, and so, of course, had digested lives of Ridley and Cranmer, and, which I anticipated, had become curious still further about Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary. "What!" I said; "how came these characters to interest you more to-day than when you read of them in Hume?" "Because," was the natural reply, "the association was different. I care more about those who fought or befriended the pope, than about men who lost heads or won crowns, to say nothing of long chapters about primogeniture, in which, by the way, our friend is so accurate; but I understand it is only from association with his law books." It was now seen what I meant, that every person has a kind of peculiar curiosity, on attention to the dictates of which his memory and improvement depend.

This curiosity is an appetite which "grows by what it feeds on." Let me relate another passage from my perceptorial diary:—"A most wonderfully retentive memory has that Captain Evans we met yesterday: he talks on every subject; I only wonder that Mr. Wood, when here on his circuit, did not seem to think more of him." "I should wonder more if he did; the captain talks for effect: he has more vanity than love of literature: you would take Mr. Wood's opinion of him;" and he remarked what a bore the man was; that he went away like a steam-engine in his own line, but clogged the moment he got off of it; pursued no game but what he himself had started, and could fight but badly on his own ground, and was no match for the poorest antagonist on any other. Strangely enough, there was another person in the same company, of known depth and

<sup>1</sup> OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, price 25 cents, republished by Carey & Hart, Philadelphia, who now republish the entire series of School Books printed in England by the Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA, edited by Dr. Leiber, in 13 volumes, 8vo. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

<sup>3</sup> Boswell, vol. vi. p. 163.



research, who heard this "captain bold" without taking the trouble to correct his facts, or question his conclusions; and who also observed the next day he "only wished men would not worry their friends in the evening with what they had read without understanding the very same morning." How true is the observation that men who have not studied some one subject as a profession, or with as much assiduity and thought as a profession requires, having no standard of accuracy, can rarely trust themselves to speak before sound men on any single topic. Lies, whether expressed or implied, (and what is affectation but lies in a state of solution,) always discourage truth, and the humble endeavours of simple honesty; and so in the present instance; a youth honourably desirous of improvement was almost persuaded by the empty pretensions of a shallow reader of what is most aptly called the *light* literature of the *day*, to wit, not weighty enough to survive till the morrow, that the knowledge worthy of a proper man is beyond ordinary ability to attain.

Let a vain, chattering character read the latest article in the "United Service Magazine," talk at the reading-room door on the contents with some of those party gentlemen who are to be seen in every town like China jars, or male Caryatides, daily fixtures, for fear any stranger should want a clue to the fashionable library; and with the sum-total of remarks and illustrations so collected; let him talk loud and long to the next company he meets, and he will be regarded as the man of general information. The ignorant do not discover the cheat, and the wise despise too much to expose it, or should they venture to qualify the general praise, they are called jealous, and pass unregarded.

"Well," said my young friend, "all I know is, I should have felt more comfortable had I known more of the subject he was discussing. The last war—Napoleon—Nelson—and the Duke, are matters about which I have a very confused and shallow stock of information. How should I proceed?—'Gurwood's Despatches,' Alison, volumes of Southey on the Peninsula, and others on the Revolution, will take me so long, I shall starve for want of knowledge before I gain it at this slow rate."

He was soon made to understand that these were not the books to begin with, and was warned with the mention of Robinson Crusoe's boat, too big to launch, and his first plan of a goat-pen, two miles round, which would have given him as little property in his flock as if he had no pen at all. My friend saw that long historical works, and most others, consist of two parts:—

First, facts.

Secondly, observations on facts.

As to the facts, he did not want to know thoroughly all the minutiae mentioned in the books above mentioned—a perfect knowledge of a very small portion would satisfy him for the present; undoubtedly: nay more, a small collection would serve as standards round which other ideas might rally, as fixed points, for association, in aid of memory, and as links, however coarse, to make the chain complete, without a break, till time were allowed to substitute links stronger and more minute. This youth had also the confidence to allow that, by comparison of facts, he might discern what were effects and what causes, and so have a home supply of observations; for the larger stock of ideas we import the less we grow, and the more minds fall out of cultivation. I encouraged him with the prospect of becoming in course of time almost exclusively his own grower and consumer as to observations: and when books are to be read for calling facts alone, and most observations passed by as being already known, he saw that cumbrous volumes would in effect be considerably reduced in size, and asked, "Is this the reason I see you with a book on your favourite subject, turning over the leaves without seeming to read five lines out of a page?" "Yes, frequently five lines are enough to show what the author is going to observe, and by degrees we obtain

the same facility in reading facts as observations. Did you not see me the other day pass over nearly a whole chapter of travels in Russia? The reason was that the table of contents showed me that it contained substantially the same matter as a volume I had just before read on the same subject." However, let no readers be encouraged by these observations to fall into a careless and desultory habit of study. I allow them to miss what they already *know*: I do not say what they have already *read*. Accurate reading and reflection are their own reward, by saving time and trouble in the end. Sheridan truly remarked, "Instead of always reading, think, think, on every subject: there are only a few leading ideas, and these we may exogitate for ourselves." While others talk of so many hours of study daily, and so many books read, those who really improve think of questions solved and clear knowledge attained of definite subjects. "So, my friend," I continued, "to gain confidence in speaking of Napoleon and his contemporaries, take first of all a book of facts; do as I did some years since, in idle time, by the sea-side—I took Miller's History of George III.,<sup>1</sup> one double-columned volume of 400 pages; giving something like an epitome of the newspapers, from 1760 to 1820, and bearing on each page, in two or three places, lines in capitals, drawing attention to the respective topics, as in pages 332 and 333; Advance of the British into Spain, under Sir John Moore; again, Sir J. Moore's Retreat; again, Battle of Corunna, and Death of Moore."

I commenced at p. 207, which gave the history of the end of the year 1789: I wrote on the top of every page "A. D. 17—, or A. D. 18—," and in this manner my book became a ready book of reference for any newspaper allusion to the days of our fathers. A few days' reading took me through the 200 pages which gave the history from the beginning of the Revolution to the death of George III. Still I intended to read the same two or three times more. I was in haste to complete, as I say, my chain in a fair, substantial way first, and strengthen it afterwards. I did not read from end to end; but when tired, I used to dip into interesting parts, such as victories and state trials; so this history suited me in all humours, whether as a novel or work of memory. It would puzzle any one to guess what parts made most impression on my memory: they were not "the moving incidents by flood and field," but facts which others might have overlooked, and so should I, only they happened at different times to have formed the subject of conversation in my presence, and thus became matters of special interest to me. Remember there is a maxim among lawyers, that private reading makes little impression till legal practice shows its use, and fixes attention to important points. Daily intercourse with men and books serves the general reader as practice serves the lawyer; by fixing attention, it insures memory. Nor is this the only point of comparison. Do you think any lawyer's knowledge can comprehend all the ponderous volumes in Lincoln's Inn library, and these, to the uninitiated, seem equally deserving of study? Certainly not. Then how do they know which to choose as most useful for preparing to meet and answer all cases that occur? Practice shows the nature of the general demand, and this, almost exclusively, they prepare to supply. So the general reader, like the lawyer, must study to be strong on those points on which not only his own consciousness but the strength of those he encounters shows his weakness. This leads me to remark why the same book may be read again and again with continually increasing interest and profit, because the interval between each reading will call attention to a new order of facts, and elicit a new series of conclusions. All this I draw faithfully from the history of the progress of my own mind.

<sup>1</sup> MILLER'S HISTORY OF GEORGE III., published together with Hume and Smollett in 4 large vols. 8vo., by Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., Philadelphia.

"And how did you proceed when you had read this part of history once?"

"I had a friend who was fond of discussing the same subject; one who had long lived by the sea, conversed with naval officers, listened with me to many an hour's yarn from an old Trafalgar man, while cruising in the *Rose* yacht off Tenby and Caldy, and had often surprised me with the apparent extent of his knowledge. His conversation added to my interest, and made my reading more profitable. I then read Southey's *Life of Nelson*, and the *Life of Napoleon*, 2 vols., in the Family Library.<sup>1</sup> These books are quite easy reading, except allusions to the history of the times, a knowledge of which is always indispensable to one who would read for real improvement; and this knowledge, I would add, makes the sound and accurate man, and distinguishes our well-read friend from the loquacious captain. On so good an opportunity let me add a word of caution. I have suggested sometimes 'to read and skip,' but to skip only the known, not the unknown. These historical allusions I readily found out, by looking over the occurrences of the same year in my history. Thus, while the history explained the biography, the biography drew attention to the history. True it is that all readers may occasionally be at a loss for an allusion; if they do their best to explain it, this is immaterial; but those literary epicures who touch nothing but dainties, and pick all books for the amusing, will never enjoy a sound intellectual constitution, but will acquire an unnatural appetite, no longer a criterion of their ability to digest. Once form a habit of humouring yourself with reading solely and exclusively what pleases at the moment, once blunt the natural sense of satisfaction, which to the sound mind results from doing things thoroughly, and from that moment you have bartered the literary resources of a life for the excitement of an hour. This custom of referring to explain allusions, need not check the interest of your subject. I often mark on a blank leaf a mark of interrogation, and against this set the number of the pages containing difficulties, till I have finished reading, and then make all the references at once. Even if you should not succeed in your search at the time, this practice will fix the difficulties in your memory so firmly that you will be on the alert for any remark in your subsequent reading that can throw light upon them. And what was the result of this line of reading? The result was, that my friend was more surprised at the accuracy of my knowledge of his favourite parts of modern history, than I had ever been of his; and even touching naval history, he could tell me little that I did not know. Now, observe, this was an idle man who had nothing to do but to read every periodical or new publication of interest; he had read dozens of volumes on the topics on which I had read but three. At the time I was surprised; but observation has since made me fully alive to these seeming anomalies. My knowledge, I knew, was shallow, but his no longer seemed deep. This gave me confidence. I have since found that there are very, very few general readers, who are so strong on any one topic, that a man of ordinary ability, with method in his application—a method which in these pages I hope to impart—may not greatly surpass them with a few days of diligent study."

To continue my method with history: Miller's book has since served me as a book of reference, and stands on the same shelf with my *Biographical* and other *Dictionaries*. Its use is to show at one view a picture of those by-gone days and departed heroes, of whom we hear old gentlemen talk, when they are wicked enough to perpetrate a little conversational monopoly, and swell with a very innocent kind of self-importance, as they tell the cold perspiration that came over their patriotic brows the morning they heard of the mutiny in the fleet, or the Bank stopping payment; and how they laughed and triumphed in

the truth of, if not their own, at least some near relative's prognostication that Nelson would find the foe and beat him too; how melancholy they felt at his funeral passed, and how they felt for the honest tars who followed in the mournful throng. To all such conversation listen, by all means, most attentively; but since what you will learn from it is often inaccurate, and always unconnected, instead of being satisfied with half a story, go at once to the book to ascertain time, place, and characters, and then "give to airy nothing a local habitation and a name." On this principle, in reading Ireland's *Seven Years of France*, from 1815—22, I cast my eye over the pages of Miller, on which I had marked the corresponding seven years: I did the same before reading every other book relating to the same period. But I shall be reminded that I promised to make my course amusing; and most amusing was the method I am relating; for, in course of time, I took all the old *Reviews* and *Magazines*, and picked only such articles as were amusing; but at that time the sphere of my amusement was enlarged; my mind was stored with facts on which I thirsted for more minute information; and since all the essays I so read, I read with an appetite, all were readily digested. In order to register my reading, and preserve order in my studies, I used to mark on the margin of the History what books or essays gave exact information on different subjects, vide Southey, p. —, or *Gentleman's Magazine*, No. —; or read Mackintosh's *Observations on the French Revolution*, p. —; Burke's *Opinion*, see *Life*, p. —.

The time at which reading is most improving, is when, as you read the table of contents, you feel impatience to begin the chapter, as containing exactly the facts you want to know—the very observations you wish to compare with your own. And this eager curiosity and zest for reading with a proper method, will have a continually wider field for its exertion, till at last every book will have its interest. Did you never hear a man fond of literature say, "Give me any book; I do not mind what it is." While asking this question, there rises before me a vision of one, an accomplished scholar and hard-worked man of active life, standing amidst a nursery of children, so riveted on one of their story books picked off the floor, that the young fry, spite of all their pulling at his skirts, and clinging to his knees, despaired in their impatience at moving him, till one cried, "Ah! I knew if we did not keep our picture books away from him, he would not let us ride on his foot till he had read them all through."

None but those so eminently blessed with mental endowments, can conceive all the pleasures which spring from the well-formed and fertile mind; it seems ready fitted with little cells for all sweets; it have a distinct pigeon-hole for every kind of communication: all it receives has a tendency not to dissolve and darken, but to crystallize in brilliancy and beauty; however extended its chain, each link ends in a hook for joining more. These are the minds which in society give almost as much pleasure as they enjoy; they find companions even in those whom their friends feel disposed to apologize for asking them to meet. Dr. Johnson said he would rather sit next an intelligent man of the world than a scholar; for the man who has learned life from nature's own volume is provided with a supply as varied and as rich as is the store from which he draws; he can repay with genuine unclipped coin, in bold relief, fresh from nature's mint; however small his after-dinner contribution to the common fund of entertainment, it still is sterling, pure, and unadulterated; and as Gray said of *Boswell's Corsica*, that it proved any man with talent or without could write a useful book, if he would only faithfully, and without affectation, detail what he has seen and heard in a sphere which the rest of the world had never seen, and was curious to know: so the man of well-formed mind regards companions; he is fully prepared to be entertained by the humblest relator of "things that he doth know;" he consequently is qualified to be always pleasing; for he observed

<sup>1</sup> SOUTHEY'S *LIFE OF NELSON*, price 50 cents, in Harper's Family Library.



men please in society not in proportion as they inform, but as they elicit; and who are so formed to elicit as those who, by the course of study here recommended, are rendered not vain-glorious to pour forth, but habitually intent on the great end of all company and conversation—to hear, and observe, and be improved?

These remarks will suffice to give a general view of the system I have to propose. Let us now consider the various subjects of the general reader—History, Biography, Poetry, &c., and show with what authors, and what method, each line of study should be pursued. And here let it be clearly understood, once for all, that I am not prescribing for the sound and vigorous patient, and unwearied man of letters, but for the delicate, weak, and sickly appetite, which requires humouring and coaxing at first to bring it to health and strength, when I am sure no advice of this kind will be required. If any say, "What a shallow course this is!" I reply, "this is precisely what I intend it to be; still it is too deep unhappily for many."

First let us resume a topic on which we already touched. I can explain my method better with some subject-matter as an example, so we will consider English History.

Chinese scholars are divided into two classes, says a traveller, those who read only, and those who understand what they read. This distinction may be drawn nearer home. Those who read and those who remember, we have all observed, are often different parties, and so also are those who remember and those who improve; in other words, they who only retain facts, having a mind like the article headed with *Farrago*, or *Multum in Parvo*, in the newspapers, are not always the persons who, by digesting, classifying, and inferring, have a stock of really available information. Now I feel I should be doing little if I did not teach so to read that we may first remember what we read; secondly, digest it; thirdly, have it ready and available. "Say you so," says a young friend, for whose guidance I am partly induced to write this, "then what I read must be no great deal; it must be a very short history at all events." Precisely what I was going to say. Read a very short History of England first—the Outline by the Society already mentioned. I know a child of ten years of age who learned this so thoroughly, that he could answer any question. I once defied an old college companion to puzzle him; and after receiving an accurate answer to twenty-three questions out of twenty-four, my friend wanted to know how it was possible for a child to learn so much. I showed the book—a well chosen outline, too bare and meagre to be alone very improving—too jejune a skeleton to satisfy the cravings of a really healthy and hungry mind, yet it contained all matters within the comprehension of a child. Fine painters tell their pupils, first draw a correct outline—let your anatomy be correct first; it is easy to fill in, and to colour afterwards. With this little history you have the figure—the bones; but we must galvanize this anatomy and add flesh, substance, vigour, and life; we must make these bones live. To keep to my former plan, let this outline history represent the long stem of a tree. How are we to fill it up? It looks hollow, to say nothing of branches at present. With this kind of drawing the pupil may begin to fill in just when he pleases, provided he takes care that the outline does not become erased, and that the whole figure of his tree is plainly before his eye from first to last. Every one according to his ability may work out and bring into bolder relief and more substantial form any part that he pleases, and may, without any material consequence, proceed either up or down. Full well I know the most idle have a disposition to even the most toilsome work in order to complete and connect little blanks that disfigure their work. No one would finish head, limbs, and breast, and then leave the figure like *Tityos*, with vitals doomed never to heal. The straight-forward way to fill up your tree would be to take up another larger history: not Hume's, it is too big as yet; but Keight-

ley's<sup>1</sup> or Goldsmith's<sup>2</sup> first. The time required for learning these three will not be as long as would be required for Keightley's, without these smaller works as an introduction. The parts which are substantially the same in all will be taken at a glance, and serve pleasantly to refresh memory, rather than exhaust attention. We feel a secret pleasure in our studies when we meet with what we know; it shows we are improving, however gradually, to that state in which we may read whole volumes rather to judge and pronounce, than merely to be taught without discretion. Even Keightley gives little more than an outline; but outline is a comparative term: he gives such an outline as deserves to be considered very substantial in comparison with the historical knowledge that most, even of those reputed well informed, really possess. We have all heard the remark, that one half the world does not know how the other half lives, and if it is not generally known how many things half the world lives and dies without enjoying, most truly may this be said of intellectual stores. How few would like to confess the little that they know—at least, the very limited number of correct replies they could at any moment sit down and write, for another's judgment, to questions which were within the capacity even of a child. Supposing ourselves born with minds literally a blank sheet of paper, and that these tablets were required to be laid open for the inspection of our neighbours, should we not feel how little there was to be seen on topics with which we were supposed to be so well acquainted, and how indistinctly and inaccurately even that little was inscribed? Were the minds of many thus laid bare, all that at the moment remained for judgment would seem less the acquisitions of a life than the desultory reading of an hour. Oh! if the pale patient, bled, blistered, and reduced, could so read his physician—if the client with his estate in chancery could so pry into the narrow data on which his lawyer founds such broad conclusions—if those who dream of the unlimited powers of ministerial sagacity could so prove "with what very little wisdom the world is governed," many would agree that the goodness of Providence is in no way more remarkable than in this, that in the wise economy of creation, all disturbing causes are so nicely calculated and balanced, that busy man has even less power to do mischief, than he thinks he has to do good.

Let none despair because his knowledge seems little, if it is only accurate. The Germans, who so well understand practical education, say "nothing is so prolific as a little known well." Knowledge increases in a geometrical ratio. The total of the acquisitions of the mind is the continued product, rather than the sum of all it contains.

A little sound and well digested historical knowledge will be always useful; but if the facts are mistaken the deductions must be as false in matter as they are logical in form; and all arguments will be as absurd as the answer of a sum in arithmetic with an error in the first line. This inaccuracy accounts for the obstinacy of those called wrong-headed men. They are sure their reasoning is right; but as their facts happen to be wrong, they have only the advantage of "method in their madness," and blundering by rule.

This is a topic on which I am the more disposed to dwell, because I believe many, really capable of knowledge, remain in ignorance from two causes. First, from an opinion that any available degree of information is beyond their powers. Secondly, that others know so much that all they can learn will be nothing in comparison. The latter should be consoled with the above observations, and taught to beware of shallow pretenders, and men who always talk on their own topics. "You are surprised," said Talleyrand, "that I talk so well. Tell me, would it be no ad-

<sup>1</sup> KEIGHTLEY'S ENGLAND. 1 vol. Turner & Hayden, New York.

<sup>2</sup> GOLDSMITH'S ENGLAND, with additions by Grimshaw. 1 vol. Grigg & Elliott, Philadelphia.



vantage to draw an enemy to your own ground, and only right where your strength is concentrated and your position commanding? That is precisely my art." Men lose no credit by being often silent, if, when they speak, they speak to the purpose. Bacon refines upon this, and says, "He who is silent where he is known to be informed, will be believed to be informed where from ignorance he is silent." Again, Rochefaucauld observes, "The desire to seem learned prevents many from becoming such." Numbers do we meet who make a profession of small talk—not more quaintly than properly so called—for what can show more littleness, what can be more unworthy the serious application of the human mind,—an instrument capable of mastering principles of extensive application, of discerning truth in matters where the harmonious movement of the vast and complicated machinery of social life may be disordered by the prevalence of error,—than to be limited to the petty domestic history of beings of a day, who owe a week's celebrity to the difficulty of filling newspapers—a knowledge that must begin almost "*de novo*" every session of parliament. If you study, exclusively devoted to the secret improvement of your own mind, and for the pleasures a well-stored mind has ever at command, you will at the same time be taking the readiest means to "shine in society;" but if you seek the vain glory and opinion of others, you will sacrifice real improvement to the pursuit and gain, at best but the commendation, of fools. "Let every man," said Lord Bolingbroke,<sup>1</sup> "read according to his profession or walk in life. Suppose that a man shuts himself up in his study twenty years, and then comes forth profoundly learned in Arabic, he gains a great name; but where is the good of it?" There was an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1829, who was famed for knowing the names, drivers, coach inns, times of starting and arrival, of most of the principal stages in England. The absurdity of this is too apparent to be imitated; but I will not say too great. There are many powerful minds at the present moment devoted to pursuits quite as unprofitable to others, and nearly as unimproving to themselves.

The other class whom diffidence deters from a literary course must be encouraged by the words<sup>2</sup> of Sir J. Reynolds, addressed to the pupils of the Royal Academy; he says:—"The travellers into the East tell us, that when the ignorant inhabitants of those countries are asked concerning the ruins of stately edifices yet remaining amongst them, the melancholy monuments of their former grandeur and long-lost science, they always answer, 'they were built by magicians.' The untaught mind finds a vast gulf between its own powers and those works of complicated art, which it is utterly unable to fathom; and it supposes that such a void can be passed only by supernatural powers." What Sir Joshua Reynolds says of painting is true of literature. Those who know not the *cause* of any thing extraordinary and beyond them, may well be astonished at the *effect*; and what the uncivilized ascribe to magic, others ascribe to genius: two mighty pretenders, who for the most part are safe from rivalry, only because, by the terror of their name, they discourage in their own peculiar sphere that resolute and sanguine spirit of enterprise which is essential to success. But all magic is science in disguise: let us proceed to take off the mask—to show that the mightiest objects of our wonder are mere men like ourselves; have attained their superiority by steps which we can follow; and that we can, at all events, walk in the same path, though there remains at last a space between us. Think of the wit of *Hudibras*! How wonderful the mind which could in the same page illustrate and

throw into relief, as it were, by a single touch, distinct ideas, by reference to things of classes so different, that the fact of thought being employed about the one would seem to ensure its overlooking the other. How strange that more witty things should occur to Butler while writing one page, and that bearing every appearance of an off-hand composition, than would occur to most men while writing a volume. Now draw back the curtain and the phantom resolves itself into the common things of daily life.

"The author of *Hudibras*," said Johnson, "had a common-place book, in which he had repositied, not such events or precepts as are gathered by reading, but such remarks, similitudes, allusions, assemblages, or inferences, as occasion prompted or inclination produced; those thoughts which were generated in his own mind, and might be usefully applied to some future purpose. Such is the labour of those who write for *immortality*."

Much as I admire *Hudibras*'s book, I cannot help believing that the reason so many of its imitators have failed is, that they endeavoured to meet at the moment a demand for wit which Butler had been a life preparing to supply. I have known men of little talent so ready, by the practice of a few months, with an inferior species of wit,—puns, that I see no reason why many men of superior talents should not rival Butler in a higher kind, if they only had recourse to the *labour* and method which a great authority says is the price of *immortality*.

See the miser in his lonely walk—his head down—his soul grovelling in the dust—all his senses intent on one narrow, sordid pursuit, money or money's worth;—look, he turns from the path on to the road:—"Is it? no, not a farthing, but a button—and no shank. Ah! buttons often leave their shanks behind." Still he takes it, and walks on. See again: "A tub—tin is it?—spout of something—may come useful one day—may find something it will fit: did once, two years after—fetched two pence." Look at him; scan that perversion of human kind, and say—were that man, old as he is, self-denying as he is, persevering and devoted as he ever has been, through many a toilsome day and restless night, a miser, not of pence but of ideas, of the coin of the mind, were he equally capable of putting in his claim when none knew the rightful owner of one thing, of effacing marks of identity in a second, equally ingenious, in converting a third, or of matching a fourth, what might not the same habits with the same limited faculties accomplish!

Again,—think of Sheridan. His speech on the impeachment of Hastings so completely ruled the spirits of his hearers that Pitt said, "All parties were under the wand of the enchanter, and only vied with each other in describing the fascination under which they were held." This would seem like genius—like inspiration: but if genius means, as in the common acceptance it does mean, a power that attains its end by means wholly new and unpractised by others, then was Sheridan's speech no work of genius.<sup>3</sup> Moore paints him at his desk, like other mortal men, writing and erasing,—Mr. *Speaker*, to fill up this pause, and "Sir," to fill up that; and confirms me in the opinion of Sir Joshua Reynolds—that the effects of genius must have their causes, and that these may for the most part be analysed, digested, and copied; though sometimes they may be too subtle to be reduced to a written art. Sheridan stored up his wit like Butler. Some of his famous witticisms were found in his desk, written first in one form and then in another—the point shifted to try the effect from one part of the sentence to another; and thus did he laboriously mould and manufacture what he had the art to mutter as an impromptu.

Remember I dispute not Sheridan's brilliant talents. I only argue that, high as they were, they were much lower than the ignorant rated them. I would main-

<sup>1</sup> LORD BOLINGBROKE'S COMPLETE WORKS, with a Life, in 4 vols. 8vo, first American edition. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS' DISCOURSES, with notes by Burnet, illustrated, 4to, London, 1844.

<sup>3</sup> MOORE'S LIFE OF SHERIDAN. 1 vol. 8vo.

tain that even the mightiest condescended to certain rules and methods of study by which the humblest are able to profit; and, amongst other ways and means, to return from this digression, introduced for my pupil's encouragement,—men of the highest endowments have practised and bequeathed outlines of history, plans like my trees of knowledge, and common-place books.

Suppose then, as I was saying, you proceed to fill up your historical tree with Keightley's book; you may either read it from end to end, and inscribe Keightley along the whole length of the stem, and feel that you know a more substantial outline than before; or you may choose particular reigns which are most interesting to you, and record on the stem "Henry VIII., or C. II.—Keightley;" and leave the other reigns to be read when curiosity leads you. But is it not the soundest plan to read a history right through, and master all the difficulties? Undoubtedly that is the best plan if you can do it; that is, if you can not only so read, but remember and digest at the same time: but if your mental constitution is not yet strong enough for the whole course and regimen, it is better to do part than none at all: and well I know that there are very few young people who can profit by the whole of any history the first time of reading; therefore, why should they be required to read what they cannot digest, and what must discourage them? I only recognise the extent of curiosity for the time being as a guide in reading, because nothing discourages and gives a dislike to study so much as persevering with the book before the eyes while thoughts are wandering far away.

The next question is, "How am I to proceed when I have read Keightley's History of England, or such reigns as suit my capacity? Shall I read Hume and Smollett?" Certainly not all the thirteen thick octavos, of which most young persons would forget the first before they had read the last. But ask yourself whether you feel so far interested in any particular part of history that you are curious to read a more minute detail. If pleased with any one reign, or war, or negotiation; or should the comments and observation with which men of genius have illustrated such portions excite your curiosity, pick out what you desire, and read it in a large history—Hume or any other. The most profitable time to study any subject is while you feel a lively interest about it. Having done so, record on the corresponding part of your tree, "Hen. VIII. or C. II., by Hume;" and thus your tree will grow in strength and substance. But with every addition to strengthen a particular part of your historical fabric, be sure you cast your eye over the whole work, to see that it yet remains entire. If you cannot readily run over in your mind the simple outline of the whole, you should refresh your memory with the outline history before you proceed any further.

Doubtless this advice must seem new: but the oldest things were new once; and all improvements must be novelties. Old usage and length of service appeal to our feelings; and wholesome customs are sometimes allowed the weight of laws; but if certain ways and means have stood the wreck, but not the test of time—if the good old tree beneath which our grandsires have gambolled has ever borne more leaves than fruit, cumbering the ground, time-worn but not time-honoured, then root it up at once, and make room for those which the science of to-day, collected from the failures of the past, enriches the rising generation. And certainly as to the common ways and modes of study, "if *mode* it can be called where *mode* is none," judging by results, we can say little indeed in their favour. I ask any person of advanced years, "Could you call to mind more than one out of fifty young persons of your acquaintance who ever pursued private reading with a degree of method and judgment calculated to ensure success in the common avocations of life?" Consider common language, which often betrays common practice, and you will remember

"We have read this book;" not "We know it." Hobbes of Malmesbury used to say, "If I had read as many books as other persons I should probably know as little." And this philosopher is only one out of many hundreds of worthy witnesses, in intellectual matters at least, who, both by counsel and example, teach us to read a little, and that little well: such men think and count, not by the books they read, but the subjects they exhaust. Swift said that the reason a certain university was a learned place was, that most persons took some learning there, and few brought any away with them, so it accumulated. Now could it be said of our minds, that every habit tended to add, were it never so little, but nothing tended to take away, what a stock might not even the most moderate reader, in a short time, have at command? These rules, though new, are not untried; more than one of my friends has followed the method of reading here laid down, and proceeded with continually increasing interest,—the necessary consequence of a sense of steady and unintermitting improvement.

Let us now suppose that a course of methodical study has caused one of my friends to fill up by degrees the greater part of his outline from Hume or some larger history: what now will be the extent of your knowledge? Will you be disheartened if you are told that you have nothing but an outline still; for this is scarcely an exaggeration. It is true that in some periods Hume may have given at length as full particulars as contemporary authorities supply, or the most scrutinizing curiosity desires; but upon the greater part of events all he gives is a mere outline or epitome of original annals. For instance, Froissart's Chronicle! alone is equal in bulk to Hume's eight volumes, although it comprehends scarcely an eighth part of the number of years. Again, reckoning, and there is good authority for so doing, each Times newspaper of a double sheet equal to two octavos, we may say that the news of the nation, apart from advertisements and trivial subjects, would make a history as large as Hume at least once a month. Allowing then most fully for all that is lost, what a bare outline must eight volumes contain of matter which still remains illustrative, not of months, but of centuries!

"Then what an ocean you would have us embark on! Can we ever follow out so large a plan?" Have patience. After remarking on the many volumes English history must fill, I was going to add, not that there were so many to read, but so many from which to choose; and, of course, the larger the choice the more easy to suit every variety of taste.

Without dictating to any as to the extent of their studies, I would only show them how to make the little time they employ go as far as possible; for which purpose I advise a short outline of all the reigns, and a minute knowledge of parts; and for this reason.—The sketches of the historian are like those of the artist. You may have, first of all, an outline which gives rather the shadow of men than the men themselves; then, again, you may have a more marked outline, which still leaves every man alike; thirdly, you may have the figures rudely filled up, giving substantial form and individual character, but still stiff and inanimate; or, lastly, you may have a faithful expression of impassioned agents, delineating an interesting passage of real life. Now which would you prefer,—one good historical picture—say a panorama of the Battle of Waterloo, in which you could understand all the movements, positions, and manœuvres of one mighty action, which would serve as a key to every other, or a long series of the usual battle-pieces, differing one from another in little else than in the artist's partiality to fire and smoke.

The leading facts and events of history may be copied and handed down from age to age. By industrious research ingenious writers may ascertain

<sup>1</sup> FROISSART'S CHRONICLES. One large vol. 8vo. with numerous illustrations, price \$3. Winchester New York



the details of wars and treaties at a distant period of time; but contemporaries alone can draw characters, and amuse us with vivid portraiture. This was Johnson's remark on Robertson's histories. He said the characters in history must be fiction, unless drawn by those who knew the persons, as Sallust and Clarendon. Sir Joshua Reynolds, too, remarked that the distinctness of Robertson's historical characters was caused at the expense of truth, by exaggerating their more marked features. And Sir Robert Walpole, when, as Mr. Croker quotes, his son Horace<sup>1</sup> offered to amuse him with reading, said, "Any thing but history; that must be false." He meant to say the imputed motives, finer springs of actions, and minute detail of concurrent causes, were, for obvious reasons, inscrutable to historians generally, that he cared not for their works.

I say, therefore, in preference to dry outline, enlivened only by fictitious circumstances and plausible reasonings on doubtful data, read the history of a limited period, by men who had at least some opportunity of knowing what they wrote.

This opinion of the mode of historical study is not unsupported by high authority. Bacon remarked, he should like to have a history formed from the genuine works of all the writers of their own times, arranged, and, if requisite, translated, but not abbreviated. "For compilers," said he, "are the very 'moths of history.'" Now let us reflect on what was passing in Bacon's mind when he made choice of this expression. History, as faithfully related by a series of writers, each detailing at length what he saw and heard, seemed to Bacon like a fine piece of tapestry, wherein were delineated figures that seemed to move and breathe in positions which told the whole story—who the victors—who the vanquished—the cause of strife—the fire of the chiefs, and the struggles of the men. To such "cunning embroidery" we may liken the varied and vivid page of Froissart: but when Hume comes in the character of moth the first, makes havoc of all colours and perspective, till no eye can distinguish between friend and foe—when Goldsmith allows as moth the second, eats up each remnant of distinctive character and vitality, and makes the living motionless as the slain—and lastly, Pinnoch, as moth the third, preys on what the other two had spared, and makes skeletons both of the dying and the dead—surely such shadowy sketches of things that are cannot so far give the character of the past as make it what history should be—the mirror of the future—the lessons of philosophy teaching by example. With this picture present to my mind, I call Goldsmith's history an outline—a skeleton: it contains topics under which you may very conveniently range ideas derived from other writers. But to be contented with such an outline alone is like taking the trouble of providing yourself with a frame of pigeonholes for historical papers, and not collecting any to put in them. For to say such epitomes give distinct ideas of themselves is absurd: only suppress the names, and then if we ask which is Oliver Cromwell, and which is Wellington, we may well be answered, "Children at the peep-show, 'Which you please, my little dears.'"

Let it be granted, then, that since the voluminous histories in common use, such as Hume's, Smollett's, and others, which do not contain a simple account of the days in which their authors severally lived, pass their matters with so light a touch, and we may add with so little to guide the pencil, that readers who confine themselves to their compositions alone, evidently pursue rather the shadow than the substance of real knowledge. And this is a postulate, to speak mathematically, which Coleridge might as readily attach with the writings of Hume as with those of Gibbon, of whom he said, in his "Table Talk," that he passes along from height to height, so as to convey

more the idea of romance than of history, and shows nothing of the wide flats and valleys of real life.

Indeed it cannot be supposed that the strength of Hume, or any other single writer, would suffice adequately to investigate the memorable achievements of sixteen hundred years. How his fingers must tire ere he could unfold all the time-worn records of ages past! How his eyes must swim over the black-lettered Chronicles! Think of the many volumes which, as Hallam says, have long ceased to belong to men, and been the property of moths, would try his sight with their faint and curious pages, and test his patience with strange words as strangely spelt, before he could give their meed of fame to Romans, Britons, Danes, Saxons, Normans. Well might Edmund Burke<sup>2</sup> say he found Hume not very deeply versed in the early part of British history. The powers of the human mind, like the waters of the sea, though vast and deep, are limited to bounds they cannot pass; and when they are highest in one part are necessarily lowest in another. So Lady Wortley Montagu<sup>3</sup> complained after making an attempt to become intelligible to all her household at Pera, from whom, be it known to all housekeepers of these degenerate days, she was doomed to hear the same old excuse ten times told in ten different languages. She said she found the practice of one language had a tendency to diminish her aptitude for another; and her English was falling into decay. Burke said that Hume acknowledged to him that from the early historians he derived no increased satisfaction to lead him on to deep research. Burke said he considered himself a competent judge of Hume's work, having taken the pains to go through the early authorities. The reign he thought most carefully composed was that of Charles II. And here we may notice a vulgar error, that Smollett wrote a continuation of Hume. The truth is, that Smollett wrote a History of England from the time of the invasion of the Romans. It is not one of the least of the curiosities of literature that the fame of Hume should so completely have eclipsed that of Smollett as almost to erase his name from the list of the historians, and, as it were, to overlay all that part of his work which could possibly enter into competition with his own. Even a writer in the "Edinburgh Review," October, 1839, observed,—"Smollett has made a sorry figure by continuing the History of England."

"Then the sum of all these stories and anecdotes apart is, that we must actually make out history for ourselves?"—Yes. This is the legitimate conclusion from all my reasoning, that though what is called history is of some small value, inasmuch as it keeps the terms and forms of knowledge from passing into oblivion, still it is truly composed more of names than things, rather shadowy than substantial, and greatly inferior to what an intelligent reader may easily be led to collect for himself. You must choose between these mottoes: "Every man his own historian," or "No man an historian at all:" take which you please. I am not guilty of making the difficulty, only of stating it; though real difficulty there is none, as you shall soon acknowledge: the only trouble consists in making choice of proper authors, or proper parts of them. But here let me meet the old objection—"We have been always advised to read books through from end to end." The only consistent meaning of this advice is, to read no books but are worth thorough reading. The principle is good; but, if taken literally, you would read dictionaries through, or cyclopædias, which is absurd; as indeed old Dr. Johnson impatiently remarked, in talking of a printed letter from the Rev. Herbert Croft to his pupil.

Johnson: "This is surely a strange advice. You may as well resolve that whatever men you happen to get acquainted with, you are to keep to them for

<sup>2</sup> EDMUND BURKE's works, complete, 9 vols. 8vo. Little & Brown, Boston.

<sup>3</sup> LETTERS OF LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU, in 2 vols. 8vo. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

<sup>1</sup> HORACE WALPOLE's inimitable Letters, complete 6 vols. 8vo. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

life. A book may be good for nothing, or there may be only one thing in it worth knowing: are we to read it all through?" It is well known that the Doctor said he never read any book through but the Bible. Adam Smith said, "Johnson knew more books than any man alive;" and Boswell innocently remarks, "He had a peculiar facility in seizing at once what was valuable in any book, without submitting to the labour of perusing it from beginning to end."

To draw a correct outline first, carefully preserving and retracing it from time to time, while filling up according to inclination or ability, is the method I propose to explain and illustrate: and though I am now showing its application only to history, by way of example, I shall presently have occasion to explain how well it is adapted for directing the pursuit of knowledge, avoiding confusion, and marking progress in any subject the student may select.

"Well, then," said J. C., (a friend, who will excuse my citing his case,) on entering my study one morning in June, 1841, with long sheets of paper, "here are my outlines. I have drawn the trunk of my tree: now for the leaves and branches."

Leaves and branches must be drawn in proportion to the maturity and vigour of the tree; or, to speak more plainly, we must consider your curiosity, taste, and inclination. The strong food of the full-grown man will not serve as nourishment for babes. But the taste of all readers may be regarded as threefold.

One class of readers is only led on by excitement, and by that kind of interest which it is the part of the novelist to supply. Their favourite books are of the nature of the "Newgate Calendar" and "Terrific Register." They read for the pleasure of conjuring up horrid scenes in their imaginations, and enjoying that sense of comparative security which the poet Lucretius has so sublimely noticed. If it be true that—

The stage but echoes back the public voice—

if, that is to say, the current theme of every novel and romance shows the public taste as plainly as the cut and colours in the dressmaker's window shows the ruling fashion, we can readily discern one of the oldest favourites of a very large section of the literary circle,—I mean in homely vernacular "Hanging Stories." "God's Revenge against Murder" was the title of one of the earliest books ever printed. Punch and Judy, with the gallows and the public functionary, is one of the oldest shows, nor at any fair in the country does it find a more fearful rival than "Maria and the Red Barn," or any "most barbarous and inhuman murder, with the ghost of the unhappy victim." George Barnwell and many other plots, too exciting in their very name to allow of very fastidious criticism as to their composition, have contributed to supply the same demand, with the same commodity, in different forms down to the present day. And now in the development of every plot, whether there be or be not

Dignus vindice nodus,

a murder and the hangman seem as common a resource as a broken heart, or blacksmith of Gretna Green in the novels of our younger days. Mr. Gibbon Wakefield, about ten years since, wrote an interesting pamphlet "On Crime in the Metropolis," in which he says, that by comparing the statements of a large number of prisoners in Newgate, he ascertained that inveterate thieves rarely failed to be present at an execution, not so much for an opportunity of picking pockets, as for the pleasure of excitement, which, he says, by the very exciting nature of their lawless pursuits, thieves soon become too callous to derive from any ordinary source. There is something true to nature—painfully true, in these words, and something very like the case of many novel readers who bring themselves to that morbid state, that they are only to be touched by an appeal to their most vulgar sympathies! Oh! well did

together all the stirring topics of Othello's history. There is many a young lady of whom we might say that when serious things are talked of, like Desdemona,—

Still the house affairs would draw her thence;  
who yet to a tale like Othello's would

Come again and with greedy ear  
Devour up my discourse.

Indeed myriads are there, male and female, who will read only for excitement. This stimulus is exhibited by authors in various forms and different quantities. The best employ it like the sweetening or spicing of a draught, to cheat the full-grown child into taking that which ministers to health. I allude not to the folly of writers who mix things sacred with profane, as if those who will profit by holy things will not seek them in holy books; still less do I allude to writers who adopt the marketable form and title of a novel to publish their views of political philosophy, but I refer with great respect to a few novelists who have the goodness and the talent to contrive by three small volumes to rivet the attention of many an idle youth, and for a total space of twenty hours or more, wean him from that,

Which Satan finds for idle hands to do;

and in its stead provide for twenty hours a wholesome exercise for the finest sympathies of the heart. Still, when this wholesome recreation fails, literary pastimes of a mere negative character are not to be despised, because they answer the purpose of keeping worse thoughts out of the mind, and sometimes lead on the student, step by step, till he reaches the purest sphere of intellectual existence. The first of the classes into which I divide readers then, I consider, like Desdemona, they would have all narrators of Othello's caste, and would read of—

battles, sieges, fortunes;—  
of most disastrous chances,  
Of moving accidents, by flood and field;  
Of hair-breath scapes; the imminent deadly breach;—  
of antres vast and deserts idle,  
Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch  
heaven;—  
And of the Cannibals that each other eat,  
The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads  
Do grow beneath their shoulders.—

A book with this page of Shakspeare for its table of contents, would probably be a general favourite with the subscribers of every circulating library in the kingdom; for the majority of readers cannot be considered much above the excitement class. Their state of mind is by no means healthy I allow; still the lowest order of intellectual is preferable to mere physical resources. A book containing but little good has kept many a youth from company productive of positive evil. The excitement and gross immorality even of the worst of the old-fashioned novel is a less pernicious stimulant than lounging night after night with a cigar to the billiard room. Not long since I heard a father say, "If I could only see my boy reading Tom Thumb, I should be happy; that would be a beginning, but he avoids a book as if he had the plague." The habit of seeking amusement with books is so truly valuable in conducting to lim the sphere of youthful temptations, that a parent does wisely if he encourages it at almost any cost. Children should be taught that books are as natural source of fun as tops and balls. A quondam acquaintance who tried for nearly seven years without success to take a degree at Oxford, met me a short time since and said, "Books were never put in my way; when I could scarcely read, my guardians sent me to Rugby. My grandmother did once offer to make me present of the 'Seven Wonders of the World' of some such book, but I told her I should like the money instead, so she gave me neither. Now I am trying for some situation under Government, but no many will do for me. Head work in an office is one of the question. Something like Commissioner A



suit me exactly." This is very laughable, but it is very sad. Think of the tedious hours of such a person's in-door life in rainy weather, from breakfast to luncheon,—to dinner—to supper—to bed. How truly described by, "Would it were evening!" "Would it were morning!" and this state of mere vegetation without the energy of life is one in which many a man has existed, and from which many a man might have been snatched away to a sphere of usefulness had his parents been satisfied to give their child stories suitable to his childish taste.

In paying so much deference to the excitement class of readers, I only act on the principle that if we wish to keep a child quiet we must give him such toys as he is in a humour to play with. Children (in mind) are found of all ages; and, as Aristotle says, "whether young in years, or young in character, matters not for my argument;" for doubtless in his day as in ours, children often attained to the so-called years of discretion without being able to run alone. I say then, those of youthful taste must be indulged in their own way, and gradually led on by timely encouragement, and the influence of superior minds, to mingle works of valuable information with those of more thrilling interest. Thus from criminal trials<sup>1</sup> (and who has not read the *Newgate Calendar*?) I have known youths acquire much information of the principles and practice of the laws of their country, from trials for murders led to trials for treason, and taught to connect these with the history of the times; and thence, as the mind matured, they have learned to reflect on the state and progress of society. But after all, be the taste of youth what it may, it is better they should read in their own way, with certain obvious exceptions, than not at all. "What?" I may be sure some will say, "is that which ministers to love of excitement and a morbid appetite for subjects which are vain and profitless, and take up time never to be redeemed, is this to be recommended for youth?" No—not in the abstract, but as a choice, which so commonly presents itself of manifest evils.

A few months since, in vindicating classical studies and works of sound reading, I happened to allude to novels, and remarked that they were often read for that *foe to piety*—excitement. Now, as my meaning was not sufficiently plain, that a due balance and even tone of mind in just harmony with the spirit of Him whom it is the end and aim of this mortal life with gracious aid to imitate, is to be ever regarded in our choice of intellectual recreations and more serious studies—that therefore, as novels ministered to morbid love of excitement, they tended to destroy this true harmony of feeling, and that in proportion as they do so, they fall short of the highest order of studies—as this argument was not understood, a lady with a large family addressed me thus: "You object to novels and story books as irreligious, because exciting. I have four very high-spirited, though very excellent sons; if I lock up *Robinson Crusoe* from my George, and the *Waverley novels*<sup>2</sup> from the other three, how am I to prevent them from turning the whole house out of window the very first wet day, for they will read nothing else?" A few days after, a sensible physician told me he had a patient who could keep nothing on his stomach but lobster salad. Now, said he, men with one idea would starve him first, and plead the rules of their profession afterwards. So, some who minister to the mind instead of giving the child childish things, try to force an appetite for serious reading prematurely, and most effectually nip in the bud the slow-growing but healthy plant, which, with careful nurture, would have borne good fruit in due season.

But do you not know that Sir Walter Scott sometimes treats religious things with too much levity? I will not deny that Sir Walter would himself wish

certain things unsaid; but till another author arises to publish a number of volumes which will be really read (for books not read, however good, we cannot count), breathing a spirit equally wholesome and equally in unison with the brotherly love and charity of the Gospel, and at the same time so superior to the novels that were most popular before his day, as well as to those which have been most popular, that is, most read, since,—Sir Walter must be admitted not only to have been, but still to be, one of the greatest benefactors of modern times. Bishop Heber was a great admirer of Scott's works. We learn from his *Journal* that he read *Quentin Durward* on his voyage, and said no other man but Scott could have written it.

Class the first then comprises readers of youthful taste. Their appetite is for the rare, the dainty, highly-seasoned viands. When instructive subjects are proposed they soon find "house affairs to draw them hence," and must be amused like *Desdemona* before they will "seriously incline and with greedy ear devour up my discourse." When one of this class sits down to a book of sterling worth, he looks at his watch, prepares his marker, smooths down the page, knits his brow, turns his back to the window, and begins. The first page is read with great attention, and, perchance, the second, with nearly as much: he turns over the third, and, in a few minutes, finds his eyes nearly at the bottom; how they got there he knows not, for his thoughts he feels had gone off at a tangent from the top. These truant thoughts are soon recalled obey for a page and a half, and then are off again—how remarkable! Who has not felt this mental phenomenon, and said, "How strange! I was so resolved, I wanted to attend, but my mind does so wander." Only consider these two words—"I and my mind;" most people think *they* and *their minds* are one and the same thing, but they seem as different as *I* and *my dog*, for my mind and my dog are equally prone to wander in spite of me—equally run off after any thing that suddenly breaks upon my path, and evince an equal eagerness to chase any thing but what I prepare to pursue. But there is a way to make my dog obey me, change his wandering nature, down when I say "down," and pass without a glance every thing but the game I choose to hunt; all this I can do by gradual discipline. Let every man try and resolve to make his mind as tractable as his dog, by the same watchfulness and judicious exercise. He must not be severe with it, nor task it beyond its present powers. The dog will never take the water if you begin by throwing him into it—use gentle encouragement and avail yourself of each earliest indication of maturing strength—so may you continually extend the sphere of activity, improve the nature of mind as well as matter, and, to revert to my present subject, promote the readers of class the first to class the second, and, in due course, to class the third, which I will respectively describe.

The second class consists of those who study biography, or some branch of natural philosophy, who desire to improve and endure present toil for future profit. Let us draw a comparison between this and the former class. Tales of excitement cloy—the appetite becomes dull till the bloodiest of all bloody murders does not make us *creep*—every headless spectre at midnight resolves itself into a shirt and red garters—no giant seems more than a dwarf after the one who had a whole rookery flying out of his beard, and every shipwrecked crew are at once foreseen either to be divided among sharks, cannibals, or else made more comfortable than if nothing had happened by some home-bound vessel. In short, every species of battle, murder, and heroic exploit is soon familiar, and therefore the topics of this my first class of readers are easily exhausted. On the other hand, works of history, of fact not fiction, are ever varied and ever new. Besides, they improve the understanding and continually enlarge the sphere of interest. If the first class of students visit the Polytechnicon, or Adelaide Gallery, they will saunter about for a few

<sup>1</sup> CELEBRATED TRIALS IN ALL AGES AND COUNTRIES, in 1 vol. 8vo. 600 pages, 50 cts. Carey & Hart.

<sup>2</sup> THE WAVERLEY NOVELS, with the author's latest notes and additions, complete in 5 vols. 8vo. 3250



"Now they have seen it," as an unanswerable argument against seeing it again. A visitor of this order of intellect accompanied me one day, and the two things which made most impression on his mind were a new bit for a runaway horse and a chair for surgical operations. Nothing arrested his attention for a moment but what was already familiar to him. A little patience and exertion of mind, with the courage to confess ignorance and ask questions, would, in many instances, have increased his knowledge of principles, and invested the mysterious wheels in glass cases with all the interest of the patent snaffle. A little exertion did I say? that sounds very easy; but to be strictly honest I must confess, that to put an ordinary man's senses (so called by courtesy) out of their usual way, to make them "turn their hand to something they were never brought up to, and does not even run in their family"—this is more easily said than done. A few days after I met a young friend in the Polytechnicon, who said he had been there every day, and what he saw in the morning was a continual incitement to study natural philosophy in the evening: thus his curiosity is no sooner satisfied than hungry again, and literally "grows by what it feeds on." My second class of readers study on the same principle. Dissertations on taxation and other points of political economy, which occasionally occur in history, to some are dry and profitless; but they take the first opportunity of reading an article from a Cyclopædia on this very difficulty, find it far easier to understand than its repulsive name led them to expect, and ever after, when they meet what once only convicted them of ignorance, they eagerly grapple with it, assured of all the pleasures of conscious superiority and improvement. But the third class of readers are superior even to these: as the first like *fiction* and the second *fact*, so these like *principle*.

To examine into the causes and consequences of things is the highest exercise of the human mind, and attended with the purest pleasure. Fiction delights us for the moment with imaginary scenes, history gives more lasting satisfaction by the realities of life; but the study of principles or science is like extracting the essence or culling all that is profitable from both, and laying it up in a convenient form to be ever useful, ready, and available. Supposing a man found himself one of many hundred servants in a large factory or house of business, he would naturally desire to know something of the rise, progress, and future prospects of the system in which his own prosperity was involved. Fiction would tell what things *might be*—History would tell what things *had been*—but Science, in investigating the principles of the system, would, by comparing present with past, reveal what things *would be*. Just such a system is the complicated machinery of human society; such servants are its members, and such is the knowledge which the study of principles can impart. Homer's seer was a man deep in principles: "things which were and had been," taught him "things to come."

Again, the subjects of the three classes of readers may be the same, but each reads with a different purpose, gathers a different kind of knowledge, and exercises a different power of the mind. The butterfly flits over the flower-bed and stores up nothing; the spider poison, but the bee honey. So the lover of fiction reads a novel for the excitement and interest of the story; the lover of history reads the same novel to learn the manners and customs of the day; the lover of science and principles to quicken his observation, and increase his knowledge of the human heart. And this would suggest the remark that the value of every book, whether morally or intellectually considered, depends on the object with which it is read. The same volume may be made to minister to a morbid love of excitement, to increase knowledge of the past, or to aid a noble contemplation of the present or the future. The child pulls off the lid of the kettle for sport, the housewife for use; but young Watts for science, which ended with the improve-

Tastes and faculties differ—all are capable of improvement—and with good counsel nearly all persons may learn to prefer the next highest to the next lowest exercise, till the most exalted proves the most delightful, and the spheres of our dearest pleasures and of our highest interests coincide.

I will now proceed to recommend books for each class respectively. Most sincerely do I wish it were in my power to ensure that none but the highest order of works should be read, or at least that those of a lower kind, when read at all, should be invested with a pure character by the high purposes which their readers aspired to promote. But to advise readers to study nothing till they feel a taste for works of the highest character, is like saying, "never enter the water till you can swim." To hope to confine ourselves to books pure and unexceptionable, not only in their general tendency, but in every word and sentiment, is like hoping to join in none but the purest and most perfect society. So rigid a rule in a world like this would lead to monkish seclusion and narrowed faculties, with a better name, though worse influence, than intercourse the most unguarded would exert. If we may not read Shakspeare lest we learn improper language, we should not walk in the streets for the same reason; but the body would suffer from want of exercise in the one case, so would the mind in the other.

The first and most numerous class of readers, whose chief object is rather present amusement than future profit, should, of course, when two books are equal in interest, make choice of that which is more improving. Therefore one rule for a choice of books is to prefer those which almost all well-informed persons are presumed to know, and which therefore must frequently furnish apt sayings to quote, and positions to illustrate. "Æsop's Fables," the "Arabian Nights," "Robinson Crusoe," the "Waverley Novels," and plays of Shakspeare, "Don Quixote," the "Pilgrim's Progress," "Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield" and "Deserted Village," "Gray's Elegy," are all so commonly alluded to, that not to know them would render us greatly at a loss, almost every time we read a newspaper, enter a picture gallery, or converse with a man of ordinary fertility of mind.

These books serve as a common measure or standard in society for the easy interchange of thought. Quixotic, for instance, is quite a common word. Allusion to vivid scenes and leading principles in these works serves for the transfer of ideas, just as letters of credit for the transfer of money; a knowledge of this circulating medium gives all the facility to conversation, that quoting the rule in "Shelly's case," or "Campbell versus Johnson," gives to an argument in a court of law, because they save explanations as tedious as recurrence to first principles.

To these books add the voyages of Captain Cook and Parry, Basil Hall's Travels, Voyages to the North Pole and Whale Fishery, Southey's Life of Nelson,<sup>2</sup> Gulliver's Travels, Scott's Tales of a Grandfather,<sup>3</sup> Johnson's Rasselas, and Boswell's Life of Johnson.<sup>4</sup>

Here is a short, but varied and most comprehensive list for a beginning. I should say for beginning your choice. They may not all suit the taste of the same reader, and I freely allow that it is not more pleasing than profitable to enjoy the privilege of laying down a book you do not like and taking up another. More than one of these books has formed the taste—more

<sup>1</sup> ARABIAN NIGHTS, 1 vol. Svo. Wardle, Phila.

<sup>2</sup> SOUTHEY'S NELSON, 1 vol. 50 cents. Harpers' Family Library.

<sup>3</sup> SCOTT'S TALES OF A GRANDFATHER, the three series, complete in 4 Nos. at 25 cents each. Carey & Hart.

<sup>4</sup> BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON. with notes by J. Wilson Croker, 2 vols. Svo. A. V. Blake, New York.

JOHNSONIANA, consisting of Anecdotes not contained in "Boswell," in 1 vol., with numerous illustrations. Carey & Hart.

than one has determined the fortunes—of thousands. "Southey's Life of Nelson," said an anxious mother, "I have put on the top shelf out of my boy's way. His cousin Harry sends home fine accounts of mast-heading, and in windy weather too. All comes of Nelson's life—the child never thought of going to sea till that book completely turned his head."

There is a tide in the affairs of men,  
Which taken at the flood leads on to fortune.

But Dame Fortune, like other ladies, sometimes smiles and sometimes frowns, and certainly there is a period when the youthful mind is critically poised, when

A breath may make them, as a breath has made,

and marred them too. The nursery game of deciding professions by straws, long and short, or the head of a stem of grass,—“tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor, apothecary, thief,”—very ridiculously but very truly represents the feather-weight which turns the scale of youthful destiny. At this climacteric a book of thrilling and all-engrossing interest is really a matter of serious choice. Such a climacteric is observable in the popular as well as the individual character. “The Beggars’ Opera” was long prohibited for fear it should encourage pickpockets: another book we could mention, which an officer of Newgate, after contradiction, persisted in saying that Courvoisier told him suggested Lord Russell’s murder; and though it has not yet been prohibited, still the evidence of a jail chaplain of Liverpool showed it to be in its form, both of novel and melodrama, a shocking incentive to the rising generation of thieves. Sir David Wilkie’s picture, “Distraint for Rent,” says Mr. Bulwer, in his “England and the English,” remained long unengraved, from an opinion it would inflame popular prejudice against the landed interest. Books suggest thoughts, thoughts become motives, motives prompt to action. Man is a complicated piece of machinery: hundreds of nerves and muscles must act and react for the slightest turn of the body; yet the very wind of a word, a casual hint or association can set the whole in motion, and produce an action—actions repeated form habits, and determine the character, fixed, firm, and unalterable for good or for evil. So the delicate hand of a princess can launch a man-of-war, and the voice of a peasant bring down an avalanche.

The reason I am desirous to give a varied list is, because there are few books which suit *every taste*. Gray saw little merit in Johnson’s *Rasselas*; and Johnson was equally blind to the beauties of Gray’s odes. Burns’s very popular song, which, he said, was in his best manner, “Scots wha hae wi’ Wallace bled,” was thought inferior both by Wordsworth and Mrs. Hemans. Dr. Parr said Sir Walter’s popularity would not last. The poems of Ossian, which so many have admired, Johnson thought any man could write when he once hit the strain; and Edmund Burke declared were intended to try English gullibility. Dr. Wolcott, better known as Peter Pindar, ridiculed Dryden’s Alexander’s Feast, and maintained, in a most humorous criticism, that it was positively absurd. While tastes and opinions on literary excellence so far differ among the learned, I may well allow great latitude to the choice of the youthful reader. I heard of a clever Cantab who committed to memory the *Antigone* of Sophocles, and by an apt selection of some passages, and ingenious wrestling of others, used to bring in a line on all occasions, and with every quotation would expatiate on the art of making a little learning go a long way, and say, that this one play of Sophocles was applicable to all the purposes of life. One of my college friends, famed rather for sharp wit than sound learning, read one observation in Niebuhr’s<sup>1</sup> history the same morning he

contested Dean Ireland’s scholarship, and had the tact to make this single idea solve three separate questions. A chaplain of Hereford jail has given an account of an old man seventy years of age, who taught himself to read by comparing the Lord’s Prayer, which he had in his memory, with the printed characters in the Prayer Book. These facts fully considered are very encouraging. “Bad workmen,” says the proverb, “blame their tools.” “A few disciplined forces,” says Addison,<sup>2</sup> “are more efficient than a much larger number of undisciplined men.” So a few books may furnish very many ideas or instruments of thought; and only a few ideas well arranged and brought to bear on one point will clear away difficulties which a whole host of disorderly powers would fail to remove. Show an unlettered man a book, and he will say, “Who can remember all those letters?” Tell him there are but twenty-four—he will still wonder at the words: say that the words, too, are limited in number, and that a knowledge of a system of inflection and composition solves many difficulties, and he will understand that the labours he reckoned by millions exist by tens. As with words, so with ideas. In most books they are few and far between. The distant forest which, to the inexperienced botanist, seems to abound in trees, numerous in kind and almost infinite in number, proves, as he enters it, to contain but one single species, each branching far, with widely expanding limbs and luxuriant foliage, so that the study of one gives a knowledge of all. This uniformity belongs not only to the works of nature but also to the devices of man. The power of recognising the old and well-known truth in each variety of garb, of stripping it of every accident and ornament, studying it in its simplest form, and then investing and combining it anew, and setting it up in any useful and efficient attitude—this power is one of the most valuable results of human learning. The intellect which has attained it is in every respect more to be envied than a memory, fraught with the most varied stores of reading. The one possesses, but the other coins. Butler, the author of the *Analogy*, said, “Whoever will in the least attend to the thing will see that it is not the having knowledge, but the gaining of it, which is the entertainment of the mind.” In every part of life, the pleasure is in the pursuit, not in the possession. And if

The worth of any thing  
Is just as much as it will bring—

in happiness as in money—if that is true of the end which is said of the means, then I will deny that “a bird in hand is worth two in the bush,” and prefer “an estate in expectancy” to one “in possession,” though the worldly wise maintain the contrary. Pursuits of literature are like the chase. Whether we exercise our feet or faculties, mount a hunter or a Pegasus, start a fox or an idea, the fun is over when we have run it down or it has “got to earth.” The young men in *Æsop*’s fable unconsciously cultivated their vineyard and improved their own strength and industry, while they dug for an imaginary treasure. So many a student is insensibly storing strength while he seeks for knowledge. The classical maxim to follow nature is good indeed, when we can only discern what nature says and fish up truth from the bottom of the well, or rather sift it from the rubbish, which, while truth was yet upon the surface, vain ignorance heaped upon it. Still, with all the darkness and difficulties of man’s benighted state there is an instinct he may safely obey, and one which, both in physics and metaphysics, science, *falsely so called*, has done much mischief in thwarting. And why is not this monitor obeyed? Too often, because men mistake means for ends, and aim at a far less worthy prize than they are inwardly prompted to pursue. This at least is true of my present subject—Study, and Curiosity as its guide. This instinct urges many

<sup>1</sup> NIEBUHR’S *ROME*, translated by Hare & Thirlwall, with the additional lectures, complete in 5 vols. 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> ADDISON’S *WORKS*, complete, 3 vols. 8vo. Harper



a youth to turn over and over the same favourite tale, while a host of the usual advisers cry out "Waste of time, pray read something new." "And is he to obey curiosity and inclination to this extent?" Why not? a book cannot continue to fix attention unless it continue also either to impart or elicit new ideas. Indeed, I think few signs more promising than an inclination to read the same book again and again. If the same passages continued to make the same impression, the book would be laid aside. If they make new impressions, this proves that the reader is learning to regard the same scenes at a different angle, or to shift the component parts, till they form, like the same pieces in the kaleidoscope, a variety of pleasing combinations.

A distinguished literary character of the present day was, as his good lady has told me, often found during his childhood lying on his little bed, where none were likely to seek him, reading Robinson Crusoe. "Only reading Robin—only Robin," was the constant excuse for all absence or idleness, till his friends augured that the future man would be a very different character from one who has done much to preserve the most valuable part of English literature. Now, be it observed, as a child he was devoted to *one book*. He has since been a man of one book. Shakspeare has been his favourite author. The rest of his reading has been determined by an ever present desire to correct, illustrate, and restore every trace of that immortal bard. His course of studies being dictated, as we have advised, by his own curiosity and inclination, was peculiar: for instance, at the time of Sir Walter Scott's death, he had not read one of the Waverley Novels; he felt that they might divert the current of his thought, and though he had not the narrow views of the mathematician, who laid down Milton, saying, "Why, what does it prove?" he saw that no modern fiction could lead to the conclusion which he ever bore in mind. We cannot too much admire this constancy and fixedness of purpose, especially if we consider how many siren spells and luscious lulling fruits there are to tempt such faithful travellers from their course. "But would he not be afraid of betraying this deficiency in society?" He could find many a precedent to bear him out. Sir James Mackintosh had not read Shakspeare's minor works when forty years of age. Mr. Wilberforce used to say he would read no modern poetry till he was tired of Homer and Milton. Dr. Johnson had not read Othello when he wrote Irene, and visited Iona without seeing Staffa, though the Duke of Wellington went thirty miles out of his march to see Schriuanabalog, "the big Indian," whom Chantrey said he could beat. However, suffice it to say, that the reading of this able writer, peculiar as it might seem, answered the purposes of all study, by making him happy in his own resources, agreeable to his friends, and useful to the public.

A friend, on looking over these pages, now asks me, "But is there no danger that men of one book, however honourably we are used to hear them mentioned, should be ignorant of every other subject of conversation which does not bear upon their favourite topics?" Certainly the mind requires variety. Those only are deserving either of praise or imitation who are men of one book, in this sense, that they pursue one system, choose one class of authors most suitable to their own peculiar talents, and prefer to be very sound, in a limited sphere, to being superficial in one more extended. I would recommend every young man to make choice of his book—Shakspeare, Milton,<sup>1</sup> Bacon,<sup>2</sup> Clarendon,<sup>3</sup> Burke, Johnson's works,<sup>4</sup>

&c., Conversations in Boswell; or, to those of a thoughtful habit, I would say, take Butler's Analogy and Sermons,<sup>5</sup> bind them up in one thick volume, on which write Wisdom in gold letters, and begin to read it through every New Year's Day. One sterling author, to call "my book," ever most conspicuous and most at hand, read, re-read, "marked and quoted," standing on the shelf, if not "alone in his glory," at least surrounded with pamphlets, manuscripts, and authors to illustrate it; this will do much to form the mind; this will teach us to think as our favourite author thought, to aspire at the same weight of expression, purity of taste, loftiness of views, and fervency of spirit. This will give a high standard of excellence, chastening us with humility, while it fires us with emulation. Since such is the influence a favourite author may exert, in the choice of one lies our danger and our difficulty. Our dilemma is this; time only can convict us of an erroneous choice, and time forbids our error to be rectified. Yet man's doom and duty both say "persevere." If no prudence will enable us to fix on the most eligible, perseverance may make up the difference. Therefore, whatever author you have fairly chosen, after inward communing and patient conference with those you believe best able to advise you, consider you have taken as a bosom companion, for better or for worse, not to be laid aside without some momentous reason. So also if you choose a subject to illustrate, or as a point to which all your leisure thoughts may radiate, resolve that you are in honour bound to abide by your decision; otherwise powers which were given you to vanquish difficulties will be wasted in vain endeavours to evade them. *The one thing needful*, and the Holy Volume, which teaches all things pertaining thereto, must now of course be uppermost in the thoughts of all. But since every writer should confine himself to the one deficiency in literature he proposes to supply, I shall content myself with observing that one of my fellow-collegians, highly distinguished both at Winchester and Oxford, made the Bible not only the subject of his serious meditations, but a pocket companion and resource in his hours of recreation. At lecture he was frequently requested by the tutor to assist him with the exact words of any verse he desired to quote, and rarely failed to excite the astonishment, and, I am happy to add, in contradiction to many erroneous impressions of college life, the respect and admiration of his fellow-students.

When my pupils have read all the books I have mentioned, or all that they have any inclination to read, by conferring with competent advisers they will be at no loss in choosing others; indeed they can scarcely want assistance if they only follow the dictates of their own curiosity. However, I will devote one or two pages to show what books may most suitably follow those on my list; and this I propose, not only for the value of the books recommended, but also to exemplify the principle of selection, and to explain how one book may be said to suggest another.

Whenever we feel unusually entertained with a work, it is natural to inquire the name of the author, and what he has written besides; and though his other compositions bear no very inviting titles, we may still hope that he has made them the vehicle of the same order of ideas. Bishop Berkeley, as has often been observed, betrayed the same train of thought in his "Thoughts upon Tar Water" as in his "Principles of Human Knowledge." The verses in the celebrated "Pursuits of Literature," which gives nearly a page of satirical observations to each line of text, were said by George Stevens to be "mere pegs to hang the notes on." And so at the present day, one of Mr. Colburn's books, with the name, size, style, and letter-press of a novel, proves to be the insidious form in which science, political or theological, is homeopathically exhibited and dis-

<sup>1</sup> MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS, fine edition, 2 vols. 8vo. Little & Brown, Boston.

<sup>2</sup> BACON'S WORKS, with a translation of his Latin writings, and a life by Basil Montagu, 3 vols. 8vo. \$7 50. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>3</sup> CLARENDON'S HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, in 2 vols. 8vo. Smith, London.

<sup>4</sup> DR. JOHNSON'S WORKS, 2 vols. 8vo. A. V. Blake,

<sup>5</sup> BUTLER'S ANALOGY, 1 vol. 18mo. A. V. Blake,

guised. Opinions so circulated for the most part go for nothing; like the bad half-sovereign which the Irish knave passed between two halfpence.

Defoe wrote, besides "Robinson Crusoe," the "History of the Plague of London," in which his fertile imagination, guided and assisted by a few authentic incidents, has succeeded in placing before our eyes a series of pictures nearly as vivid as that of Crusoe himself examining the print of the unknown foot upon the sand. You might also be tempted to read Defoe's ghost story of the appearance of Mrs. Veal, prefixed to the second edition of the English translation of "Drelincourt on Death," as also the "Life of Defoe," in Sir W. Scott's<sup>1</sup> prose works, (vol. iv. p. 267,) where we have an outline of the story, and the circumstance that led to its fabrication. The first edition of the translation had but an indifferent sale; Defoe ingeniously contrived to render it popular, by prefixing the story of a ghost which appeared, and made mention of it; the strange consequence of which was that those who had not been persuaded to read Drelincourt by any man living, were yet persuaded by a recommendation from the dead. Drelincourt's admirable work first drew my attention as I read an allusion to the story of Mrs. Veal, in Boswell, (iii. 194.) I therefore added it to a list of "authors characterized and recommended," in which I enter any incidental notice of works of interest, as I shall presently describe. But I think I hear some censorious reader say, "Why tell us where to find ghost stories? Proceed at once to things worth knowing." This is precisely the point to which I wish to show that subjects the most trivial may be made to tend: I was going to observe that Dr. Johnson, like every one else, till a comparatively recent time, was ignorant that this story of Mrs. Veal was a fiction, and said, "I believe the woman declared on her death-bed it was a lie." So a fabricated story had a fabricated contradiction. Does this supply no lesson as to the credulity of man, and the uncertainty of human testimony, two topics well worthy of a man of reflection to illustrate? What can be more requisite as a foundation of all learning than a clear knowledge of the extent to which human testimony has erred; and how far favour, affection, association, prejudice, and passions of all kinds render man liable to yield too ready and too general an assent to partial evidence? Let this subject be followed out by readers of a speculative turn, and even common stories and anecdotes will prove to the reflective mind productive of no less profit than entertainment. Consider the extraordinary impositions which have been practised in literature, and the controversies to which they have led—that of Lauder, for instance, in 1747, who, by an essay in the "Gentleman's Magazine," tried to prove that Milton had borrowed from Latin authors of modern date, and actually imposed on a great many scholars before he was detected by Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, who showed that passages which Lauder pretended to have found in the poems of Massenius and others, were really taken from Hog's Latin translation of Paradise Lost. Dr. Johnson was so far deceived as to write a preface and postscript to Lauder's work. An account of this may be found in Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes of the 18th Century,"<sup>2</sup> a book which the reader, who has followed me so far, will find more easy to take up than to lay down. He may read, at all events, while *inclination* lasts and no longer. This limit should be particularly observed with all books of anecdotes, miscellany, and the multifarious reading which biography supplies. Only, it must not be supposed that mere dipping into a chapter here and there will convey all the advantage of a sound knowledge of the whole book; but that after

gleaning all which interests us at one time it is wise to reserve the rest for a future occasion, when we have a more extended curiosity to gratify. I do not like to hear a man say, "Rasselas, or the Vicar of Wakefield, is a work of genius, but I have not read it since I was young." Believe me the second reading of a good book is often more profitable than the first. "But can there be any use in reading old things over again?" Certainly not, things really old. But the same truth has many meanings: it has one voice for the wise—another for the unwise: it pleases the vacant mind by the knowledge it imparts, it pleases the full and fertile mind by the force it gathers from numerous associations, and by calling forth new ideas, and making mere shadowy impressions distinct; so a good book, by which I mean a book true to nature, whatever part of nature's works it describes, may be ever new, so long at least as our own minds continue to collect new strength to evolve, new images to combine, and new powers to vary them.

But to return to the topic of human testimony, we might read the "Confessions of Ireland,"<sup>3</sup> who, upon Malone's suggesting that Shakspeare had left manuscripts, forged "miscellaneous papers and legal instruments, under the hand and seal of William Shakspeare;" also "Vortigern," a play, which he pretended was written by Shakspeare, and which was actually performed at Sheridan's theatre, and only condemned by the double meaning which Kemble's sneer gave the line—

And when this solemn mockery is o'er.

Many in the literary circles were deceived. Dr. Parr acknowledged "the forgerly beat him." Warton said of a prayer which was also among the forgeries, though written off-hand by Ireland, without time for careful composition, and that at about seventeen years of age, that it surpassed in sublimity any part of our Liturgy.

I can only allude to Chatterton,<sup>4</sup> who imposed on many literary persons by forging poems, and ancient records and title-deeds, which he pretended were found in St. Mary Redcliffe Church at Bristol. It is true that Horace Walpole, with the help of Gray and Mason, detected the forgery; but his letter to Chatterton proved he was himself deceived. Afterwards a line of Hudibras was discovered among this ancient poetry;—still, considering this deception was practised at sixteen years of age, and that Johnson said, "It is wonderful how the young whelp could have done it," Dix's "Life of Chatterton" will be a profitable source of entertainment. Again, George Psalmanazar, born 1679, in the south of France, pretended to be a heathen native of the island of Formosa, and invented a new language, which he called the Formosan, and into which he had the boldness to translate the "Church Catechism." This remained long undetected by the learned, while his "History of Formosa" passed through two editions. His "Autobiography" is deserving of credit. Johnson said, "I scarcely ever sought the society of any one, but of Psalmanazar the most. I used to find him in an ale-house in the city: latterly he lived as a very good man, and died a sincere Christian:—his 'Autobiography' was a penitential confession."

On the same topic of the strength and weakness of the human mind, we may mention the controversies about Homer, "Epistles of Phalaris," Ossian, Junius,<sup>5</sup> Chevalier D'Eon, Man with the Iron Mask, "Voyages of Dammerger," Eliza Canning, Johannah Southcote, Mary Tophits of Godalming, the Cock-lane Ghost, and Jugglers' Feats, as related by Eastern travellers. If any person entertains curiosity in these matters, "Sketches of Imposture and Cre-

<sup>1</sup> DEFOE'S WORKS, complete in one volume, 8vo. London, 1844.

SCOTT'S MISCELLANEOUS PROSE WORKS, in 5 vols. 8vo. \$5. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> NICHOLS'S LITERARY ANECDOTES OF THE 18TH

<sup>3</sup> CONFESSIONS OF IRELAND, 1 vol. 12mo. London.

<sup>4</sup> CHATTERTON'S COMPLETE WORKS, with Life, 2 vols. small 8vo. London.

<sup>5</sup> JUNIUS'S LETTERS, by Woodfall, 2 vols. 8vo.



dulity," in the "Family Library," and Sir Walter Scott's "Demonology and Witchcraft,"<sup>1</sup> will supply abundant interest.

"But surely this is a strange selection." I do not name these subjects to the exclusion of others, but principally to show that a youthful taste indulged in its own caprices will involuntarily lead to a kind of knowledge available in the season of maturer judgment. The preceding observations will also show the advantage of always bearing in mind one useful subject, which every hour of reading and reflection may contribute to illustrate. Many a mind has wandering thoughts, which, as they come unbidden, depart unregarded, only because one has never thought of hoisting a standard round which they might rally.

A subject like that of Abercrombie, "On the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth,"<sup>2</sup> would surely be a laudable employment for the talents of the greatest genius; and would not this course of reading, childish as it may seem, supply facts of an order which he would be sorry to lose? How often have some of these cases of deception been cited by the avowed enemies of our Gospel privileges! Who can say that he may not feel himself called upon to give the same serious attention to the history of these impostors, as Paley, in his "Evidences of Christianity,"<sup>3</sup> has given to the impostor *Mahomet*, and for the same purpose?

Here, my friends, let me remind you that from "Robinson Crusoe" I have wandered to the "Evidences of Revealed Religion;" and though I did not see the point at which I should arrive, I felt confident of eventually showing that, with curiosity or inclination as your guide, your route will afford you no less profit than interest, whatever be the point from which you please to start. The ever-recurring questions, "Where is the use of this?" or "the good of that?" may well be met with the reply, that many things are eventually useful, though not immediately convertible, and that prudent housekeepers say, "Keep a thing three years, and you'll find a use for it." But I must be careful not to give up a commanding position, because it is convenient to meet a feeble enemy on lower grounds. Let us, therefore, remember that a well-stored mind to which, as Herschel says, "a thousand questions are continually arising, a thousand subjects of inquiry presenting themselves, which keep his faculties in constant exercise, and his thoughts perpetually on the wing, so that lassitude is excluded from life, and that craving after artificial excitement and dissipation of mind, which leads so many into frivolous, unworthy, and destructive pursuits, is altogether eradicated from the bosom;"—let us remember, that, in such a mind, there is a *use*, indeed, there must therefore be *some good* in whatever reading conduces to form it. This argument, I say, asserting not the sordid money reckoning of the hireling but the enlarged estimation of the Christian, who values literature as it lessens the temptations of earth, and slopes the path of heaven; this is the true and impregnable ground of defence against the sneers of the friends of so-called utility and expediency; still, as we exult in foiling insignificant cavillers not only on our grounds but on their own, I would ask them, if they would have seen the *use* of Newton's pondering over a falling apple; and yet it raised his thoughts to the laws which govern the revolution of the planets in their orbits. Would they not have joined in the ridicule of *swing-swangs*, which did not prevent Robert Hooke from reviving the proposal of the pendulum as a standard of measure since so admirably wrought into practice, as Herschel remarks, by the genius and perseverance of Captain Kater? Would they not have joined in the laugh at Boyle in his ex-

periments on the pressure and elasticity of air, and asked Watts, as I before mentioned, *the use* of playing with the kettle, and yet all can see the *good* of the steam engine? Then think of blowing soap bubbles by which the phenomena of colours has been studied to say nothing of where could be the *good* of playing with whirligigs, the simple means by which, a few years since, a society of philosophers were investigating certain principles of optics, as exemplified in the clever toy called the Magic Disk. A scientific friend, (an F. R. S.), a short time since, intent on geological discovery, sat down one sultry day, with hammer, to break stones by the road-side. A fellow-labourer, employed by the parish, looked on with amazement till he saw some fossils selected from the heap, and then said, "Then, Sir, I s'pose they give you something for them?" "No," said my friend, "they don't." "Then, what can be the good of them?" This poor fellow was quite as enlightened as many intellectual paupers, who when their money is as low as their wit may break stones too.

So far I have supposed that a juvenile taste has led my reader through a course of study, which in a note-book, of the kind I shall presently recommend him to keep, would stand thus:—

#### MEMORANDUM OF READING.

Read "Robinson Crusoe," which suggested "History of the Plague," and "Defoe's Life," by Scott in which was quoted Defoe's "Preface to Drelincourt," concerning which I consulted Nichols's "Literary Anecdotes."

Mem.—To be read, Nichols, again and again, a future periods.

This specimen of *literary imposition* suggested reading Lauder's, Chatterton's, Psalmanazar's, and Ireland's forgeries.

The credulity of the wisest men was a topic which made me curious to read "Sketches of Credulity and Imposture," as containing an outline of all notable instances, to which I find so many allusions; and also Scott's "Demonology," which I was told gave a common-sense explanation of the causes of supernatural appearances, and other wonders, gaining credit.

Query.—Was Dr. Johnson superstitious?

Mem.—To read more about the doctor.

#### MEMORANDUM OF KNOWLEDGE.

Learned the extent to which fiction may resemble truth—the fallibility of human judgment—that me of the greatest genius are not above the prejudices of their day. The nature of evidence—the many causes which hinder the investigation of truth. To read about fallacies, human understanding, laws of evidence, blunders and pretensions of critics, with a view to illustrate these topics; to attend to the historical accounts of all popular deceptions, criminal trials, &c.

These memoranda are recommended as aids to reflection, and to teach how to digest all the knowledge we acquire. Remember—"Heaping up information, however valuable of itself, requires the principle of combination to make it useful. Stones are valuable things, very valuable; but they are not beautiful or useful till the hand of the architect has given them a form, and the cement of the bricklayer knit them together."<sup>4</sup>

Let us now take, from the list assigned to the first class of readers, a second book, that we may see how the same method and principle of combination are digesting applies to other amusing subjects. Consider the "Travels" of Captain Basil Hall. His series gives a brief but clear outline of the History of India, from the year 1497, in which the Portuguese discovered the route by the Cape; the formation of the East India Company; war with the French; the

<sup>1</sup> SCOTT'S DEMONOLGY AND WITCHCRAFT—Sir Walter Scott's Prose Works. Carey & Hart, Phila.

<sup>2</sup> ABERCROMBIE ON THE INTELLECTUAL POWERS, 1 vol. 50 cts. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>3</sup> PALEY'S EVIDENCES, 1 vol. 8vo. Kay & Bro-

<sup>4</sup> WOMAN'S MISSION—one of the greatest of a little books, founded on the opinions of M. Aimé



Black Hole of Calcutta; Lord Clive;<sup>1</sup> Hyder Ali; Warren Hastings; an interesting account of the system in which British India is governed; Tippoo Saib; Cornwallis; Wellesley; writers and cadets; a most interesting account of Bombay and the wonders of Elephanta (Series ii. vol. iii.), and Ceylon; the stupendous labour of making Candelay Lake; the voluntary tortures of the superstitious Sunnyasses; how widow burning was abolished; the immense tanks; the "big Indian" Shrivanasabalagol, a statue seventy feet high, cut out of a hill of granite; descriptions of manners, and inventions, strange habits, and customs of a variety of nations. The Captain's "Travels" in America are written in the same style, equally combining amusement with instruction. After reading these interesting volumes, and following the course which I should suppose your inclination would suggest, your note-book would bear, as I judge from my own, the following:—

#### MEMORANDUM OF READING.

Read Basil Hall's "Travels;" mention of Warren Hastings; suggested to read a few pages of Miller's "George III.," about the impeachment of Hastings;<sup>2</sup> Burke's "Speeches," recommended on the same subject, and Nabob of Arcot—read both. To see more of the meaning of "Charter" and "Company." I. W. promised me that five minutes' reading in my Cyclopædia would inform me; also that I might find the same by the index to Blackstone's "Commentaries"—quite true; found much more in Blackstone—quite amusing; also found out "India" in Cyclopædia, and had a general view of the whole subject. Hall observes Daniell's Indian drawings are the nearest to reality.

Mem.—To examine them. H. W. says the Museum, at the India House in Leadenhall Street, and the Naval and Military Museum, near Whitehall, must be visited. Rev. W. Ward's book on the "Literature and Customs of the Hindoos," recommended; also Sir W. Jones's "Letters"—picked out a great deal from both; also from Robertson's "Ancient India," showing what was known to the ancients about India, and about Phœnicians: advised to read Ezekiel, c. xxviii.; very curious—about ancient commerce and navigation—Tarshish, Ophir, Elath, and Eziongeber, Palmyra, Arabians, Genoese, and Venetians.

#### MEMORANDUM OF KNOWLEDGE.

Feel more confidence as well as curiosity about India. Can converse with and draw out my Indian friends to advantage. Know more about the ingenuity and power of man. Must compare pyramids, railways, and Indian tanks. Did not know there was so much curious knowledge in O. T. Begin to observe the natural productions, customs, &c. of the Book of Job. Read some of the "Scripture Heraldist" about the plants and trees; also looked into "Natural History of the Bible;"<sup>3</sup> surprised at finding so many curious things which never struck me before. Herschel's<sup>4</sup> proof of the insignificance of the labour which raised the great pyramid, compared with the weekly expense of steam power in our boundaries.

I should now consider that I had given my class of readers their full share of attention, were it not that, profiting by the example of Molière, who used to judge of the probable success of his comedies by the degree they excited the risible faculties of his old housekeeper, I read these pages to one of the young

friends for whose use they are designed, and was told, "that it is not so easy to find the answers to the various questions which we should like to ask in reading travels; for too many authors assume that what is familiar to themselves is familiar to their readers." For the express recommendation, therefore, of the over-large class of readers, whose wants were thus happily brought before me, I allowed my friend to dictate the following questions:—

First. How is a reader to solve the difficulties, and extend his knowledge of the subjects, which occur in general reading?

Secondly. How are we to prevent confusion in reading part of a variety of subjects, or how can we possibly read enough of many at the same time, for every incident to be duly digested and assume its proper place?

These questions lead me to speak of the use we may make of Cyclopædias, Gazetteers, Biographical Dictionaries, and other books of reference. We just mentioned India; East India Company; Clive; Hastings; Cornwallis; Wellesley; writers; cadets. On each of these heads you may consult the "Penny Cyclopædia,"<sup>5</sup> which excels all others in the variety of its subjects. You can read each article, more or less attentively, according to the degree of interest which casual notices of those topics in books or conversation have excited. When you have read them all, cast your eye again over the article on India, and you will feel that the several parts of your newly-acquired knowledge have a propensity to "fall in," as the drill sergeants say, and find their proper places in the main line which this sketch of Indian history has marked out. And probably allusions to Tippoo Saib, Hyder Ali, Brahmans, Buddhism, Caste, and other subjects, will lead you to read the separate articles upon these topics also, and I will venture to say you will rise from your studies with feelings of considerable satisfaction. First, you will feel that having once mustered courage to plunge into the ocean of learning, if you cannot swim all at once, at least you have acquired a sense of your own buoyancy, and discovered a capability to learn, and so can easily make a bold resolution to try again another day. When the splashing and floundering about is all over for the first time, you feel some confidence in holding up your head in the company of others of more enterprising spirit, and listen to catch a hint from their progress and experience. Many a boy would never have learned to swim had it not been for some companions who tempted him just to try one dip. Many a man would have gone through a whole life subject to that ever-recurring creeping sense of inferiority, which is the every-day punishment of ignorance, were it not that some reading companions led him to take the first leap, which carried him so much further than he expected, that he was emboldened to try a second, and at length to join the busy throng, in which powers unknown, because untried, made him first and foremost. With this beginning in Indian history, take another Cyclopædia, the "Britannica,"<sup>6</sup> or "Metropolitan," and look out for the same articles. Then look for India in a Gazetteer, and the names of men in a Biographical Dictionary: to the end of these articles are usually added the names of authors from whom more information may be derived. These may be read, or not, as you please. By this method an extensive selection may be made in a very short time. Remember, I say, a collection of facts, for sound, mature, well-digested knowledge is not the growth of a day: facts to the mind are like food to the body; whether either the one or the other shall assimilate and be duly converted depends on the constitution, mental or physical. After reading long histories, or lives of distinguished characters, most young readers

<sup>1</sup> LIFE OF LORD CLIVE. By Lockhart, in 1 vol. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> WARREN HASTINGS and LORD CLIVE. See the admirable reviews in "Macaulay's Miscellanies," included in Carey & Hart's "Modern Essayists."

<sup>3</sup> NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE, 2 vols. Harper & Brothers, Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup> HERSCHEL'S DISCOURSE ON NATURAL HISTORY.

<sup>5</sup> PENNY CYCLOPÆDIA, now complete in 27 vols. Knight & Co. London.

<sup>6</sup> ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA, 7th edit. By Professor Napier. 21 vols. 4to. Imported and for sale by

find that they rise with a knowledge more confused than accurate, and that even certain plain and obvious questions, such as the age at which certain men attained celebrity; at what times particular changes happened; what circumstances led to certain events, and other things of interest, escape observation, from the many pages among which the required information is interspersed. These the compendious articles of a Cyclopædia, or Biographical Dictionary, are peculiarly suited to supply; so much so, indeed, that to prevent wandering thoughts and losing the thread of the subject, I used to find it useful to read a short outline before I commenced a life in two or three volumes. Also, for the most part, I keep books of reference at hand, and turn at once to the name of any unknown person introduced.

Again, magazines and reviews often contain concise accounts of campaigns, political questions, and the present policy and interests of different nations. Some allowance may be made for the political bias of reviewers, still they are as likely to be fair in their opinions and accurate in their facts as other authors. Nor must we forget, that, with the exception of novels, magazines are now nearly the only channel by which an author can publish his opinions with the least prospect of remuneration; and therefore it is not too much to say, that a store of facts, and series of reflections, which would have made a plausible appearance in two volumes octavo, are often cut down to the length of a single essay in the "Edinburgh" or "Quarterly," and gain no little vigour from the pruning. The chief value of the magazines is, that they give us the benefit of the earliest information; for if other sources would supply the same matter at all, we should probably have to wait till all interest had ceased. Bacon says, that "reading makes the full man, and conversation the ready man;" and Johnson says of conversation, that it supplies only scraps, and that we must read books to learn a whole subject: then Bacon goes on to say, that "writing makes the exact man," meaning not the manual part of writing, but the arranging and digesting of matter, which writing involves. The digesting and arrangement of knowledge are two points which should never be lost sight of by the literary adviser: so, while I would urge the advice of Bacon to the letter, and encourage the more practised student with the old maxim, *nulla dies sine linea* (no day without a line), I would further observe, that the use of a short compendium will tend to that habit of exactness which writing more fully promotes.

Besides cyclopædies, gazetteers, biographical dictionaries, and magazines, there are many other works furnished like the magazines with indices, and readily available as books of reference. I have already mentioned Blackstone's "Commentaries," which, though I cannot speak of it as a work of general interest to the young, contains, as a glance at its index will show, many things to solve questions which arise in the study of history. Again, biographies are good books of reference—about the Reformation, the lives of Luther, Knox, Calvin; about the Methodists, Southey's "Life of Wesley;" about the slavery question, "The Life of Wilberforce;" about military matters, the lives of Marlborough, Sir T. Picton, Wellington,<sup>2</sup> Napoleon;<sup>3</sup> about naval affairs,<sup>4</sup> Rodney, Earl St. Vincent, Nelson—severally contain much information, to which an index or table of contents will direct. You have only to inquire what celebrated

men are connected with the matter in question, or were contemporaneous with given events, and you will generally find that their biographies contain their opinions, together with such explanation or history of the subject as is requisite to make those opinions understood. Of all biographies none is so valuable as a book of reference as Boswell's "Life of Johnson." During the middle of the last century, nearly every conspicuous character, or memorable incident of that and of many preceding ages, passed successively in review before the severe judgment of him, who was confessedly one of the wisest of men, and has been faithfully recorded by a biographer, of whom a writer in the "Quarterly" has truly said, "It is scarcely more practicable to find another Boswell than another Johnson."<sup>5</sup> The index of Croker's edition renders it one of the best books of reference a library can contain.

As to the mode of so finding out allusions, avoiding confusion, and solving other difficulties which will occur in reading, I have now given as many hints as I think will be useful. Several other methods occur to me, but they are such as few students can follow until they have sufficient experience to adopt the best of all methods, namely, those to which each person is prompted by a lively sense of his own deficiencies. The only advice I have to add is, read on with good courage and full confidence; though you wander from your path for a time, you will have the more pleasure in finding your way at last. If you cannot remember all you read, you may learn at least where information is to be had when wanted. The next thing to knowing the contents of a book, is knowing the use of it. One of my young friends again asks, "Does all my reading go for nothing? I have read many books, but know none accurately; still I feel a sort of confidence when their contents are the subjects of conversation." Certainly not for nothing: this confidence is worth something; you have gained at least the habit of reading: if you stop where you are, knowledge without accuracy is like an estate encumbered with debt and subject to deductions which may, it is true, swallow up the whole. But it is fair to hope, on striking a balance, something will remain; or, even if bankrupt quite, it is well to have, as they say in the mercantile world, a good connection and habits of business; in other words, a general acquaintance with authors, and all the stores they can severally supply, and also habits of application to begin again with greater advantage. So I would console my very many young friends who are in this predicament with the assurance, that they have probably made a useful survey for future operations, and worn down so many rough edges, that, in retracing their former steps, they will have more time to look out for objects of interest, and fewer obstacles to daunt their energies.

I trust I have now said enough on the general plan and method of study. I shall now proceed at once as I promised many pages back, to treat separately of all the principal divisions of knowledge, such as History, Poetry, Philosophy, Theology, with remarks on English composition, study of languages the formation of habits, and other topics of interest. Complete essays on these comprehensive subjects are not to be expected from one who addresses himself to the young and inexperienced student, and whose chief ambition is to be useful. The maxim of the poet is only fair:—

"In every work, regard the writer's end,  
Since none can compass more than they intend."

## ON THE STUDY OF HISTORY.

<sup>1</sup> LIFE OF WILBERFORCE, by his Son. 2 vols. Perkins & Purves, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> LIFE OF WELLINGTON, by Maxwell. 3 vols. 8vo, splendidly illustrated. London, 1843.

<sup>3</sup> LIFE OF NAPOLEON, by Sir Walter Scott, in Scott's Prose Works. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

LIFE OF NAPOLEON, by M. A. Thiers. Complete in one volume 8vo. Price \$1.25. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup> COOPER'S NAVAL HISTORY. 2 vols. 8vo. Lea

The first glance at the following pages might lead my readers to think I intended to imitate Dufresnoy who, after laying down a course of historical study mildly added, "the time required is ten years." But I stipulate, readers, for no length of labour: I only request that you will employ your usual hours of reading, few or many, with the method here proposed, and on such subjects as suit the peculiar be-



of your inclination. Thus in one year you may achieve more than nineteen out of twenty of your neighbours achieve in ten; for at least that proportion of the community read without any system or definite object in view, but carry on a desultory campaign like that of the Greeks around Troy, who, as Thucydides says, were foraging when they ought to have been fighting, or there would have been no ten years' siege. "Divide and conquer," is a maxim in one sense wise, in another foolish. Victory depends on dividing and choosing one point of attack, but on concentrating all our power upon it; therefore the following chapters contain many subjects, and each subject several divisions, that every reader may select according to his taste. On each division, works are recommended requiring different degrees of industry and talent, to suit every capacity; and, again, the works are so chosen and arranged, and accompanied with such explanations, that every hour expended shall bring its hour's worth. "The many-aproned sons of mechanical life," of whom Burns speaks, may spend their Saturdays' evenings according to these directions, and learn something complete, with a beginning, middle, and end, in full assurance that when they have more leisure time they may go on adding and enlarging, without pulling any of their work to pieces. The university student will find standard works, and a course of reading, sanctioned by the spirit, if not the letter, of the first judges of literary labour: in twelve hours a week stolen from his ethics or differential calculus, he may attain a considerable accession of that kind of knowledge which will save him from the shame of being a mere scholar, deep in the past and ignorant of the present; of that knowledge, too, which he could not forego without positive prejudice to his advancement in any career of public life.

I have not the slightest fear that any student worthy the name will abandon the course of reading here recommended when once he has fairly tried it. Indeed, the first step is all I ask. Lest the diffidence natural to untried powers should keep any one from making the trial, let me remark that a clergyman, living not many miles from the town in which I am writing, (Torquay,) chanced some years since to take up a shilling book on Astronomy; this served as a nucleus—as a centre from which the rays of his curiosity shot forth on all sides; and he is now a man of general scientific knowledge.

Reader, try one book: choose it from whichever you like best of the following divisions: read it attentively. Many a man who at first felt quite as much doubt of his own capacities as you can feel, and said, "Where is the use of my reading? little that I can do, what will it be worth after all?" has found his energies expand, a first book lead to a second, and a second to a third, and has been thankful for the friendly hint which prompted his earliest efforts.

One of my most intimate friends was led by a clever tutor to study Grecian history on the principle here recommended by beginning with an outline, and filling in by degrees. He was so encouraged by the progress he made in one subject, that he has now attained, by the same method, a considerable knowledge of every topic of which I propose to treat.

Reader, study one subject well. Did you never hear the remark, "How strange this man, so profound in his favourite science, should find time for so much else besides!" Believe me, you will find that the habits of attention, method, reflection, and analysis which you form in exhausting one of the following subjects, will invest most of the rest with such attractions, that, even in their deepest parts, they may rivet attention in spite of the fireside prattle, and fill up any spare five minutes while the cloth is being laid, or the tea drawing.

But now for the study of history, which I will consider under the following arbitrary divisions:—

History, Modern { of Great Britain,  
of the Continent, Colonies; and  
of India, America.

History, Ancient { of Rome,  
of Greece,  
of the Egyptians, Persians, and  
other ancient nations.

History alone, therefore, gives a choice of six comprehensive departments of study. "Divide and conquer," that is, choose one and master it, and you will have accomplished, in point of time and labour, much more than a sixth part of the whole. You would do well to read the lists of books and directions on all these departments before you decide. For your decision should be deemed irrevocable, otherwise you will be continually changing, in a vain hope of escaping the difficulties which really attach to all.

First, let us suppose you decide on a branch of modern history, and would begin with

### THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Your first step, as I have before observed, would be to read some History of England through. A man of mature and disciplined mind, long used to laborious application, should read Hume, Smollett, Miller's George III., or Hughes' Continuation. "And how long would he be in gaining a satisfactory knowledge, such a knowledge as that which Niebuhr possessed of Gibbon, when he defied a friend to puzzle him from the index?" The successful candidates for high university honours, achieve nearly as great a work as "getting up" Hume and Smollett in the last month preceding their examination. And since many pages in each of those volumes, which would require the greatest effort of memory, need not be very accurately remembered by the unprofessional reader, all of the above works would be satisfactorily perused in one month's real chamber study. "Indeed!" some young lady will exclaim, "why, a single volume employed me more than that space of time." I can easily believe it, and will prescribe for your case next. The outline History of England by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in 140 clear, lively, duodecimo pages, is suited for every man, woman, and child. Even the hard-headed scholar will find this outline useful to keep him to points and to give one comprehensive view of the whole. Only let him not stop here. Keightley's History, in 2 vols. duodecimo, or Goldsmith's, may be read next. It will be easier still, to read the little History again as far as Henry VII., and the rest in Keightley: next, read in Hume any reign, war, or negotiation, which excites your curiosity, and so strengthen the stem of your tree, as before explained, as much as you please. That you may have the satisfaction of tracing its gradual growth, make a memorandum on the simple drawing by which this tree is represented, just as the works of Rapin, Lingard,<sup>1</sup> and other narrators of the same events are wholly, or partially, read, to combat or corroborate the views of Hume.

So far then you have been instructed how to gain a more or less substantial outline of English history: and now, once more I say, "Divide and conquer." To strengthen your mental powers, and to multiply your literary stores, so far as to be invincible at every point of so long a line, is not much more easy, and not at all more judicious, than to man the wall of China. Like a good general, be content to concentrate your forces—to "divide" off and "conquer," first one part, and then another. You may be agreeably surprised by finding that the intermediate parts, when left by themselves, are less formidable than they appear, and readily give way as you become a more practised assailant. Consider that so far you have reconnoitred the general face of the country:

<sup>1</sup> LINGARD'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 8 vols. 8vo. price \$10.

MISS HALSTED'S LIFE AND TIMES OF RICHARD III., 1 vol. 8vo. price \$1.50. Carey & Hart.

MISS STRICKLAND'S QUEENS OF ENGLAND, 7 vols. 12mo. Lee & Blanchard.

the next thing is to select one portion for a more searching and minute examination.

The leading principles on which you should choose a portion of history to be made a strong point for deep study are, *First*, to be guided by your own taste and curiosity; for you will sail into the wide ocean of truth more rapidly with than against the current of your nature.

*Secondly*, to choose, according to your own necessities, whatever will be useful in business or give you confidence in society. As a general rule, read what others read. Conversation is often more improving than books; therefore, read to profit by conversation. If you would be improved by a visit to Paris, you must first learn French; if by a visit to London, or by joining any particular society, whether of men of business, men of science, or men of literature, you must study, if not the language, at least the thoughts and topics of such society. You will otherwise feel as much out of your element as a sheriff's chaplain when dining with the judge on his circuit.

*Thirdly*, read subjects which afford most matter for reflection. To be wise is both the surest and most profitable way to seem wise. Read those subjects which involve most principles. Principles are the most handy, convertible, portable, and prolific of all species of literary property; therefore,

*Fourthly*, read one good comprehensive account of a revolution, protracted war, or other ever-recurring phenomena of human society. Then, *ex uno disce omnes*, that is, gain so intimate a knowledge of one that you may anticipate the chief characteristics of all. This was the secret of Edmund Burke's attainments. His letter to Lord Charlemont at the commencement of the French Revolution, is considered to evince almost the power of prophecy. Niebuhr had so deeply studied Roman history, that he ventured to assert, after a lapse of about 2000 years, an opinion of the early constitution of Rome in direct contradiction to classical authorities. By the recovery of some lost books of Cicero de Republicâ, his conclusion was proved correct. One of my friends was assured by Niebuhr, that before he had read the summary of a lost decade of Livy, he wrote down the substance of what it contained. Another illustration of how far a little good intellectual coin may be made to go, is afforded by Gibbon, chap. xxxi., in which he conjectures the history of the unrecorded years between the withdrawing of the Romans from Britain and the descent of the Saxons.

These are the leading principles on which you should select "a strong point" in history; and on which I have selected, by way of example and illustration, the following portions:—

1st, The early history till about the time of the Conquest.

2dly, The era of the Middle Ages,<sup>1</sup> including the feudal system, chivalry, and the crusades.

3dly, The beginning of modern history, marked by the art of printing, the use of gunpowder and the compass, the discovery of America, and the development of the colonial system.

4thly, The civil wars.

5thly, The Revolution of 1688.

6thly, From the accession of George III. to the present time.

I will now consider these eras separately, and point out a course of reading upon each; and,

*First, ON EARLY ENGLISH HISTORY.* This portion will afford amusement to one fond of antiquities—would constitute a good preparation for any university-student going to the bar, but is only to be recommended to those of mature understanding.

Now, reader, what is your object? If you only wish to thicken and strengthen the lower part of your historical tree by other outlines of early history to run parallel with those already laid down, read a

short sketch in Tytler's "Universal History,"<sup>2</sup> vol. iv., "Family Library;" also "the Romans in Britain," and "The Anglo-Saxons," forming one volume of the "Family Library;" to which the more voluminous reader may either add or prefer Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons,"<sup>3</sup> or, which is the shortest of all, Hume's "Appendix on the Anglo-Saxon Government;" besides, or instead of all these, read Mackintosh's "History of England," vol. i., "Lardner's Cyclopædia." The very profound inquirer may also refer to the authorities quoted in the foot-notes. Chalmers's "Caledonia," treating of the Roman period, is recommended in Professor Smyth's lectures,<sup>4</sup> which are well worthy the attention of every reader of modern history. But many valuable works, published since 1809, the date of these lectures, remain to be noticed. On the Roman period read also Tacitus's *Agricola*; Murphy's translation is in almost every library, and was recommended by Edmund Burke, as one of the best in our language. There are also translations of Cæsar and Suetonius, which should be consulted. The index or summary will be a ready guide to the chapters relating to Britain. Dr. Smyth remarks that Gibbon, c. xxxi., supplies by ingenious conjecture the history of the years between 400 and 449. On the Druids, read the account in "Cæsar;" also a concise history in Southey's "Book of the Church." The history which treats of them most fully is Henry's "Britain," b. i. c. 4, where we have their history, manners, learning, and religion. For the progress of religion in those early times, read Southey,<sup>5</sup> Mosheim,<sup>6</sup> Milner; a few pages in each. All the reasons for believing St. Paul came to Britain, and the first promulgation of the Gospel, are given in "Peranzabuloë," an interesting account of an ancient church found buried in the sand on the coast of Cornwall. Tytler recommends Carte's "History," vol. i. b. iv. § 18, as containing an admirable account of Alfred the Great. The "Encyclopædia Britannica," "Metropolitana," and the "Penny Cyclopædia," (which I shall henceforth quote as "the three Cyclopædias,") also contain comprehensive articles on Anglo-Saxons, Alfred, Bede, Druids. Those who have access to Camden's "Britannia," to which many of the authors already recommended are greatly indebted, may satisfy the most eager curiosity. Camden, in 1582, travelled through the eastern and northern counties of England to survey the country and arrange a correspondence for the supply of further information. His "Remains" of a greater work on Britain was published 1605. Camden's reign of Elizabeth is recommended by Hume, as one of the best compositions of any English historian. Leland's "Itinerary" is also recommended to the curious. Camden made great use of it. In the reign of Henry VII. Leland was empowered by a commission under the Great Seal to search for objects of antiquity in the archives and libraries of all cathedrals, abbeys, priories, &c., and spent six years in collecting materials for the "Archæology of England and Wales." One volume of Lardner's Cyclopædia<sup>7</sup> also contains Lives of the chief characters of our early history.

<sup>2</sup> TYTLER'S UNIVERSAL HISTORY, 2 vols. 8vo. B. B. Mussey, Boston.

WHITE'S UNIVERSAL HISTORY.—A new and admirable work, in 1 vol. price \$1. Lea & Blanchard Philadelphia.

<sup>3</sup> SHARON TURNER'S HISTORY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS, 2 vols. 8vo. price \$4.50. Carey & Hart Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup> PROFESSOR SMYTH'S LECTURES ON HISTORY, with notes by Sparks, 2 vols. 8vo. J. Owen, Cambridge.

<sup>5</sup> SOUTHEY'S BOOK OF THE CHURCH. J. Murray, London.

<sup>6</sup> MOSHEIM'S ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, with additions, 3 vols. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>7</sup> LARDNER'S CABINET CYCLOPÆDIA, in 133 vols. 12mo. Longman & Co. London. Any of the volumes supplied by Carey & Hart at \$1.75 cts. each.

<sup>1</sup> HALLAM'S MIDDLE AGES, 1 vol. 8vo. Harper &



It will be observed that I limit my recommendations as much as possible to books which may be easily procured. Many other works, quite as instructive as the preceding, I omit, because any reader who attends to these directions may, by a little inquiry, ascertain the value of every work within his reach. Almost all of the above works give their authorities, and contain incidental remarks on the sources from which more extensive information may be derived.

To those who have a real love of learning, let me observe, that Ingulphus, secretary to William I., wrote the "History of the Monastery of Crowland," with many particulars of the English kings from 664 to 1091. William of Malmesbury wrote most laudably, as he said, "not to show his learning, but to bring to light things covered with the rubbish of antiquity," a history of Old England from 449 to 1126; also a Church History and Life of St. Aldhelm. All these works are accessible to every university student and readers in public libraries: as also are those of the venerable Bede, who early in the eighth century wrote an Ecclesiastical History by aid of correspondence, when there was no penny postage, with all the monasteries in the heptarchy! There is an Old English translation, besides that by Alfred in Saxon. All these works have been under the hand of the compiler and the spoiler, that is, as Bacon would say, the moths have been at them; but away with these dilutions and drink at the fountain.

The second portion of English history worthy of deep study is what is commonly reckoned

THE MIDDLE AGES. This comprehends the Feudal System, Chivalry<sup>1</sup> and the Crusades.<sup>2</sup>

This era may be also profitably selected by university students and men of liberal education. A knowledge of the feudal system is of the first importance. Chivalry and the crusades must be examined more particularly in respect of their causes and effects in civilization.

On the *Feudal System* read a chapter in Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i.; also Tytler, b. vi. c. 2; and Hume's second Appendix. Dr. Smyth strongly recommends the account in Stewart's View of Society; that in Millar's History is also considered good. Robertson's Introduction<sup>3</sup> to his Charles V. is very valuable. Attend particularly to the proofs and illustrations at the end. Bacon's Henry VII. I can strongly recommend; also part of Montesquieu.<sup>4</sup> My readers must not take fright at seeing so many books on the same subject. Most of my references are only to a few pages out of several volumes, and these easily found by an index or summary. Learn the facts and arguments of one treatise thoroughly during hours of study, and the rest will be easy enough for "hours of idleness." No light reading rivets attention so much as dissertations on those topics about which study has excited a spirit of inquiry.

On *Chivalry*, as well as the feudal system and the crusades, Hallam's Middle Ages is of the first authority. The very popular author, Mr. James, has written the History of Chivalry, as also the lives of Richard I. and the Black Prince,<sup>5</sup> from which much use-

ful information may be derived. He has also written on Chivalry and the Crusades. These works, as well as Horace Smith's Tales of the Early Ages, combine amusement with instruction. On Chivalry read also Gibbon,<sup>6</sup> ch. lviii. Of Gibbon let me say once for all, that as a man he is guilty of having turned aside from the line of his history to shake that faith which, with all his skepticism as to its divine original, he would have been the last to deny to be the richest earthly blessing. But as a historian, Gibbon is regarded with admiration by all learned men. Even Niebuhr praised the deepness of his research, and the clearness of his views. Blackstone quoted him with reverence. The accuracy of his facts, and the sagacity of his conclusions, are indisputable. His fault is that he hints where he should speak out. He discussed the causes of the spread of Christianity, though, as an historian, he might have confined himself to the effects. Hume, on the period of the Reformation, was equally unlikely to prove an impartial writer. Of the *Crusades*, a good short account is given by Tytler's Universal History, book vi. c. 9. Read also Robertson's Introduction to his Charles V., and search the notes and illustrations for more information. They give a ready clue to the best sources of all matters relating to the middle ages. Lastly, read the articles in the three Cyclopædias, or either of them, upon the Feudal System, Chivalry, and the Crusades.

The third portion of English History to be made a strong point is,—

THE PERIOD OF THE REFORMATION, and the commencement of modern history.

On the *Reformation in England* read Southey's "Book of the Church," which is very interesting. Those who have little time may read the small volume on the Reformation in the Family Library. Consult one or more of the three Cyclopædias. Dr. Smyth's "Lecture" is very useful. Lives of the Reformers will make a profitable variety. Select also the appropriate parts of Short's "Church History," Milner, and Mosheim. The labour will be less than you would suppose: an accurate knowledge of the narrative of one virtually exhausts the difficulties of all. While these authors give a true Protestant account, Lingard's "History of England" will show what can be said by a Roman Catholic, and in Hume's "History" you see the subject treated by a man who cared for neither party. Read also Sir J. Mackintosh's "Life of Sir Thomas More." Burnet's "History of the Reformation in England"<sup>7</sup> is allowed to be a very full and authentic account. It was written in 1679, at the times described by Sir Walter Scott in "Peveril of the Peak." For the Reformation in Scotland, compare Robertson's and Scott's Scotland.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Smyth strongly recommends the work by Dr. McCre. Do not omit the life of Knox. By interspersing biography with history you quicken your observation, and become familiar with the times. These works, with two or three of the chapters of Fox's "Martyrs,"<sup>9</sup> will make you as perfect as the best member of the Church of England can desire, on a subject in which our Gospel privileges are involved. This is a portion of English History within the comprehension of almost all readers. Those who feel ashamed not to know the politics of the day should blush to live in ignorance of all that was said and done in those spirit-stirring times, which vindicated the liberty of the human soul.

<sup>1</sup> MILL'S HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES, a new edition in 1 vol. price \$1. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> MILL'S HISTORY OF CHIVALRY, 1 vol. 8vo. \$1. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

<sup>3</sup> ROBERTSON'S WORKS—Scotland—India—America and Charles V., 3 vols. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>4</sup> MONTESQUIEU'S WORKS, 4 vols. 8vo. London.

MONTESQUIEU'S SPIRIT OF LAWS, 2 vols. 8vo. London.

<sup>5</sup> JAMES'S HISTORY OF CHIVALRY, 1 vol. 50 cts. Harper's Family Library.

JAMES'S LIFE OF RICHARD I. Langley's, New York.

JAMES'S LIFE OF EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE, 2 vols. 12mo. \$1.50. Carey & Hart.

<sup>6</sup> GIBBON'S *ROME*, with notes by Milman, 4 vols. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>7</sup> BURNET'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, 4 vols. 8vo, with illustrations. Appleton & Co., New York.

<sup>8</sup> SIR WALTER SCOTT'S SCOTLAND. In Scott's Prose Works, 5 vols. 8vo. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>9</sup> FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS, in 1 vol. Jas. M. Campbell, Philadelphia.



On the *Times of Henry VIII.*, and indeed on every other period, consult the *Pictorial History of England*,<sup>1</sup> especially for a view of the state of society. Think of the times when more than 70,000 criminals were executed in a single reign. Well may we read, "the common sort of people were not much counted of, but sturdy knaves were hung up apace."

On the *Discovery of America*, the most easy and entertaining reading will be Robertson's "America." There are few books in which information is conveyed in a more interesting way. The "Life of Columbus,"<sup>2</sup> in the "Family Library," is worth reading.

Heeren's "Colonial System and Modern History," which begins from the era we are considering, is chiefly valuable to the more profound readers of the whole course of modern history.

The fourth portion of English History for extensive reading is

#### THE PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WARS.

You will do well to begin with Hume's Charles I. and the Commonwealth. Dr. Smyth's "Lectures on the Civil Wars" will draw attention to the leading points, and direct your reading. Then the practised student will take Clarendon's "Rebellion." Sir Walter Scott recommended it to his son as a book replete with wisdom, in a style sometimes prolix, but usually nervous and energetic. For many readers it is too long; but since its author combined a power of striking portraiture, and an intimate knowledge of the human heart, with deep political wisdom, and since he stood in a position which, nearly from first to last, gave a general view both of grand movements and secret springs of action, the work of this stanch friend of church and state is one which no man of literary taste must long delay to read. Harris's "Lives of Charles I. and Cromwell" will give the views of a Dissenter and a Republican. The notes to these lives show great research, and are longer than the text. Godwin, in his "Times of Charles I. and the Republic,"<sup>3</sup> follows on the same side. Neal's "History of the Puritans"<sup>4</sup> is reckoned good, and as far as could be expected from one of their own party. A book of lighter reading, for variety, is the volume in the "Family Library," on the "Trials of the Regicides." You may also find by the index, an able article on these times in the "Edinburgh Review." Burnet's "Own Times"<sup>5</sup> is certainly quite what Dr. Johnson termed it—most entertaining chit-chat of a man who went everywhere, and talked to every one. The first part, containing exclusively the result of his personal observation, is the most entertaining. "Hudibras," with Grey's "Notes," Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel,"<sup>6</sup> and Milton's prose works, may be read in connection; as also Sir W. Scott's "Woodstock." Miss Aikin's "Charles I."<sup>7</sup> is very ably written. Short's "History," as well as Southey's "Book," will show the state of the Church. Read the "Memorials of Whitelock," a lawyer whose opinion was taken about ship-money, who served in the parliamentary army, and was appointed one of the council of state. Also "Memoirs of Hollis," who was a playfellow of Charles I. in his childhood; head of the Presbyterian party;

lieutenant of the parliamentary forces, and raised to the peerage by Charles II. The "Memoirs of Ludlow," another leader of the Republicans, are full of interest; as also are those of Hutchinson. The "Life of Monk" most read is that by Dr. Gumble, his chaplain, who once served on the Republican, but afterwards wrote on the royal side. Dr. Smyth recommends Guizot's "Times of Charles I."

These works are quite enough to mention. All memoirs, or letters of contemporaries, and all works carefully founded upon them, deserve the notice of readers who resolve to exhaust the whole subject. Lest my advice should seem less luminous than voluminous, let me assure my reader, that when once he knows the mere outline of events accurately, all that is valuable in letters and memoirs may be gleaned with both ease and interest.

#### THE FIFTH PORTION IS THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

Dr. Smyth's twentieth "Lecture," vol. ii., will serve as a guide, mark an outline, and quicken observation. Then when Keightley's "History" has given an accurate knowledge of the course of events, Ward's "Essay" will tell you all that can be urged in support of every theory: the opinions of Blackstone, Mackintosh, Hallam, and Russell are concisely stated and considered. Burke's opinion will be found in his "Letters on the French Revolution." If Dr. Price's "Sermon on Love of Country" falls in your way, remember it is often quoted, and very clever. Burnet's "Own Times" is in favour of William, to whom he was chaplain. The "Diary of the Years 1687, 1688, 1689, and 1690," by Clarendon, son of the Chancellor, is in favour of James II. As he was averse to popery, he lost the privy seal, but he would not take the oaths to William III. Sir D. Dalrymple, much respected by Dr. Johnson and his circle, published "Annals of Scotland to the Accession of the Stuarts," recommended by Dr. Smyth, as also are the "Memoirs of Sir J. Resesby." Hallam's "Constitutional History"<sup>8</sup> should be consulted; also the "Stuart Papers," and many sets of memoirs and letters of all persons who lived in these times. The "Memoirs of Evelyn,"<sup>9</sup> who held office in the reign of James II., are very curious. Belsham, Tindal, Ralph, who is much recommended for detail, and Somerville, have written the general history of the Revolution. For more directions read Smyth's twentieth "Lecture" on William III.

This portion of history should be studied by every man who would know the constitution of his country, or be in any way able to defend his own principles. The Revolution of 1688 is quoted nearly as often by one party as by another. Each party selects partial facts to warrant conclusions in support of its own views.

THE SIXTH SELECT PORTION OF ENGLISH HISTORY extends from the accession of George III., in 1760, to the present time.

Cats do not see till nine days old. Boys and girls attain nearly double that number of years before they quite open their (minds') eyes. At that critical period they will only give reasonable proof of being quite awake, if they ask the time of day and what the people who were awake before them are doing and saying about the house; in other words, if they ask, "Where are we? what is going on? Let us know all about the present, and enough of the past, to make the present intelligible." For the information of this class of inquirers I would recommend my sixth selection of English history.

Begin by reading this part of history in Keightley; then take Miller's "George III.," which I have before described. Select according to your own curiosity. The account of each opening of parliament, and the exact state of parties, will amuse the determined talker of politics and weary others. The contents of each paragraph is given in Roman characters,

<sup>8</sup> HALLAM'S CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, 3 vols. 8vo., Paris ed., price \$3.75. Carey & Hart.

<sup>9</sup> MEMOIRS OF EVELYN, 5 vols. 8vo. London.

<sup>1</sup> PICTORIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 6 vols. 8vo. Knight & Co., London. For sale by Carey & Hart.

<sup>2</sup> LIFE OF COLUMBUS, by Washington Irving, 2 vols. 8vo. Lea & Blanchard.

<sup>3</sup> GODWIN'S HISTORY OF THE COMMONWEALTH, 4 vols. 8vo. London.

<sup>4</sup> NEAL'S HISTORY OF THE PURITANS, 2 vols. 8vo. Harper & Brothers.

<sup>5</sup> BURNET'S OWN TIMES, new edit. in 2 vols. 8vo. with illustrations. London.

<sup>6</sup> DRYDEN'S WORKS, 2 vols. 8vo. Harper & Brothers.

<sup>7</sup> MISS AIKIN'S LIFE OF CHARLES I., 2 vols. 8vo.

so that you may readily "read and skip," a practice which I shall discuss presently. Since Miller contains little else than a continued epitome of the newspapers, it may be read with the same indulgence. The "Lives of George IV."<sup>1</sup> and "William IV." have been written on the same principle. Bind the three volumes together, with a flexible back, mark the date of the events of each page on the top, and you will thus have a most ready and valuable book of reference, with abstracts of public speeches and documents, besides trials and matters of deep curiosity. The other continuous histories of George III. are, Belsham's, to the year 1793, and Adolphus's. Mr. Hughes' "Continuation" is greatly to be recommended. The "Life of George IV.," in three volumes, may be read as a novel. The "Annual Register" is a very valuable series of records. It has been written by very able men: Edmund Burke wrote the historical parts for thirty years, beginning in 1758; and for years after it was written, under his direction, by Ireland. The "Gentleman's Magazine" is one of the same kind of authority. It afforded Dr. Johnson his chief employment and support in 1738 and many following years. The "Annual Biography," as well as the "Edinburgh Review," "Quarterly Magazine," and "Blackwood," will most pleasantly and profitably supply and strengthen many a link in your chain of reading. It were scarcely too much to say, that if we make good use of the cyclopædias and periodicals above mentioned, we shall not require many other modern publications.

From Lord Brougham's "Statesmen"<sup>2</sup> we may gain a great accession to our knowledge of later times, of which we will make three subdivisions.

The first extends from the accession of George III. to the French Revolution.

In this period fill up your outline with the "Annual Register" and "Gentleman's Magazine," and then read the "Life of Burke,"<sup>3</sup> that by Prior may serve, but it is not very good. Read Dr. Johnson's "Taxation no Tyranny," also his "Parliamentary Speeches," positively *his*, for he did not report but composed them, as you may see in a few most amusing pages in Hawkins' "Life," pp. 122—129, quoted in Croker's Boswell, i. 169—172. Read the "Life of Washington"<sup>4</sup>—one of the shortest is that in the "Family Library,"<sup>5</sup> also the lives of Chatham,<sup>6</sup> Pitt, Fox, and Franklin.<sup>6</sup> I need not always specify which biography is considered best. Biographical dictionaries and cyclopædias often contain accounts of all, though concise. Do not be dismayed because you see works in four or five octavos each on your friends' table. Choose books which you feel that you can remember, not those which others read. Junius's "Letters" are so often quoted, that you should know something of them. The authorship is discussed in Brougham's "Characters," vol. i., as well as in "Sketches of Credulity and Imposture." Read the story of the capture of André by the Americans, and his trial and execution.

Secondly, *On the French Revolution and the revolutionary war*: when you accurately know the outline from the general histories, read the two first volumes of "Scott's Napoleon,"<sup>7</sup> which shows the long train of causes; the "Life of Napoleon"<sup>7</sup> by Scott, or that

in the "Family Library,"<sup>8</sup> in two volumes, very concise and amusing; parts of the Lives of Burke, Sheridan, and Wilberforce; and the life of Erskine, in the "Lives of Eminent Lawyers," in Lardner's "Cyclopædia." The actions by sea are related in Southey's "Life of Nelson," and some in the lives of Earls St. Vincent, Howe, and Collingwood;<sup>9</sup> and the actions by land in Southey's and Napier's "Peninsular War,"<sup>10</sup> the "Life of Sir T. Picton," "Despatches of Wellington,"<sup>11</sup> and Segur's "Napoleon in Russia."<sup>12</sup> You may add, of course, memoirs of any contemporary public characters.<sup>13</sup>

The third subdivision of this part of history extends from the end of the war to the present time.

The "Annual Biography," "Annual Register," and periodicals, are almost the only source of information. The "Penny Cyclopædia," and articles in Chambers' "Library," give very late news: other information must be sought in the latest memoirs of distinguished characters.

The practice of "reading and skipping" is so liable to abuse, that I must qualify it with a few observations. Read with a given object in view, and skip not all that is difficult, but all that is irrelevant. A few standard authors must be read from end to end; but the greater part may be read like a newspaper which we search for information on certain points, passing by every article unsuited to our peculiar taste and curiosity. Bacon says, "Some books are to be tasted, some few chewed and digested." In any literary pursuit a book serves us like a guide, whom we leave when he has shown us what we want, not at all ashamed at not following him to his journey's end. Suppose that you wished to read ten different accounts of the Reformation; after reading one attentively, you would see at a glance that a second contained whole pages of facts which you already knew, and would therefore skip unless you wished to refresh your memory. In taking up a third account you would find many, not only of the facts, but of the arguments, the same; and by the time you had read a fourth or fifth author, you would look rather to the table of contents than to the pages, and turn only to the parts in which you expected more particulars. As a second example, the lives of Nelson, Howe, Earl St. Vincent, and others, I remarked, would give information about the British navy. Reading with this view, you would skip whole chapters about the wars in which these admirals were engaged, if you had read them elsewhere, or intended to read history at some other time. In corroboration of this advice, let me add the following quotations from Dr. Smyth's "Introductory Lecture:"—

"This (method of reading parts of books), it will

<sup>8</sup> LOCKHART'S LIFE OF NAPOLEON. 2 vols. \$1. Harpers' Family Library.

<sup>9</sup> LIFE OF COLLINGWOOD. 1 vol. 8vo. Carvills, New York.

<sup>10</sup> FROST'S NAVAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. 1 vol. 12mo. Appleton & Co.

<sup>11</sup> NAPIER'S HISTORY OF THE PENINSULAR WAR. 5 vols. 8vo. With fifty-five plates of plans of battles. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>12</sup> DESPATCHES OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON. By Lieutenant-colonel Gurwood. 12 vols. 8vo. London, J. Murray.

<sup>13</sup> SEGUR'S NAPOLEON. 2 vols. 18mo. Harpers' Family Library.

<sup>14</sup> LIFE OF LORD ELDON, by Horace Twiss, Esq., 2 vols. 8vo. Price \$3.50. Carey & Hart.

WALPOLE'S LETTERS, 6 vols. Lea & Blanchard. WRAXALL'S POSTHUMOUS MEMOIRS, 1 vol. Lea & Blanchard.

LIFE OF NAPOLEON. By Thiers. 1 vol. 8vo. \$1.25. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

THIERS' HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. Complete in two large volumes of upwards of 1800 pages. Price \$1.25. Carey & Hart. The cheapest and best ever published on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> CROLY'S LIFE OF GEORGE IV. Harpers' Family Library.

<sup>2</sup> BROUGHAM'S STATESMEN. 2 vols. 12mo. Lea & Blanchard.

<sup>3</sup> LIFE OF BURKE. By Prior. 1 vol. Carey & Hart.

<sup>4</sup> LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON. By J. Sparks. 12 vols. 8vo. C. Tappan, Boston.

<sup>5</sup> LORD CHATHAM'S CORRESPONDENCE. 4 vols. 8vo. London.

<sup>6</sup> LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF FRANKLIN. By Jared Sparks. 10 vols. C. Tappan, Boston.

<sup>7</sup> SCOTT'S LIFE OF NAPOLEON. 1 vol. 8vo. Price \$1. Carey & Hart.



be said, is surely a superficial way of reading history." Nothing but the impossibility of adopting any other course would ever have induced me to propose to students to read books in parts; but human life does not admit of any other expedient. We must either read books of history in this manner, or not read them at all. "The more youthful the mind, the more hazardous the privilege thus allowed of reading pages at a glance, and chapters by the table of contents. But the mind, after some failures and some experience, will materially improve in this great and necessary art—the art of reading much while reading little."

Though I defend reading and skipping by so high an authority, let me add, that if any young persons indulge in the practice to evade difficulty, and humour idleness and caprice, they will be as foolish as children who pick the plums out of their cake: they will cloy their appetite, and ever after complain that what is a treat to others is tasteless and insipid to them.

The above remarks on English history, being laid before one of the young friends for whom they were originally intended, drew forth two observations. First, do not be afraid of making it too plain to your readers, that all your many lists of books form one long bill of fare to suit all ages, appetites, tastes, and constitutions; make it plain that some dainties are for an acquired taste, some for the strong, others for the weak; and that any one person might pass the greater part of his life before he would undergo all the changes of mind and body requisite to enjoy every variety of dainty you have set before him. Secondly, write one short, easy, and amusing course, to teach a good outline of English history to readers who, like myself, have little leisure and less industry, but are yet ashamed to be ignorant of what others know.

Then read the first sixty pages of the duodecimo "History" by the Society, which will tell as much as most persons know, to the end of Henry VII.'s reign. Read Goldsmith's "History of England from Henry VIII. to George II.," and the rest in Keightley's "History," and the three half-penny sheet of Chambers' Journal, which gives the history from the accession of George III. to the present time. If you read this outline carefully, you will find that there is not more than you may accurately remember; and if your only ambition is to know as much as the average of your neighbours, be sure that a clear and unbroken outline, with every event assigned to its proper time, place, and persons, will give you a greater command than if you possessed the confused and ill-assorted stores which form the "floating capital" of most readers. In condescending to provide for wants so limited, I am led by the hope that you will soon feel disposed to make such outline clearer and broader by knowledge drawn from some other sources. To keep the outline of English history ever before the mind, I would recommend a very clever and well-executed chart, called "Ford's Tree of English History." With this you may begin at the root, and while you read the names of the sovereigns, and one or two contemporary events inscribed on the trunk of the tree, you may try to remember all the chief points, and when at a loss refer to your books. The student would do well to keep this or a similar outline, which, with a little ingenuity, he may make for himself on each portion of history, and cast his eye over it every time he begins to read. This is only like telling a stranger in London to look at the map every morning before he sets out.

In the SECOND DIVISION OF MODERN HISTORY I find it most convenient to comprehend a portion of history, of which the principal points are the seven following:—

1. The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.
2. The Revival of Learning.
3. The Religious Wars in the Low Countries.
4. The Thirty Years' War.
5. The French Revolution.
6. The History of America and the West.
7. The History of British India, and our other Colo-

nies.

The student's object will, of course, be to learn an

outline of the whole, and to gain a thorough knowledge of one division. I will assist him, as before, with remarks on the value of each division separately, and point out the sources of information.

I would not be understood to say, that these seven divisions are alone worthy of attention, still less that I attempt to name all the authors which throw light upon them, but only that, with this assistance, any reader can select other portions of history, and authors for himself. And this observation applies to every subject on which I treat.

First, *On the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the great authority is Gibbon, whom I have before characterized. Milman's edition is the best for sound readers; for those of little leisure, there is a compendium of one thick duodecimo. I have also seen advertised a Bowdler edition, with the dangerous passages left out. The History of the Decline and Fall is also given in the second volume of Lardner's "Cyclopædia." The article in the "Cyclopædia Britannica" is very comprehensive; but the best of the short accounts is in Tytler's "Universal History."

For an account of Mahomet, I read his "Life" in the pamphlets of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; and read a little of Sale's Koran,<sup>2</sup> with the introduction. White's Bampton Lectures are quoted with respect by most writers on the precepts of Mahomet. Another valued authority is Ockley's History of the Saracens. Tytler (book vi. ch. 1.) writes briefly but comprehensively of Arabia and Mohammedanism. For the establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire, read Tytler (book v. ch. 4.); read also ch. 5, 6, 7, on the last period of Roman History, and to learn the genius and character of the Gothic nations. The Franks, the feudal system, Charlemagne and his successors, the Normans, and the rise of the secular power of the Popes, are all points of history deserving attention, and most easily to be learned from Tytler (book vi. ch. 2, 3, and 4.).

The Germans, their genius, laws, and customs, may profitably be read in the translation of Tacitus's "Germany." Dr. Smyth, in his second Lecture, strongly recommends Butler on the German Constitution. This lecture treats on the laws of the barbarians, and will serve as a useful guide to University students and men whose minds are disciplined and used to deep study. On all of these points, Gibbon may be consulted by means of the index or summary.

"Then you do not take it for granted we shall read the whole?" will be the exclamation of some University student in the ardour of his first term. Enter, my good friend, the first bookseller's shop, and ask him how often, in taking in exchange Gibbon and other voluminous authors, he has found the leaves cut or soiled throughout. Believe me, when you have passed from college rooms to "lodgings out," and thence after the days when, from being one of many candidates, (so called from white cravats and white faces,) you gradually find the *incubus* removed, the last button of your waistcoat less tight, and when you have ceased to fancy yourself Tityos, with something knelling in your diaphragm and preying on your vitals—when, in short, the sight of your "*testamur*" has made you yourself again, sent you into the country, and given you time to see that college and college ways and notions are to the bachelor of arts what school seemed to the undergraduate,—then, from that time, believe me, the leisure hours of life will be found "divisible with a remainder" by very few sets of twelve octavos. So begin in time; do not lay down a plan of reading too extensive to execute perfectly. Did you ever see a pudding mixed? Well, the way is this,—take first a little flour, and then a little water; stir it well, till quite smooth, then add a little more, first of one, and then of the other, stirring and mixing, till quite free from lumps; but should you, in your haste, throw in a second handful of flour before the first is

<sup>1</sup> LIFE OF MAHOMET. By Bush. 1 vol. Harper's Family Library.

<sup>2</sup> SALE'S KORAN. 1 vol. 8vo. London edition.

well mixed, all the stirring of all the cooks that ever delighted in perquisites, will not prevent the pudding from being lumpy and indigestible. So the food of the mind, like the food of the body, must have due time for each accession to blend, amalgamate, and digest.

The second division is the *Era of the Revival of Learning*. Supposing that millions of guineas long buried in some miser's garden were suddenly dug up by country clowns, who little knew the value, some would be trampled under foot and lost, but if one hundredth part were restored to circulation and use, the result would be a sudden infusion of energy and emulation in all the buyers and sellers of the village round. Such was the increase of spirit and activity which followed the sacking of Constantinople by the Turks, when though 120,000 MSS. are said to have perished, yet many were carried away by scholars to other nations, who knew more of their value than the degenerate Greeks. This event happened in the middle of the 15th century; but Dante and Wickliffe, more than a century before, and then Petrarch and Boccaccio, who had exerted themselves to bring to light the great authors of antiquity, the former discovering the Epistles of Cicero, the latter bringing Homer from Greece to Tuscany, gave a promise of the general reviving of learning. A knowledge of this momentous era may be derived from the beginning of Hallam's "History of Literature,"<sup>1</sup> and part of his "History of the Middle Ages;" also from two chapters of Gibbon (the 53d and 66th); from part of Roscoe's "Leo X."<sup>2</sup> and "Lorenzo de Medici;"<sup>3</sup> also from the introduction of Robertson's "Charles V." Mosheim's "State of Learning in the 13th and 14th Centuries," is much recommended. Read also, especially, the "Life of Petrarch;"<sup>4</sup> Vaughan's "Life of Wickliffe;" Lives of Dante and Boccaccio, in Lardner's "Cyclopædia." Read Shepherd's "Life of Poggio," who early in the 15th century searched the monasteries for ancient MSS., and found Quintilian, some of the speeches of Cicero, besides Silius Italicus, and many of the later writers. To these add some account of the art of printing; and, for other sources of information, observe the authorities quoted by Hallam and others.

Doubtless all these sources have been searched, and their stores reduced to a portable and readily accessible form by the Cyclopædias and Biographical Dictionaries; for, as literature accumulates, it would become unwieldy, were it not that a constant demand for the gold without the dross operates with general literature as with laws and statutes; that is to say, it stimulates a supply of treatises and abridgments, which, like legal digests, contain enough for general use, and point out the sources of deeper knowledge.

The third division of Modern History, the *Era of the Reformation*, will cause me to refer to some of the authorities connected with the Reformation in England. Milner and Mosheim treat this period in the general course of Church History. But the one book allowed to supersede all others is the late translation of D'Aubigné's work.<sup>5</sup> It is written with much warmth and unction; its great merit is, that the chief personages are allowed to speak for themselves, and speak to their heart's content; I can fancy D'Aubigné in every controversy standing by Luther, and crying, "hear, hear!" A careful perusal of D'Aubigné would be a good antidote against papacy: as to the talent of the author, I would say of him, as of Boswell, that there have been hundreds of writers

of far greater talent, who would not have treated his subject so well. This book, when complete, will contain about 1800 closely printed pages octavo. Intelligent readers, who have not time to read the whole, will find it easy to omit parts without losing the thread of the narrative.

Robertson's "Charles V.," Coxe's "House of Austria," and two chapters of Roscoe's "Leo X.," all bear on the same subject. The history of printing and the revival of learning are of course closely connected with it. Indeed, with all the praise due to Luther and his friends, we must not presume that the most prominent are always the most efficient instruments in the hands of Providence. The men who, like Petrarch and others, contribute to the expansion of the human mind, and thus lay the train and provide the fuel, act a part of greater use, though less self-devotion, than those who, whatever be their piety and courage, merely add the spark. The consideration, though humbling to man, is no less true, that the barbarism of the Turks in disengaging and setting free the pent-up spirits of Constantinople, might not have done less service to the cause of Christ, than the never-failing faith and courage of those whom every true Christian to the end of time must admire. The truth is, God rolls along the still untiring stream of time; and whether its surface is ruffled, as it were, by a ripple or whirlpool—whether it bears on its wide bosom the curling leaf or rifted oak—whether the licentious poets of Italy or the faithful scholars of Germany are struggling in its dark and mighty waters, still it onward moves, for purposes transcending mortal ken.

Two articles in the Edinburgh Review of 1842, one on "Ignatius Loyola and the Jesuits," the other on the "Port-Royalists,"<sup>6</sup> are well worth reading. "Philip II." by Coxe, and Grattan's "Netherlands,"<sup>7</sup> will give the most interesting account of the religious wars in the Low Countries, than which there is no finer subject for contemplation in any part of Modern History.

Dr. Smyth's Lectures on the Reformation will be found very useful.

The Reformation is considered by Heeren the chief event which marks the commencement of Modern History, properly so called; the other events which distinguish it from the History of the Middle Ages are the discovery of America, and the consequent development of the colonial system, the influence of the art of printing, and the improvement in the art of war by gunpowder. The era of the Reformation, therefore, will be a good point from which to begin a course of reading; this is the era at which Heeren commences his Modern History, a work I would strongly recommend to the studious—I mean, for instance, to an under-graduate, who wished to have a good plan of modern reading to accompany the classical and mathematical studies of sixteen terms in the seclusion of college years.

The *Thirty Years' War* is well deserving the attention of all who have studied the Reformation. The detail of this portion of history is intricate; its principles and secret springs of action give much scope for that reflection which distinguishes the mere reading from the study of history. "The whole interval of about one hundred years, from the days of Luther to the peace of Westphalia, must be considered one continued struggle, open or concealed, between the Reformers and the Roman Catholics." This is the language of Dr. Smyth, whose 13th Lecture will afford considerable assistance.

The most important part of this interval is the *Thirty Years' War*; the other parts are filled chiefly with its causes and consequences. The best book for a commencement is the *Life of Gustaphus Adol-*

<sup>1</sup> HALLAM'S HISTORY OF THE LITERATURE OF EUROPE, during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries. 2 vols. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>2</sup> ROSCOE'S LEO X. 4 vols. 8vo. Philadelphia.

<sup>3</sup> ROSCOE'S LORENZO DE MEDICI. A new edition. 2 vols. 8vo. \$3.75. Carey & Hart.

<sup>4</sup> CAMPBELL'S LIFE OF PETRARCH. 1 vol. 8vo. Carey & Hart.

<sup>5</sup> D'AUBIGNÉ'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, 1 vol. 8vo. James M. Campbell, Philadelphia.

<sup>6</sup> IGNATIUS LOYOLA AND THE PORT-ROYALISTS, in the Edinburgh Review. Included in Stephen's Miscellanies, in Carey and Hart's "Modern Essayists."

<sup>7</sup> GRATTAN'S NETHERLANDS, 1 vol. Harper & Brothers.



phus, in the Family Library. After this, read Coxe's "House of Austria," and lastly, Schiller's "Thirty Years' War."

The next division is the period of the *French Revolution*. Mr. Alison's work<sup>1</sup> is now almost universally allowed to supply what has long been wanted,—a general history of the state of Europe during these momentous times. But Mr. Alison's work is very voluminous, and, like all long histories, it should be regarded as a general view and running commentary; the judicious reader will yet desire to examine the evidence of eye-witnesses, and to weigh and compare a variety of opinions. The true use of books is to give facts and arguments; after hearing evidence and counsel on both sides, every man who reads to any purpose will be his own judge, and decide for himself. The man whose mind is stored only with the conclusions and judgments of others is like a man who collects a set of rules and measures which he has not the art to apply, and at best only can attain to "truth in the wrong place." Therefore read parts of Miller's "George III." from 1789, for an epitome; then either the whole of Scott's "Life of Napoleon," or the first and second volumes, for the causes of the revolution. This was written "in one year of pain, grief, sorrow, and ruin." It was sold for 18,000*l.*, and, says Mr. Lockhart, "none of the pamphleteers could detect any material errors." The accounts of Mignet,<sup>2</sup> Thiers,<sup>3</sup> and Madame de Staël are much recommended. The Memoirs of Talleyrand, Fouché, La Fayette, the Prince of Canino, and every character of the times, are among the very best sources. The index of the Edinburgh and Quarterly will also be a ready clue to the most able dissertations. Few books relating to the revolution are reviewed without serving as a theme for an essay on the times. Sydney Smith,<sup>4</sup> in his article on "Bentham's Fallacies,"<sup>5</sup> says, the use of a review is to give a man who has only time to read ten pages the substance of two or three octavos. There are of course numerous excellent works, which it were as little useful as practicable to mention. My only care is that the few works I specify on each subject be inferior to none for a commencement. I would specify more particularly Burke's Letters on the French Revolution: this is a book which no English scholar should fail to read. Mackintosh's reply gives the other side of the question. The flow of Burke's language is like that of a mountain torrent rushing impetuously down over crags and rocks; that of Mackintosh resembles a stream smoothly gliding through ornamental grounds. Campbell said, that though the greater part were lost, any ten consecutive sentences would show the hand of a master as plainly as the genius of a sculptor is discerned in the mutilated marble of Theseus. If to these volumes is added the criticism of Alison's History in the Edinburgh Review, the reader will know all that he can desire on this momentous question. The French characters in Brougham's "Statesmen of George III." are well worth reading. Ireland's "Last Seven Years of France," from 1815–1822, is a book of lively interest on a very eventful period. Dr. Smyth's second course of Lectures treats exclusively on the French Revolution. Other works worthy of notice will be found in my last section of English History.

<sup>1</sup> ALISON'S HISTORY OF EUROPE during the French Revolution, in 4 large 8vo. vols. Harper & Brothers.

<sup>2</sup> MIGNET'S FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1 vol. 8vo. Carvills, New York.

<sup>3</sup> THIERS'S HISTORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 2 vols. 8vo, and The Life of Napoleon, by the same author, the whole complete in 3 vols. 8vo, price \$2.25. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup> REV. SYDNEY SMITH'S WORKS, complete in 1 vol. 8vo, included in Carey & Hart's "Modern Essayists."

<sup>5</sup> BENTHAM'S FALLACIES, a complete edition of the Works of Jeremy Bentham, recently published by

Two subjects only remain to be mentioned in connection with modern history—India, and the rest of our colonies, and America.

OF BRITISH INDIA I have before spoken. Hall's Travels contain a good epitome of its history. The Cyclopædias also contain epitomes more or less concise, but each sufficient for general purposes. The history of British India in the "Family Library," and a volume of "Martin's Colonies,"<sup>6</sup> will also be a ready source of knowledge. Either of these works, as well as parts of Miller's "George III.," will give facts, which, as they cannot be known too well, so they cannot be taught too simply. But the policy, principles, conclusions, and connection of effects with causes, are as much more valuable than mere facts, as the working and answer of a sum is more useful than the mere stating and data of the first line: therefore read Mills's<sup>7</sup> or Malcolm's<sup>8</sup> "India," or both. I say both, because it is little trouble to read the second treatise when you know the first—not when you have merely read the first. Inexperienced readers who cannot readily grapple with books of this kind, and really know them, should choose others. Musicians tell us to play easy pieces first, for it will take less time to learn one-and-twenty pieces of music if each is more difficult than the next preceding, than to learn only the one which is most difficult without the gradual discipline of the remaining twenty.

The "Life of Warren Hastings," or the article upon it in the Edinburgh Review in 1842,<sup>9</sup> should be read in connection with Edmund Burke's speeches. These speeches were delivered when Burke was nearly sixty years of age: his "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful,"<sup>10</sup> was published when he was only twenty-eight; yet it has been observed as very remarkable that Burke displayed far more poetical imagination in his speeches than in this essay, written at an age and on a subject better suited to call forth imaginative powers. The name of Hastings will remind my readers of the "enchancing power" which Pitt allowed to the eloquence of Sheridan on Hastings's trial. But the oratory of Sheridan was like the music of Paganini, which died with him. The oratory of Burke reminds us of many a musical genius who has left the world a written record of that harmony of soul, which he had neither the voice nor hand to express. Burke's speeches, and indeed all his writings, are what Thucydides would term *κρίμα ἐς ἀέτ.* Burke had the same kind of knowledge of what things were natural, what artificial, what things belonged to the individual, and what to the species in the body politic, as a skilful physician possesses respecting the human frame. As anatomy and practice have taught the one, observation and analysis have taught the other. Burke is one of the chosen few, who, like Thucydides on the plague of Athens, and like Shakspeare on every subject, has shown that what is true to nature is true always. Writings of this class exactly exemplify the saying of the Wise man:—"The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be, and that which is done is that which shall be done." And if any man says, "See this is new," let him look in the writings of such men as Burke, and he will find the case foreseen, the rule provided, and his wisdom forestalled, and that "it hath been of old time which was before us." The best of all Burke's speeches to read, as Mr. Prior in his "Biography" observes, is that on the Arcot debts; yet Pitt and Grenville agreed, while it was being delivered, that it was making so little impression on the House, that they need not answer it.

On the ancient state of India, read one volume by

<sup>6</sup> MARTIN'S COLONIES, 10 vols. 18mo. London.

<sup>7</sup> MILLS'S HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA, 6 vols, 8vo. London. A supplement to which is now preparing.

<sup>8</sup> SIR JOHN MALCOLM'S INDIA, 2 vols. 8vo. London.

<sup>9</sup> MACAULAY'S articles on Warren Hastings and Lord Clive, in Carey & Hart's "Modern Essayists."

<sup>10</sup> BURKE ON THE SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL, 1 vol.



Robertson, with notes and illustrations referring to other valuable writings.

The Life of Clive<sup>1</sup> will give much information on the events of the last century; while the lives of Sir T. Munroe and Lord Wellesley will give later times. Heber's Journal<sup>2</sup> is an elegant composition, of which no one would like to remain wholly ignorant; but it is principally valuable to the traveller in Hindostan. The same may be said of the Duke of Wellington's Indian despatches. It is true that every man of the least curiosity must prize a record so suited to give the impress of the great mind of its author; still I would allow much weight to the words of my friend, Captain B——: "The proper persons to buy the Duke's 'Despatches' are cadets. You cannot make them a more appropriate present. Every man deserves to be cashiered who pretends to serve in India, without reading till he knows the contents of every despatch, letter, and memorandum." I will mention two other standard works—one, the work of Sir Alexander Burnes;<sup>3</sup> the second, the work of the Hon. M. Elphinstone, of which Sir R. Peel said in the House of Commons, that it was a book of deep learning, of the first authority, and the latest information.

On America, read Robertson's history of the conquest and early settlements, a simple but deeply interesting narrative. On the curiosities of Mexico,<sup>4</sup> any catalogue will refer you to many accounts, with prints showing memorials of the long-lost arts of a most remarkable people. Inquire also for similar works on Peru; and examine the curiosities collected in the British Museum. I lately saw a Peruvian mummy in Dublin, at the College of Surgeons. Dr. Johnson said, that a man who travels must take knowledge out with him, if he would bring knowledge home. This is as true of visiting collections from foreign countries, or reading books which describe them, as in visiting the countries themselves. While reading, we should think of things to examine when we visit a museum, and while walking about a museum we should think of new questions to be solved when we return to our reading. Catlin's work, illustrated with numerous plates, on the North American Indians, is well worth perusing; as also is the review of it in the "Edinburgh." Several similar books have lately been published, describing matters of the greatest curiosity in North America. On *Canada and Newfoundland*, read Martin's "Colonies" or articles in the Cyclopædias. On the *United States*, Buckingham's Travels,<sup>5</sup> Stuart's North America, and Murray's Travels in the United States.<sup>6</sup> Those who would more deeply study the political machinery of the States should read Miss Martineau's very excellent account, and Bancroft's United States.<sup>7</sup> On the Boundary Question, read the article in the Quarterly for March, 1841, which contains an intelligible map of the long disputed territory. There has been another article since on the same subject. On

the sad story of the American debts, Sydney Smith would, doubtless, advise all the world to read his letters, which are not a little severe on the repudiators.

The preceding observations on Modern History I trust will be found sufficient. "Martin's Colonies" will convey the latest information on Malta, Gibraltar, and the rest of our settlements; while the general history of the continental nations is given in the Cyclopædias quite as fully as most readers can require. Concerning France,<sup>8</sup> the life of Richelieu and others, with histories of kings, or reigning families of most interest, may easily be selected, arranged, read, and digested, according to the principles already explained. The peculiar fancy of some readers may tempt them to search deeply into other parts of modern history; though I should strongly advise readers to give the preference to the portions already discussed. For these are the portions most generally studied; no slight proof that experience has shown them to be best suited to the opportunities and wants of the present state of society. The study of history and general literature is like the study of law: that man reads to most advantage who makes such a selection from the ponderous records of the wisdom and folly of the past as enables him not to boast of recondite learning, but to bring most to bear at a given moment, to support his own arguments, or refute his adversary. Old people, old in years but not in understanding, form most exalted notions of the literary advantages of the rising generation. They seem to think that difficulties diminish as books increase; whereas, in furnishing our minds, as our houses, more is expected in proportion to our facilities. The term, *well-informed* is not less a word of comparison than the term *rich*. And however much the labours of the learned may slope the way, the temple of knowledge may always be represented on a hill enveloped in a mist: the ascent should be drawn most precipitous and cloudy at the bottom, with crowds of travellers, dull, heavy, discouraged, and bewildered; while, towards the top, the slope should be gradual, the travellers few and far between, looking better both in health and spirits, and the mist clearing away, till the one happy man on the summit is in a flood of light, and cannot take off his hat, to hurrah, for the sun in his eyes. Fancy would add sign-posts with "Beware of man-traps,"—"Try no short cuts,"—"The best road lies over the hill." In the foreground swarms of little children, of pantomimic proportions, might be selling penny guide-books to many an eager purchaser; while one or two sages were standing aside, presenting a chosen few with lectures of a far less tempting appearance on *patient and methodical industry*.

By a catalogue now before me, my attention is drawn to the following publications for the benefit of those who would complete their collections of works on modern history:

1. "Origin, Progress, and Fall of Freedom in Italy, from 476—1805, A. D.," by Sismondi.<sup>9</sup>

I know this to be a good standard work.

2. "A Second and Elementary History of England," by Keightley, who is a very patient and accurate compiler.

3. Thomas Moore's "History of Ireland;"<sup>10</sup> the only history of any note.

4. Sir W. Scott's "History of Scotland,"<sup>11</sup> which I found as amusing and instructive as I expected from its author.

"History of France, from the earliest Periods to the Abdication of Napoleon," by E. E. Crowe.<sup>12</sup>

This history I found very sententious and philoso-

<sup>8</sup> MICHELET'S HISTORY OF FRANCE, now in course of publication. Appleton & Co.

<sup>9</sup> SISMONDI'S ITALIAN REPUBLICS, 1 vol. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>10</sup> MOORE'S HISTORY OF IRELAND, 2 vols. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

<sup>11</sup> SCOTT'S SCOTLAND. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>12</sup> CROWE'S FRANCE. 3 vols. 12mo. Harper &

<sup>1</sup> LOCKHART'S LIFE OF CLIVE, 1 vol. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> HEBER'S JOURNAL IN INDIA, 2 vols. 8vo. Carey, Lea & Carey.

<sup>3</sup> SIR ALEXANDER BURNES'S TRAVELS IN INDIA, 2 vols. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup> SIR ALEXANDER BURNES'S CABOOL, 1 vol. 8vo. 25 cents. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>5</sup> LT. EYRES'S JOURNAL OF A CAMPAIGN IN AFFGHANISTAN, 1 vol. 25 cents. Carey & Hart, Phila.

<sup>6</sup> BRANTZ MAYER'S MEXICO, 1 vol. with numerous illustrations. J. Winchester, New York.

<sup>7</sup> PRESCOTT'S HISTORY OF MEXICO, 3 vols. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>8</sup> BUCKINGHAM'S TRAVELS IN AMERICA, 2 vols. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>9</sup> MURRAY'S TRAVELS IN UNITED STATES, 2 vols. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>10</sup> BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, 3 vols. 8vo. Little & Brown, Boston.

<sup>11</sup> GRAHAM'S UNITED STATES, with notes and addi-

phical, but not so well suited to the young as to the reflecting reader.

Dr. Dunham's "History of Spain and Portugal," 5 vols. There is also a "History of Spain," by The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge; also a short history, by Calcott, mentioned by Dr. Smith.

Dr. Dunham's "Germanic Empire," 3 vols.

Dr. Dunham's "Denmark, Sweden, and Norway," 3 vols.

Grattan's "History of the Netherlands," I have already characterized: the last half of the volume is most important. 1 vol.

"History of Switzerland," down to 1830. 1 vol.

Dr. Dunham's "Poland, to 1830." The account of Poland, in Alison, is very amusing.

Bell's "History of Russia to 1807."<sup>1</sup> 1 vol.

"History of the United States of America," from Columbus to 1826; by the Rev. H. Fergus. 2 vols.

#### ON THE STUDY OF ROMAN HISTORY.

The first question which would occur is,—upon what ancient authorities is the history of Rome chiefly based? the following: Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus,<sup>2</sup> Appian, Dion Cassius, Varro, Cicero, Sallust, Cæsar, Velleius, Tacitus, Suetonius, Plutarch, and Cornelius Nepos; these are the principal classical authorities.<sup>3</sup> The Scriptores Hist. Augustæ, Procopius, and others, are comparatively little consulted, except by men of the enthusiasm of Gibbon.

These authors I mention because their names so often occur that any young person would do well to employ an hour reading a short account of them from a Biographical Dictionary. I would also show how arduous is the task of becoming profoundly learned in every part of Roman History. De Thou wrote 138 books on the continental broils, during the last half of the 16th century; but before he began he knelt down and offered up a prayer that he might accurately and impartially execute a work on which, from that moment, he resolved to devote his life. Gibbon was twenty years composing the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. It would have taken many more years to write its rise and grandeur. To men of such genius and enthusiasm must we leave the original authorities, and, not entering the mine ourselves, we must be content with such specimens of the buried treasure as they are pleased to bring to light. The above list does not contain the names of half the authorities who supply the whole chain of history; yet, short as it is, it comprises twice the number of books which enter into the classical studies of either university.

I must now address myself to two separate classes of readers; first, to young men preparing themselves as candidates either for Scholarships or classical honours at the universities; secondly, to young ladies, and other general readers, who have only learning and leisure sufficient for a shorter and more general course.

To speak of the first class—youth at school, or with private tutors, have, commonly, time for doing much to advance them at college, if they are but well directed. The mode of reading history which they must adopt is peculiar. Others may be content to read till they have satisfied their own minds; but the former have to satisfy examiners. Others may be less careful of facts when they have gathered prin-

ciples, and preserved the kernel without the husk; but candidates for honours must prove that they know principles, which they can only do by having facts available and ready at command. An examination is conducted by papers of questions which serve as pegs on which to hang your knowledge; but should you confuse merely the names of historical characters, you will lose the chance of displaying your attainments, although your mind is stored with the deepest reflections on the Roman policy or constitution. The first thing, therefore, to consider is that you can never be said effectually to know any more history than you can accurately write out, with time, place, and circumstance. Read, therefore, on the method before described, which I shall call the expansive principle. Begin with committing to memory an outline—then fill in as fast and no faster than you can make good your ground. In this way you will always be ready to be examined to the extent of your reading, and will rear such an historical edifice as will admit of continual addition and enlargement without any part of your work being pulled down and wasted. This advice is more simple than obvious. I have known many a student read for sixteen University terms, and collect materials which were at no single moment, from first to last, in a state to be put together, even supposing that the disorder of his mental store-room did not render it impossible to find or identify the many separate pieces he had laboriously collected.

Your first book should be "The Outline of the Roman History,"<sup>4</sup> by the Christian Knowledge Society. This little book, insignificant as it may seem, is not to be despised. It traces the Romans as they gradually spread from a corner of Italy over nearly all the known world, and gives the chief dates, characters, and events. When this outline is known thoroughly, it will serve as a *memoria technica*, to connect and facilitate the recollection of more minute detail. For, the difficulty in history is to remember not the principles and general impression, but who said this, and who did that, and when or where particular actions occurred: and in an examination you can never hope to show that you know any thing unless you can give a clear and accurate account of it. Certainly you may be allowed to describe events more or less fully and in detail; but every statement must be both connected and exact as far as it goes. Let this outline then be impressed deeply on your memory, so that you have, as it were, one Roman picture ever hanging before your mind's eye, to serve as a general map of the country, through which your classic path is doomed to lie for some years to come. A plan I found very useful was drawing out the leading historical facts on a sheet of paper, divided into vertical columns, each comprising one century. Four black horizontal lines cut all the centuries into quarters, and the sheet into departments. After a little while I found it very easy to remember the contents of each department, which thus served as a clue to dates and a long series of events. When this outline is perfectly familiar, as, from its brevity, it may be in the space of a few days, you must proceed to fill it up according to your taste and inclination. The usual examinations for Scholarships, at which the candidates are too young to be supposed to have read very deeply, require an exact knowledge of the commonly received accounts of historians rather than that critical research into particular portions which is required of the candidates for classes. In reading for a Scholarship you should prepare for writing historical essays, which will be read with reference to two points; first, to see if you have been in the habit of reading accurately; secondly, whether you have reflected on what you read. As to the first point, the observations respecting the outline history will be sufficient. As to the second, you must read a brief account of the whole, rather than a more copious compilation of part of the Roman annals. And for this reason;—your best

<sup>1</sup> DUNHAM'S Spain and Portugal, Germanic Empire, Denmark, Sweden and Norway.—GRATTAN'S Netherlands, History of Switzerland, Poland.—BELL'S Russia, all in "Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia."

PRESCOTT'S HISTORY OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, 3 vols. Little & Brown, Boston.

<sup>2</sup> BOOTH'S DIODORUS SICULUS, 2 vols. 8vo. London.

<sup>3</sup> BAKER'S LIVY, 2 vols.—MURPHY'S TACITUS, 1 vol.—SALLUST, 1 vol.—CÆSAR, 1 vol.—LANGHORNE'S PLUTARCH, 1 vol. All published by T. Wardle,

<sup>4</sup> OUTLINE OF ROMAN HISTORY, in 1 small vol. 25 cts. Geo. & Hart Philadelphia



chance of displaying reflection will be by drawing comparisons between the events of the different periods to which your theme or paper of questions refers. Should you confine your studies to one period only, this may chance not to be the subject of a single question, and all your industry may remain unappreciated. I should, therefore, advise you to take Keightley's "Roman History."<sup>1</sup>

You have the choice of two works; one is quite elementary, the other forms only two volumes duodecimo; and though certainly the first twenty pages on the early Roman History and Constitution is very dry and scarcely intelligible, still the rest of the volume is perspicuous, and contains enough for any Scholarship examination. The chief points to remark are these:—

The successive changes in the form of government, their effects, and causes: The gradual rise of the plebeian power: The conquests and accessions to the Roman dominions.

Learn also to trace each distinguished character throughout all the events with which his name is associated, so that you may be prepared to write the life of any party proposed.

A facility of treating these subjects fully will only be the result of much comparison and reflection.

During my early studies I once had a friend with whom I used to walk every day, and discuss parts of history; and in these peripatetic lectures, as we used to call them, the glorious exploits of the good, as well as the high crimes and misdemeanors of the bad, formed the subject of very animated controversy. The history which we had so impressed on our minds we could scarcely forget; besides, inconsistencies were detected, and explanations sought, which would not otherwise have occurred. What you only read you may doze over, and your mind may wander just where attention is most required; but you can hardly converse on a subject without reflection.

At College it was agreed between three friends, myself and two others, that whenever we met we should endeavour to puzzle each other with a question on Herodotus. The continual exercise of recollection and attention to which this mere frolic gave rise, rendered us wonderfully accurate in ancient history. I would strongly recommend some such diversion to the pupils in the upper form of a school. In one half year Keightley might be learned from beginning to end. Some questions have been published, which are useful to try your knowledge when you have read about twenty pages, and laid the book aside. But to read with questions before you, is a most pernicious practice, though one in which many indulge; the consequence is that all original reflection is superseded, and every thing but the subject of the questions escapes notice. If any time remains when perfect in Keightley, take Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities,"<sup>2</sup> and read attentively about Consuls, Tribunes, Interregnum, Plebeians, and every term of office or dignity in Roman History. In Scholarship examinations, questions on these subjects are very frequently given. The five numbers of the Roman History, by the Useful Knowledge Society, contain much information, highly useful to classical scholars: the chapter on the Credibility of Roman History is particularly deserving of exact reading. The article in the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," on the same subject, is very good, as also are some remarks which you may find by the index in Hooke's "Roman History."<sup>3</sup> Certain lives in Plutarch may be read in connection with Roman History.

Every student who can procure Anthon's *Lemprière's "Classical Dictionary,"*<sup>4</sup> should remember

that the articles on Livy, Rome, and the names of officers and magistrates, are well worth reading.

This will be enough to say to candidates for Scholarships. Any who are quite sure they are perfect so far, may take a hint from the few remarks I have to offer to

Candidates for classes.—These students I must refer to what I have said in my "Student's Guide to Oxford Honours"; at the same time that I add, that the early part of Roman history, which is allowed to be the most difficult, has now been treated by Dr. Arnold.<sup>5</sup> Malden's "History of Rome" is also used by candidates for honours. It is not generally understood that what is required at Oxford, for the final examinations, is a thorough knowledge of portions of Roman History, from the original authorities, rather than a mere outline of the whole. Indeed, a writer in one of the Reviews, about three years since, asserted that there probably were not three men in the whole University, inclusive of Masters, who had any more knowledge of the later periods of Roman History than could be derived from English compilations. The Oxford examinations in Roman History even for the highest honours are chiefly confined to the first and second decade of Livy, about two books of Polybius, to complete the history of the Punic war, and about half of Tacitus. To illustrate these books it is usual to read portions of the Roman History and Biography in the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana." Since all sound education is based on the principle rather to form than fill the mind, and since Roman History is only one of many subjects of Oxford studies, these portions are enough for University examinations; but not enough to satisfy those who have leisure to read, and liberty to make choice of what others have written, without the labour of historical criticism. Therefore, for young ladies, if they decide on reading Roman History at all, and for general readers, I must furnish separate instructions.

Begin with the "Outline History" before mentioned, and learn it thoroughly; then read parts of Keightley on the Punic wars, or any other events which curiosity suggests. Keep up the outline by continual perusal, and regard it as a map of the Roman empire, which you must daily consult to show you exactly whereabouts you are. Men of well-formed minds will readily observe all the changes in the constitution; young ladies, and others, in whom general curiosity and imagination predominate, can amuse themselves with the "most disastrous chances," and the many tragical positions in which Roman story abounds. Those who frequent theatres should see the Roman plays, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and others. Much talent and industry is employed in the principal theatres, in providing scenery, dresses, and decorations, critically correct and true to the time and place in which each plot is laid. Many sets of Roman engravings will answer the same purpose. Our appreciation of Roman history greatly depends on terms and descriptions bringing before our mind's eye scenes and customs as they really existed. Swallow-tailed coats, livery-servants, a regiment of Champagne bottles, fan-bearing young ladies, and ice-presenting young gentlemen, must not rise in our imagination when we read of a Roman supper; neither must every shower of rain in Rome be associated with umbrellas, Mackintoshes, and cab-stands. To prevent these modern from marring ancient views, the accounts of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the late discoveries in Etruria, will much contribute; as also, I am told, "The Last Days of Pompeii,"<sup>6</sup> by Bulwer; a book much admired. The bold engravings of Piranesi, which may be found in some libraries, will make so deep an impression on the imagination that the buildings of the mighty city will be ever present to our imagination. There is also an inferior series of engravings, in the same style, representing all the prin-

<sup>1</sup> KEIGHTLEY'S ROMAN HISTORY. 1 vol. 12mo. Turner & Hayden, New York.

<sup>2</sup> SMITH'S DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES, with notes. By Prof. Anthon. 1 vol. 8vo. Harper & Brothers.

<sup>3</sup> HOOKE'S ROMAN HISTORY. 3 vols. 8vo. London. Very cheap.

<sup>4</sup> ANTHON'S LEMPRIÈRE'S CLASSICAL DICTIONARY

<sup>5</sup> DR. ARNOLD'S LECTURES ON HISTORY. 1 vol. 25 cents. J. Winchester, New York.

<sup>6</sup> BULWER'S LAST DAYS OF POMPEII. 1 vol. 50 cents.

principal scenes described in Rollin's "Ancient History;" this series gives more figures and shows more of the Roman dress and armour than Piranesi. A small edition of Adam's "Roman Antiquities,"<sup>12</sup> and Smith's "Dictionary of Grecian and Roman Antiquities," contain many engravings; and, be it observed, the pencil is quite as legitimate an instrument of instruction as the pen, and often much more efficient. With these works on Roman Antiquities, readers of the most ordinary curiosity will find their attention riveted to a variety of articles, describing how that mighty people eat and drank, and bathed, and slept; to say nothing of how they debated, went to law, and fought; and how they went through the daily routine of private life.

These works will make a pleasing variety while reading Keightley's History. Similar entertainment may be profitably derived from Fosbrooke's "Treatise on the Arts, Manners, Manufactures, &c., of the Greeks and Romans." Next to Keightley, or, instead of it, I can recommend "A History of Rome, from the earliest times to the founding of Constantinople," in two small volumes. This is chiefly drawn from the labours of the greatest of living historians, Schlosser: some use is also made of the best standard histories. One continuous Roman History is enough for the general reader, and this from Schlosser, I think, deserves the preference.

So far I have only recommended one Roman Outline, price 9d., and one History, price 12s.: and these, as I said of the histories of England, are mere skeletons; when you have a competent knowledge of them, and have perused the works on Manners and Customs, proceed at once to the original authorities. The Punic wars in "Livy's" pictured page,<sup>13</sup> which Clarendon took as his model; the Catiline Conspiracy, which Johnson allowed to contain historic portraiture, because Sallust<sup>14</sup> knew the characters; Tacitus,<sup>15</sup> the philosophic annalist, who gives facts and principles, the secret springs and the great movements in the same sentence; Plutarch,<sup>16</sup> first the lecturer and afterwards the proconsul of Trajan, who studied at Athens, and travelled through Greece and Egypt; the favourite author of Lord Chatham and Napoleon, each of whom would almost have said of Plutarch, with Theodore Beza, what, in substance, a writer in the "Quarterly" said of Boswell, "that if we were obliged to throw all the books in the world into the sea, this should be reserved till the last;" think of each time-honoured genius: how gladly would we invite him to wine and walnuts, and try to draw him out; and shall we not read his works when elegant translations are in almost every library? Have we not the curiosity even of the daughter of a country postmaster, who eagerly claims the perquisites of a peep at the letters of the great? We are not obliged to read one of these works through, but should cease to regard them as sealed books. We may take a translation of Cicero's "Letters,"<sup>17</sup> and see what he had to say to his wife and family, and what to the public, of those most eventful days. If we retain a knowledge of the general history, these authors will serve to fill up the outline, and every new idea will find its place, and tend both to pleasure and to profit.

Dunlop's "History of Roman Literature,"<sup>18</sup> in two volumes, and Schlegel's "Lectures on Ancient and Modern Literature,"<sup>19</sup> one volume, are standard works,

deemed almost indispensable for those emulous of classical honours. Such works, however, can give only the mere terms and sounds of knowledge to that large majority of readers who are unacquainted with Greek and Roman writers.

A few hours devoted to the article on Rome, in "The Penny Cyclopædia," will be enough to give a fair insight into the constitution as developed by Niebuhr.

Of Cicero and his times, which are topics equal in interest to any part of Roman history, Middleton's "Life of Cicero" is the great authority. A very good short account, by my friend Mr. Hollings, is published in the Family Library. The Cyclopædias also contain compendious articles. Macaulay's "Survey of the Greek, Roman, and Modern Historians,"<sup>10</sup> published in selections from the "Edinburgh Review," is very good. The "Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria in 1839," by Mrs. Hamilton Gray, will be entertaining and instructive to most readers—to the classical scholar especially.

Of Niebuhr's History<sup>11</sup> I have only to say that it is highly valuable to good classical scholars, but unintelligible to most English readers. Those who feel a laudable curiosity to know the nature of the discoveries by which Niebuhr has obtained his fair renown, may find a review of his work, which I remember reading, either in the "Quarterly" or "Edinburgh Review;" probably it is noticed in both. Twiss's "Epitome of Niebuhr" used to be popular at Oxford.

Eustace's "Classical Tour"<sup>12</sup> will profitably relieve and vary the study of Roman History.

## ON THE STUDY OF GRECIAN HISTORY.

ON this subject, also, I must address myself to classical students and English readers separately. The "Outline History of Greece,"<sup>13</sup> by the Society, is the first book for the candidate for Scholarships, by which I mean all young men who are desirous of improving their last year at school, or under a private tutor. Keightley's "History of Greece" will be the second book. The whole of the "Outline History" should be learned almost by heart, as I said before of English and Roman History. In Keightley you may be contented to read only as far as the death of Alexander the Great: the remainder you may leave till almost every other part of Ancient History is exhausted. Of course, the same principle of study, and the same degree of accuracy, will be required with Grecian as with Roman History. Nine out of ten of ordinary advisers would tell you it was indispensable that you should read the whole of the Grecian History, either by Mitford<sup>14</sup> or Thirlwall.<sup>15</sup> The time for reading Mitford, in my opinion, is now gone by: the best part is the Life and Times of Alexander; and this is better done in the Biography by Williams,<sup>16</sup> in the "Family Library." Thirlwall's History is unquestionably a masterly performance; but the question is not what is creditable to the writer, but what is profitable to the reader. When your mind is prepared to realize and make your own any parts of Thirlwall's History, then read those parts, and those only. You will ask to what preparation I allude: I mean that Thirlwall classifies facts, extracts,

<sup>1</sup> ROLLIN'S ANCIENT HISTORY. 2 vols. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>2</sup> ADAM'S ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. 1 vol. Collins & Brother, New York.

<sup>3</sup> BAKER'S LIVY, 2 vols. Wardle, Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup> SALLUST, Wardle, Philadelphia.

<sup>5</sup> MURPHY'S TACITUS. Wardle, Philadelphia.

<sup>6</sup> LANGHORNE'S PLUTARCH. Harper & Bro., N. Y.

<sup>7</sup> CICERO'S LETTERS AND LIFE, by Middleton, in 1 vol. 8vo. E. Moxon, London.

<sup>8</sup> DUNLOP'S HISTORY OF ROMAN LITERATURE, 2 vols. 8vo. E. Littell, Philadelphia.

<sup>9</sup> SCHLEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF ANCIENT AND MODERN LITERATURE, 1 vol. 8vo. New York.

<sup>10</sup> MACAULAY'S SURVEY OF THE GREEK, ROMAN, AND MODERN HISTORIANS, in Edinburgh Review, all included in his "Miscellanies," in 1 vol., which forms part of Carey & Hart's "Modern Essayists."

<sup>11</sup> NIEBUHR'S ROME, new edition, 5 vols. Lea & Blanchard.

<sup>12</sup> EUSTACE'S CLASSICAL TOUR, 2 vols. price \$2.50. Baudry, Paris.

<sup>13</sup> THE OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF GREECE, by the Society, in 1 small vol. 25 cts. Carey & Hart.

<sup>14</sup> MITFORD'S GREECE, 8 vols. 12mo. London.

<sup>15</sup> THIRLWALL'S HISTORY OF GREECE, in 1 large 8vo vol. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>16</sup> WILLIAMS'S LIFE OF ALEXANDER, price 50 cts. Harpers' Family Library.



principles, and makes comments. The preparation requisite to profit by his writings is therefore threefold: first, to be familiar with the facts which he quotes; that is, to take at a glance any sentence from Herodotus,<sup>1</sup> Thucydides, or others, and feel a curiosity to know whether he has any thing more to say of it than you already know. Evidently, if you have never seen the sentence, it must, from want of previous thought and association, be a burden to your memory without assisting your understanding. The second preparation is, to be used to compare some at least of the sentences which Thirlwall classifies: then, and then only, will you be improved by that increased quickness of observation, and that ready comprehension of all the bearings of facts, which a good history should serve to promote. An historian, like a judge, should sum up, arrange, and weave into one plain story, all that falls from competent witnesses; while the reader, like a jurymen, should decide, not by the learning of the judge, but the bearing of the evidence. It follows, then, that besides being first conversant with facts, and, secondly, having viewed them in connection, the third qualification is a competence to form an independent judgment upon them. Few persons, I admit, enjoy this threefold qualification for the whole of any history; still a mature mind can weigh and decide on one page, understand enough to assent to a second, and suspend judgment on a third. But I am at present addressing youths whose minds are not matured, and who are required by the university system to read history rather to form than to fill the mind, and for discipline rather than for information. But on this topic I must refer to my "Student's Guide," which I have the satisfaction of knowing that one of the most experienced examiners has long been recommending for the guidance of his pupils.

Keightley has also written a small elementary History of Greece.<sup>2</sup> Before either of these publications there appeared a History of Greece, by the Useful Knowledge Society, which, as I know by private information, was first submitted to the revision of Dr. Arnold. This contains about 300 double-columned pages; the first 150 of which comprise all events to the death of Alexander. Some prefer Keightley's History. Certainly, as Mr. Keightley was the later writer, he had more advantages; he is allowed to be a scholar of very extensive reading.

The student who has followed my advice so far, may read the lives of Pericles,<sup>3</sup> Nicias, and the other Grecian characters in Plutarch. Above all, he should learn most accurately every event in those chapters of the first book of Thucydides, which treat of the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars: here part of Thirlwall's Greece will be the best commentary. Let him read this portion till he can trace every step in the rise of the Athenian supremacy.

I have now given as long a course of Grecian History as any youth can be expected to know perfectly before he enters the university: I would add more, but I have not forgotten my college days, and all the instructive retrospect I have often enjoyed in comparing notes with old friends. Very great designs and comparatively very little doings I find enter into the confessions of every student. Young persons are always sanguine; and when they once are betrayed, by a very excusable but fatal ambition, into forming too large a plan, the work is wanted long before the two ends meet. Books, however short, require a certain time for reading, a certain time for reflecting, and a certain time to digest; that is, to blend with our system, to become part of our mental implements, and to serve as a common measure and every-day standard of thought.

It is worth remembering that a man never learns the use of instruments, whether mental or physical, so readily or so thoroughly as when he has few of them. The rude implements of the Indian have surpassed the machinery of Manchester. "John Hunter's head," said Abernethy, "was like a beehive;" not that he meant to say it was all in a buzz, but that it had a separate cell for every store. The modern Attic bees are in a hurry to gather the honey before they have prepared the wax. My advice is to read on each subject one outline, again and again, till you have once formed the cells: you may then sip of every flower in the wild field of literature,—fill without confusion, and preserve without loss.

To candidates for university honours I have little more to say on Grecian History. I must again refer to some general remarks in "The Student's Guide." Since 1836, the year in which it was written, we have been favoured with the works of Keightley, Thirlwall, and Wordsworth.<sup>4</sup> Of the value of the last two, if read judiciously, in a spirit of inquiry, we can hardly say too much. The general error of Oxford classmen is confining themselves too much to the books they propose for examination. The mind requires not only relief but variety, which Wordsworth's "Greece," a book of entertainment and lively interest, is well calculated to afford. Eustace's "Classical Tour" is of similar value to the readers of Roman literature. I would also suggest translations of Arrian,<sup>5</sup> Pausanias,<sup>6</sup> Xenophon, (especially his smaller treatises,) and almost every original authority which comes to hand. These you may read for variety. Far from intending to overtask your mind, I advise you to read more or less, to select the amusing, or to toil through the intricate, according to the principle I have already vindicated of being guided by taste and inclination. While the subjects of your regular classical studies form the cells, translations will furnish stores to fill them. Many classical scholars will be ashamed to confess that they have any occasion to read translations. But, with a little reflection, all must allow that when a critical knowledge of the text, and an accurate recollection of the matter of sixteen or more Latin and Greek books are required, very little time can remain for reading the many works which are so desirable to illustrate them.

These, therefore, I propose to read by the medium of translation. Surely it is as worthy of a scholar to read a translation of Xenophon, as part of a history which gives the narrative of Xenophon, not only translated, but condensed. Many talk of reading Greek like English; but there are very few men who can read other languages, least of all Greek and Latin, with quite as little effort as their own. Bring any silly pretender to the proof; lay before him the first column of the *Times*, and the first page of the *Oratores Attici*,<sup>7</sup> and challenge him to a trial. The truth is, there is a kind of short-hand reading, by which we catch the sense of a sentence without seeing more than one word in a line. Without this expeditious act, which we practise quite unconsciously, the time and toil of reading would be greatly increased. And will any one pretend that he could skim over Plutarch as safely as Langhorne's translation? It is plain that sound scholars may find time for translations when too weary for the original; and I can only say that the translation of cotemporary authors forms a better commentary than any English essays I can recommend.

English translations are chiefly useful to the classical student in two ways. To leave entirely out of the question how readily translations explain difficult passages of those authors which are read in the original, without arguing how much they may contribute to elegance, and how much they do contribute to

<sup>1</sup> BELOE'S HERODOTUS. T. Wardle, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> KEIGHTLEY'S HISTORY OF GREECE, 2 vols. Turner & Hayden, New York.

<sup>3</sup> PERICLES AND ASPASIA. IMAGINARY CONVERSATIONS, by Walter Savage Landor, 2 vols. Carey & Hart.

<sup>4</sup> WORDSWORTH'S GREECE, beautifully embellished, in 1 vol. 8vo. London.

<sup>5</sup> ROOK'S ARRIAN, 1 vol. 8vo. London.

<sup>6</sup> PAUSANIAS'S GREECE, 3 vols. 8vo. London.

<sup>7</sup> THE ORATORES ATTICI, 16 vols. 8vo. London.



idleness, and sap the foundations of all sound scholarship,—the first use of translations to classical students, who have not time to read the originals, is to enable them more thoroughly to appreciate, and therefore to profit by, the historical compilations to which they are obliged to trust for a large part of Grecian as well as Roman History. Let every student of Grecian History keep a well-read, “marked and quoted” copy of Keightley; let this form his outline, or, as Abernethy would say, his series of cells; and during his leisure hours let him amuse himself with marking on the margin any part of Plutarch, Pausanias, or other authority which he identifies in Keightley. With a little reflection he may see that Keightley (for we all are fallible) has said too much on one point, too little on another, and has not chosen the best illustration or argument in support of a third. This exercise of judgment is very improving; indeed it is more improving to think erroneously sometimes than to follow blindly along, like a traveller who observes only what his guide points out. Practice in this, as in other matters, soon makes perfect, and rewards perseverance with most pleasing satisfaction. The student should try continually to enlarge the sphere of his judgment, and gradually extend these marginal notes and references, which will delightfully mark his progress over the greater part of the volume. How many a classical anecdote passes traceless through the mind, because we want a cell for it—because we have no ideas to keep it company—no such commonplace book in which to set it down! How difficult is it for the young to see that the value of facts, as of figures, is determined by the series in which they stand! Yet nothing is more likely to render us alive to their value than the constant comparison to which this use of translations will lead, between some seemingly unimportant observation of Plutarch and the social or political institutions which it ingeniously elucidates in the pages of Keightley or Thirlwall.

The first time we read Herodotus it seems like a collection of stories; at the second reading we begin to trace the connection, till gradually the mist clears away, the scene becomes distinct, and large sections of the ancient world open to our view. Another suggestion for expanding the mind and teaching “How to observe,” (the title of a clever volume by Miss Martineau,) is to read Herodotus through, once, without assistance, and a second time in connection with a history founded upon it by Heeren, called “Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the principal Nations of Antiquity.” Heeren, like those who travel into comparatively unknown countries, is rather apt to be led too far by an endeavour to bring to light curiosities commensurate with his toil, and is accused of drawing conclusions rather more extensive than his premises; but this is only saying that, in reading Heeren, like every author, you should attend to him and judge for yourself.

Again, translations are a key to the only true source of what to many readers is the most valuable parts of history, the manners, customs, and general spirit of past ages. Niebuhr has laid open great part of the Roman constitution; but as to the habits of life, topics of conversation, and subjects of thought, which filled up the twenty-four hours of every day at Rome or at Athens, here is still a wide field for discovery. The books on Antiquities by Adam and Potter<sup>1</sup> convey mere fragments, and at best are no more to be compared to the perusal of the original authors, than the scraps of information from a tourist’s guide-book are to be compared to the digested knowledge and enlargement of mind produced by foreign travels. “For this knowledge of antiquity,” said Niebuhr to a friend from whom I heard it, “the materials lie widely scattered; every scholar must collect and arrange as many as he has the industry or the ingenuity to discover: and in putting them together, like the pieces of some ancient pavement, to

form one consistent pattern delineating ancient life, the mind receives a most invaluable exercise.” Supposing you wished to know the spirit of the last century, and the general state of society, history would tell you that a taste for literature or sense of religion were less general than at the present time. By such vague and negative testimony, diluted in a flood of words, with the mere names of “men eminent for piety or learning,” do historians convey impressions which they have derived, and which I would recommend my readers to derive, from memoirs and private letters written by the most distinguished characters of their respective times. Consider, for instance, the letters of Lady Montagu; think not only of the general tone and spirit of them, not only of the social influences which must have combined to foster the social mould, and, so to speak, the ever-recurring forms and surrounding scenery which must have conspired to form the mental, stint the moral, and wither the spiritual perceptions of the character those letters betray,—but think of the state of society which could have caused a lady of rank to make such a complaint as this in a letter to a friend;—that so deplorably ignorant, and devoid of all but folly and vanity, were the minds of the young ladies of fashion, that they were more open to sophistry, and more commonly turned atheists, than even the professed rakes of the other sex; and instead of that modesty which should teach respect for married persons, they really laughed at them, as having prudishly fettered themselves by an obligation with which the world had become wise enough to dispense. Equally great is the difference between the impressions which even English readers may receive by translations of Xenophon or Cicero, and the vague and senseless observations of modern writers. In short, if you would rather listen to “thoughts that burn” in “words that breathe,” from a traveller telling his own story, than to a spiritless version second-hand—if you would be better satisfied with hearing truth drawn by instalments, and with all the reluctance of the seven teeth of King John’s Jew, from a lying witness by a sharp counsel, than with reading a report of the same trial in ten lines—if you would enjoy all the strife of tongues, and time-beguiling interest of a debate in the House more than the summary in a country paper a week after—then must you also prefer picking your way through translations of the classics, and culling the choicest sweets and flowers according to your own taste and appetite, to any essays on manners and customs, and any of those meager descriptions to which we may well apply the words of Byron,—

“’Tis Greece, but living Greece no more.”

By such arguments would I recommend the use of translations to classical students whose limited opportunities must cause many valuable works to remain unread in the original; but to the general reader I would also observe that Jeremy Taylor says, “I consider that the wisest persons, and those who know how to value and entertain the more noble faculties of their soul and their precious hours, take pleasure in reading the productions of those old wise spirits who preserved natural reason and religion in the midst of heathen darkness, such as Homer, Euripides,<sup>2</sup> Orpheus, Pindar, and Anacreon, Æschylus, and Menander, and all the Greek poets, Plutarch and Polybius, Xenophon,<sup>3</sup> and all those other excellent persons of both faculties, whose choicest dictates are collected by Stobæus; Plato and his scholars, Aristotle,<sup>4</sup> and after him Porphyry, and all his other disciples, Pythagoras, and especially Hierocles and all the old Academics and Stoics within the Roman school.” And he adds a hope that such readers “may be invited to love and consider the rare documents of Christianity,

<sup>2</sup> POTTER’S EURIPIDES, 2 vols. 8vo. London.

<sup>3</sup> SPELMAN’S XENOPHON, 1 vol. 8vo. Wardle, Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup> GILLIES’S ARISTOTLE’S ETHICS AND POLITICS 3

<sup>1</sup> POTTER’S GRECIAN ANTIQUITIES, 1 vol. 8vo. Phi-

which certainly is the great treasure-house of those excellent, moral, and perfective discourses, with which much pains and pleasure we find thinly scattered in all the Greek and Roman poets, historians, and philosophers."

Consider in the classical records of the wisdom of antiquity the faint glimmerings of life and immortality, which it remained for the gospel fully to bring to light; consider the evident yearning of the souls of men for knowledge; consider the history of unassisted reason, which describes such discord in the feelings of each heart, and such want of harmony among the members of each state, as plainly showed how much men wanted knowledge of the uses and relations of the several parts of the complicated machinery of the moral world. Let these points be kept in view by those who read the classics through the medium of translations. Then will they read in Thucydides how Nicias, amidst all the dangers of the Sicilian campaign, tells his soldiers "his hope and comfort is to reflect that he had always dealt honestly with his neighbour, and been mindful of his God." How Euripides says, that "the man who has his God for his friend has the fairest hope of prosperity;" and Pliny, that "it is god-like in man to show charity to man, and this is the road to eternal life." In the Greek tragedians they will see humility so inculcated as to show that the minds of the Athenians were fully possessed by the feeling that the man who did not ascribe his prosperity to the hand of Providence, but showed a proud and unchastened spirit, was in danger of severe visitations; while, under the all-prevailing fear of Atë we may discern that the Athenians were less incredulous than many in later times of the truth of the threat, that the sins of the fathers should be visited on the children unto the third and fourth generation. From such discoveries of unassisted reason, a certain class of philosophers who presume that every thing is contrary to all reason, which does not accord with theirs, may learn a lesson of caution lest they be refuted on their own grounds. These observations of the value of translations apply more or less to all readers. I must now address myself, as I promised, more particularly to young ladies, and other general readers.

This class of readers must use the outline history and the works of Keightley before mentioned, and study according to the method explained with the History of Rome. They may be satisfied with reading first of all to the death of Alexander the Great. To fill up their outline, they should read the Grecian characters in Plutarch,—Xenophon's "Retreat of the Ten Thousand," and "History of Greece," which begins where Thucydides leaves off, near the end of the Peloponnesian war. It is quite certain, for reasons already published in the "Student's Guide," that Xenophon took up the pen exactly where Thucydides laid it down; and I would throw out as a hint for scholars to investigate, whether the difference observable between the style of the two first books of the "Hellenics" and the rest of Xenophon's writings does not show an attempt to continue the style as well as the matter of Thucydides. On the Peloponnesian War, and the state of Greece for half a century preceding it, read Thucydides. Attend particularly to the curious specimen of historical criticism in the first twenty chapters; to all the speeches; the plague of Athens; the sedition of Corcyra; the siege of Platææ, and all the other actions by land and sea; and read attentively from the beginning to the end of the Campaign in Sicily: Hobbes's translation, which most Oxford men possess, has a summary by which these portions may be easily selected. Beloe's Herodotus contains the materials of a very large part of ancient history. For the life of Alexander the Great read the work of Arrian, to whom the younger Pliny addressed several of his epistles. Arrian's history is founded on the memoirs of Aristobolus and Ptolemy, eunuchs, who served under Alexander. A life of Alexander by Williams, in the "Family Library," is well written. Gain an accurate knowledge of the route at

the north of India: this will give an interest to Oriental travels lately written; especially those by Sir A. Burnes and Masson, as also that of Vigne, whose conjecture, that Cabul is the same as Cau-Pol (Καυπόλιν πόλις), is, as Professor Wilson allowed, highly probable. The speeches of Demosthenes "On the Crown," and his three "Philippics," as well as that orator's life by Plutarch, may well be read in connection with the history of Philip of Macedon. I should also recommend the "Cedipus Tyrannus" of Sophocles, the "Agamemnon" of Æschylus, translated by Symmonds, and the "Medea" of Euripides, as highly serviceable, to initiate the mind into the mysteries of Grecian fable. One of my female friends has read all the plays of these authors. You may also pick your way through some of the dialogues of Plato, especially the "Phædon," and Gillies's translation of Aristotle's "Politics." As to the rest of Ancient History, instead of Rollin's "Ancient History," which, like Russell's "Modern Europe," tends, as I have generally observed, rather to the *confusion* than the *diffusion* of knowledge, read Heeren's "Researches both in Asia and Africa." This course of reading may seem long; but since I leave each person to select, more or less, according to the strength of his appetite and digestion, I must say, that what is here proposed requires less time to follow, and less perseverance to overtake, than Rollin's "Ancient History." Pope's "Homer" I need hardly mention; so generally is it known and read by both young and old. See Johnson's sensible criticism on it in his life of Pope.

I will now conclude my observations on Grecian History and Ancient History generally, with remarks for the benefit of all classes of readers. The reason I extend my lists of books, is to give more scope for variety of taste and inclinations, and not by any means to dispense with the rule, not to read too much to read well.

Egyptian antiquities deserve especial notice. Orpheus, Linus, Musæus, Amphion, Sanchoniathon and Homer, as well as Pythagoras and Plato, all visited Egypt. Solon, too, was assisted by the Egyptian priests; and it was in Egypt that Herodotus found abundance to gratify his inquiring spirit. From Egypt came the religion of the Greeks; and whatever in Grecian mythology seems to coincide with the Law and the Prophets, has been not unreasonably supposed to have been derived from the Egyptians, and by them from the Israelites. That the Egyptians did receive many things from those guardians of the Oracles of God, can indeed hardly be doubted.

Iamblicus, the preceptor of Julian, A. D. 360, speaks of "the inscriptions on the ancient columns of Hermes, on which Plato and Pythagoras formed their philosophy." Now these columns existed in Egypt in the time of Proclus, B. C. 500; and on them were inscriptions according with the doctrine of the Trinity, as is ingeniously explained by Serle, in his "Horæ Solitariae," who mentions also a name of the Deity "as near as translation can attain to *Jehovah*." If I add the columns mentioned by Procopius, found in the part of Africa where the Carthaginians settled, inscribed, "We are they that fled from the face of Joshua, the son of Nun, the Robber," the reader can require no further argument to show the interest which must attach to that land famed for wisdom in the days of Moses. Therefore, besides Heeren's "African Nations," Dr. Pritchard's "Egyptian Mythology" is a valuable work. I see an analysis of it advertised, with a preliminary essay by Schlegel. Sir G. Wilkinson's "Private Life, Religion, &c., of the Ancient Egyptians,"<sup>2</sup> derived from a study of their hieroglyphics and works of art during a residence of twelve years, and published with 600 illustrations, is

<sup>1</sup> RUSSELL'S MODERN EUROPE, 3 vols. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>2</sup> SIR G. WILKINSON'S EGYPT, with numerous illustrations. 8vo. Murray, London.



much recommended, and is, as far as I can judge, a very valuable work.

Of Travels and Modern writings for students of Grecian History, the best are Dodwell's "Topographical and Historical Tour through Greece," Gell's "Itinerary," and Leake's "Travels." Müller's "Dorians" is only valuable to men of accurate classical reading; university students should read it in connection with Herodotus and Thucydides. The articles on Athens and Greece in the "Penny Cyclopædia," are very usefully composed. Müller's "Attica and Athens" has lately been translated by J. Ingram Lockhart. Stuart's "Antiquities of Athens," with seventy plates, is valuable: but a glance at Mr. Wordsworth's "Greece," will show that he was well acquainted with the contents of all travels and works on Greece existing at the time he wrote. Flaxman's "Lectures on Sculpture," and the "Specimens of Ancient Sculpture, selected from different collections of Great Britain by the Society of Dilettanti," as well as the Townley, Elgin, and Phigaleian Marbles, in the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge," should be consulted on the arts of Greece.

A "History of the Literature of Greece," by Müller, will be found in the "Library of Useful Knowledge."

Lastly, I would recommend my readers to gain a clear knowledge of the length and breadth of the several parts of Greece, especially Attica; and to compare every measurement with that of some town or county of England.

I have now said enough on the subject of history. There are doubtless many other topics and writers deserving notice, no less than some on which I have been most explicit. These, as I said before, the reader who comprehends the principle of the preceding observations, will readily discover, and study systematically without any more assistance. I am only afraid that the variety of subjects and books already mentioned should tempt young persons to try too much. The first thing to consider is, for what purpose you are commencing a course of study. If to humour a literary ambition, to be thought learned, and excite the wonder of the ignorant, believe me, that till you abandon this vile and degrading purpose, your vanity will increase faster than your learning; what you gain in head you will lose in heart; your mind will be filled, but not refined; and you will excite far more jealousy than admiration. Read, as Bacon said, "for the glory of your Creator and the relief of man's estate;" to improve your talents for running the race that is set before you, to prevent that periodical void within, which (like a vacuum) is doomed to fill, and that with gnawing cares and soul-debasing thoughts. That is true of our faculties, which an old officer told me of his men, that there was no such security for good behaviour as active service. The lusts of the flesh maintain "a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull altogether," one way; and while reason, conscience, and religion, are arrayed against them, the balance may be preserved. But when these guards are not on duty, or perchance are slumbering at their post, it is well if the history of the past, or some such innocent recreation, employs our memory and engages our imagination; because should these allies be gloating over old pleasures or devising new, they will be playing on such dangerous ground that they may rouse up the enemy, and the citadel may be taken by surprise.

Again, in following out one course of reading, do not be put out of your way through impatience, nor be disturbed because you do not seem to be advancing as rapidly as others. Among the many who desire to be thought literary characters, nothing is more common than an inclination to look up the temple of knowledge and throw away the key; or, on attaining any eminence, to kick away the ladder that none may follow them.—So beware of this class of literary impostors: their life is one continued lie;—a lie partly positive, because they pretend they know far more than they do know; and partly a lie indirect, but much

facilities, hint that things are not so easy as they seem, and pretend that a peculiar talent is required for their favourite subjects. In every department of knowledge the man really proficient is ever desirous to lead others on; and, forgetting all the difficulties he encountered, firmly believes, and as honestly confesses, he could teach his friends in half the time his learning cost himself.

We should employ our minds with history, in the same way as we should have done had we lived in the times described. We need not make a walking cyclopædia of ourselves, nor feel more in honour bound to remember every date or circumstance of foreign reigns than every event in last year's newspapers. We should read for the same purpose that we enter society, to observe. The wisdom of the lesson may be remembered when the facts are lost; and the moral remain, though we forget the fable. The portions of history which enter into common conversation are limited, and experience will soon induce us to give them more attention than the rest. No man may be ashamed to say, when his memory is at fault, "this or that has escaped me; let me ask a question or two, and I shall be able to follow you." Few persons are so ill-bred as to introduce abstruse subjects into general society. If you join a party of antiquaries you must expect antiquarian topics; otherwise no man of ordinary reading can be at a loss for facts while he has the power of reasoning and reflection. Next to the improvement and entertainment of your own mind, your design should be to inform yourself on the general topics of conversation. Read about the North of India, Spain, Ireland, or any other part of the world interesting at the time present. To read only of the past is to be always out of fashion, and as uninteresting as an old newspaper. Men of extensive reading find their chief advantage in this; not that they remember all they read, but that they know exactly where to seek for information, and can with a little trouble bring to bear on the prevailing topic of the day such stores of varied knowledge as others would be quite at a loss to find.

The following questions on history will be very useful to university students, and not without interest to others. They will also illustrate a few remarks I have to offer in the next chapter.

### HISTORICAL QUESTIONS.

1. What was Wolf's theory of the Homeric poems? What arguments may be urged for or against it, especially from internal evidence, and the character of the earliest poetry?
2. The influence of Socrates on the succeeding schools of philosophy.
3. An account of the Greek and Roman systems of colonization, particularly of the latter.
4. Show from the historians and philosophers in what points law, and in what religion, politically influenced the Greeks.
5. The chief events, with dates, in the earlier part of the reign of Charles the First, which led to the civil war. What was the Petition of Rights, and what the Bill of Rights?
6. The respective claims of Edward IV. and Henry VI. to the English throne, and the political effect of the Wars of the Roses.
7. Some account of Louis XI. and Philip Augustus, with dates. With what English kings were they connected, and how?
8. The rights and influence of the free towns in the middle ages.

[Balliol Fellowship, 1842.]

1. Examine the geographical account of Africa as given by Herodotus, and illustrate it by reference to modern discoveries.
2. Trace the course of political legislation at Athens from the time of Draco to Pericles.
3. Give some account of the Persian empire under Darius Hystaspes, in respect to its military and financial

4. Compare the policy observed respectively by Thebes and Argos on the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, and account for it.
5. How far has the peace of Antalcidas deserved the reproach of having been a breach of political morality on the part of Sparta?
6. What was the nature of the Consular Tribunate at Rome? What circumstances led to its establishment, and to its discontinuance?
7. The history of Macedon from the battle of Chæroneia to that of Pydna, with the dates of the chief events.
8. What was the nature of the Decemviral legislation at Rome, of the Jus Flavianum, and of the ordinances passed by Sylla?
9. The character of the commerce carried on between Europe and Asia in the reign of Justinian.
10. The extent of the empire of Charlemagne, and its division on his death.
11. What chief circumstances led to the decay of the power of Venice?
12. Give some account of the chief events of European interest in the reign of the Emperor Charles V. of Germany.

[University College Scholarships, 1841.]

1. The different theories of the origin of the Pelasgi, with the arguments which support them.
2. An account of Grecian politics at the time of the battle of Leuctra.
3. The sources of Roman law, explaining Plebiscita—Senatus-Consulta—Edicta—Decreta Principum—and Auctoritas Prudentium—the Code, Pandects, and Novels of Justinian.
4. A sketch of the life of Charlemagne.
5. The origin and functions of the Courts of Common Pleas, Exchequer, and Queen's Bench.
6. An account of the Albigenses, the Crusade against them, and Raymond of Toulouse.
7. The causes of the decline of the Spanish monarchy at the end of the sixteenth century.
8. Arrange the languages of modern Europe according to their families; mentioning briefly the chief elements that enter into each.
9. The chief demands of the English Parliament at the commencement of the Civil War.
10. A brief account of the following persons: Tiberius Gracchus—Julian—Alcuin—Anselm of Canterbury—Ximenes—Thomas Cromwell—Richelieu—Lord Somers.
11. Chief events in England, and on the Continent, during the administration of the first Pitt, from 1756 to 1761.

[Balliol Fellowship, 1841.]

1. An account of the Pelasgian, Hellenian, and Achaean nations in Greece.
2. The Messenian wars.
3. The chief points in the legislation of Solon.
4. Dates and circumstances of the battles of Plataea—Egospotami—the Allia—Thrasymene—Philippi—Poitiers—Naseby—Blenheim—the Boyne.
5. Sketch of the life of Cicero, referring, if you can, to his works.
6. An account of Louis XI. and Gustavus Adolphus, with the chief events of the end of the fourteenth century.
7. What parts of France were possessed by Henry II., Edward III., and Henry VIII., and on what were their claims to them grounded?
8. The plot and chief characters of Shakspeare's Henry VIII.

[Balliol Scholarship, 1842.]

Questions selected from Examinations for Scholarships at Oxford, chiefly those of Trinity College.

#### GRECIAN HISTORY.

1. From what classical writers is Grecian history chiefly derived?

2. State the several accessions and advantages which gave the Athenians the supremacy at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

3. Write the life and times of Pericles.

4. State the chief events between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars.

5. Give the character of Herodotus as an historian, as to industry, judgment, style, and power of composition. (*This is only to be attempted by those who can answer from Herodotus's works, and not merely repeat the opinions of others.*)

6. State the several periods in the Peloponnesian war in which the Athenians had most reason to hope or to fear the issue.

7. Relate the life and intrigues of Alcibiades.

8. What countries were successively the scenes of action during this war, and say briefly what led to the several changes of the scene?

9. Give, by reference to parts of England, the geographical extent of Attica,—of the Peloponnesus respectively; also of that part of N. Greece which lies between the Isthmus of Corinth and a line drawn east and west through Mount Athos.

10. Give an outline of the Grecian history between the end of the Peloponnesian war and the death of Alexander.

11. Explain the constitution of Athens and Sparta respectively. Explain Ephor, Archon, Dicast, Proxenus, Metæci, Helot, Agora, Pnyx, Areopagus, Amphictyonic Council. (*Answer from your reading, and not from Potter.*)

#### ROMAN HISTORY.

1. Explain Plebs, Patres, Tribunes, and Interregnum, and the early constitution of Rome, as established by late writers.

2. Show the several concessions which established the power of the Plebeians.

3. What were the Agrarian laws?

4. From what authorities is the history to the end of the republic derived? State any arguments you know for or against the credibility of the early history of Rome.

5. Give the various changes in the Roman constitution, their effects and causes.

6. Trace the gradual extension of the Roman empire; relating the time and manner of each accession.

7. Give briefly the causes, chief characters, and events of the three Punic wars successively.

8. Give the lives of Mæcenas, Cicero, and Julius Cæsar—Ovid—Virgil—Horace—Livy—Juvenal—Tacitus.

9. The dates and circumstances of the battles of Actium, Philippi, and Cannæ.

10. The names and dates of the Roman emperors, with the character of each, and chief events of their respective reigns. (*Express this in one or two lines for each reign.*)

#### ENGLISH HISTORY.

1. How long did the Romans remain in Britain?

2. Explain the feudal system—the provisions of the Magna Charta, and on what it was founded.

3. The circumstances and parties of the battles of Hastings, Wakefield Green, Bosworth, Flodden Field, Marston Moor, Worcester, Boyne, Quebec, Minden, Blenheim, Malplaquet, Aboukir, Trafalgar, Copenhagen, and Waterloo.

4. What was the peace of Ryswick—Amiens—Treaty of Utrecht—Bill of Rights—Act of Settlement?

5. Give the history of the Union of England and Scotland and England and Ireland.

6. The Revolution of 1688.

7. The causes of the French Revolution.

8. The history of the war with the American colonies.

9. What do you understand by the East India Company?

10. Give an account of the Reformation in England.



11. What happened in the years 1715 and 1745 respectively?

12. How came England concerned in the Continental war, and how did it spring out of the French Revolution?

13. At what period during that war had we most to contend with?

## HOW TO REMEMBER WHAT WE READ.

Most readers, I presume, will open this chapter with no little curiosity and a feeling which would be expressed by these words: "My memory is bad enough—would it were as good as that of such a one of my friends. Let me see if there can be any rules to suit so bad a case as mine." Now, before you decide that you have a worse memory than your friend, let me ask, Is there no one subject on which you can equal him? You have no doubt observed that a large class of men who are devoted exclusively and literally to *animal* pursuits, sportsmen to wit, have the greatest difficulty in remembering matters of history or general literature, but yet are so ready with the names of all the winners of the Derby, Oaks, or St. Ledger, and the progeny and pedigree of each, that a scholar would be as much surprised at their memory of horses and mares, as they could be at the scholar's memory of kings and queens. Probably you will now say, "All this we grant; it is true we have memory for some things, but not for literature." Your meaning is, that you have memory where you have attention. The sportsman cannot attend to books, nor the scholar to horses. The art of memory is the art of attention. A memory for literature will increase with that interest in literature by which attention is increased. The sportsman could remember pages of history relating to forest laws or encouragement of the breed of horses, but not the adjoining pages on the law of succession, and only because he felt an interest, and consequently paid attention, in reading the one but not the other.

Again, Memory depends on association, or the tendency of some things to suggest or make us think of others. The geologist remembers fossils, but not flowers, and the botanist flowers, but not fossils. Each has in his mind "a cell" for the one specimen, but not for the other; and the observations which fall in with the ideas of the geologist, and link to many a subtle chain of thought, remain alone and unassociated in the mind of the botanist. Association certainly is, in some respects, an aid to attention; they are usually considered as distinct and the basis of Memory; therefore, every rule I can give for promoting either attention or association will be virtually rules for Memory.

Memory is assisted by *whatever tends to a full view and clear apprehension of a subject*. Therefore, in reading history, occasionally lay the book aside, and try if you can give a connected narrative of events. "What thou doest not know, thou canst not tell," but clear ideas never want plain words. Do not be satisfied with feeling that the subject is too familiar for repetition to be necessary. The better a story is known, the less time it will take to repeat. Put your "thoughts in express words." This is an invaluable exercise; for, first of all, you will greatly improve your power of expression, and gain that command of language on which one of my friends heard Fox compliment Pitt, as having not only a word but the word, the *very* word to express his meaning. Secondly, the practice of putting your thoughts into words will improve your power of Conception. When you see a speaker, in a long argument, contract and fix his eye as if on some aerial form, he is trying to body forth his ideas and hold them up as a picture from which he may select, read off, and lay before his hearers such portions as he thinks will convey the desired impression. Conception is the quality for which we call a man "clear-headed;" for this enables him to grasp at one view the beginning, middle,

of his ideas at the direction of a cool judgment instead of depending upon chance.

"Ut jam nunc dicat jam nunc debentia dici,  
Pleraque differrat præsensque in tempus omittat."  
HOR.

To repeat a narrative to another is better still than repeating it to yourself; you are more excited to accuracy, and your memory is assisted by the degree of attention and association which casual remarks and questions may promote. After walking round Christ Church Meadow with a late fellow of Exeter College, relating the fortunes of the Athenians in Sicily, the very trees seemed vocal, and one weather-beaten elm at the left-hand corner of the avenue next the Chervell so regularly reminded us of Nicias, that we used to say it afforded an unanswerable argument for the transmigration of souls.

With a view to distinct conception, Writing is usually recommended to aid memory. As to mere transcribing, though much has been advanced in its favour, I believe it is by no means to be adopted. Much experience has shown me that it not only wastes time, but deceives us as to the extent of our knowledge. We are flattered at the sight of the paper we fill, while in reality we are exercising not our wits but our fingers. Every University student knows how common it is to find men of misguided industry with desks full, and heads empty. Writing never aids memory but when it tends to clear Conception. Most persons find it more pleasant to draw a sketch of a subject on a sheet of paper than on the tablets of the mind, but let them not suppose it is more improving.

When you want relief or variety, you may try to write, instead of repeating the subject of your morning's reading; but you will soon admit that the *viva voce* exercise is the better of the two. In speaking of Conception, Abercrombie relates the case of a distinguished actor who created great surprise by learning a long part with very short notice. "When questioned respecting the mental process which he employed, he said that he lost sight entirely of the audience, and seemed to have nothing before him but the pages of the book from which he had learnt, and that, if any thing had occurred to interrupt that illusion, he should have stopped instantly."

Secondly, *Memory is assisted by whatever adds to our interest or entertainment*. Therefore all the remarks I have made relative to being guided by curiosity and inclination are hints for memory. A man rarely forgets a fact which he hears in answer to a question he has himself originated; and the art of reading is, to gain facts in such order that each shall be a nucleus or basis, as Abercrombie says, of more in other words, that every fact may be an answer to some question already in our minds, and suggest to it a new question in an endless series.

Thirdly, *Memory depends much on a thorough determination to remember*. Most persons have memory enough for the purpose of their own business. Ask the guard of the mail how he remembers the places at which he has to drop his many parcels, and he will tell you, "because he must." And if you put the same question to any number of different persons whose fortunes depend on the constant exercise of memory, you will invariably receive similar answers, which is a proof from experience that our memory depends very much on our own will and determination. If, by the force of resolution, a person can wake at any hour in the morning, it is easy to believe, that, by the same means, he may also have a powerful command over his memory. While at the University, I had a very remarkable proof of this. I was assisting in his studies previous to examination a friend who assured me he could not remember what he read; that such had been the case during fourteen University terms. But I said, "Now you must remember,—I know you can,—and I will have no more to do with you if you do not answer me correctly to-morrow on what we read to-day."

Having rallied him in this way, I heard no more of the complaint. After his examination he assured me



that he was perfectly surprised at the extent to which his memory had served him, and fairly acknowledged that for years he had given way to a state of mental inactivity, never stopping to try his memory, but drinking of the Castalian stream rather after the manner of Baron Munchausen's horse when he had lost his hinder quarters with the portcullis. A man can remember to a great extent, just as Johnson said a man might at any time compose, mastering his humour, if he will only set to work with a dogged determination: "*Possunt quia posse videntur*," "for they can conquer who believe they can," is very generally true where the mind is concerned. A very common reason that men do not remember is, that they do not try; a hearty and ever-present desire to prevail is the chief element of all success. Nothing but the fairy's wand can realize the capricious desire of the moment, but as to the objects of laudable wishes, deeply breathed and for many a night and day ever present to the mind, these are placed by Providence more within our reach than is commonly believed. When a person says, If I could only have my wish I would excel in such an art or science, we may generally answer, The truth is, you have no such wish; all you covet is the empty applause, not the substantial accomplishment. The fault is "in ourselves and not our stars," if we are slaves and blindly yield to the pretensions of the many whose tongues would exhaust wiser heads than their own in half an hour. Before we complain of want of power and mental weapons, let us be sure that we make full use of what we have. When we see one man write without hands, and another qualify himself (as in an instance within my own remembrance) for high University honours without eyes, a complaint of our memory, or other faculties, justifies the same conclusion as when workmen complain of their tools.

These, or at least other instances equally surprising, are founded on good authority. Still, Abercrombie justly says, that though the power of remembering unconnected facts and lists of words makes a great show, and is the kind of memory most generally admired, still it is often combined with very little judgment, and is not so important a feature in a cultivated mind, as that memory founded on the relations, analogies, and natural connections of different subjects, which is more in our own power. Indeed, mere parrot memory is of less use than is generally supposed. It is true, it enables a superficial person to pass off the opinions of others as his own; but educated men can generally remember enough for their own purposes, and can command data sufficient for the operations of their judgment. What we most want ready and available is the power and the science, not the tools. A mathematician is such still without his formulæ and diagrams. The oldest judge remembers the rules of law, though he forgets the case in point, and the ablest counsel are allowed refreshers. Surely it is enough that our minds, like our guns, carry true to the mark without being always loaded.

Fourthly. *Memory is assisted by whatever tends to connection or association of ideas.* When I asked the friend above mentioned the particular means he took to remember his lectures previous to examination, he said, that besides looking every thing "more fully in the face" than he had ever done before, he tried "to match, sort, and put alongside of something similar," each event in its turn, and also to say to himself, "Here are four or five causes, circumstances, or characters relating to the same thing; by such a peculiarity in the first I shall remember the second, while something else in the second will remind me of the third and fourth." During this process, he said, he became so familiar with many facts, that he could remember without any association at all. Again, in all the works and phenomena of nature, moral or physical, men of comprehensive minds discern a marked family likeness; certain facts indicate the existence of others; so that memory is assisted by a certain key which classification suggests: and thus one effort of memory serves for all. Association and Attention are both the basis of several inventions called *Memoria*

*Technica*, of which I will proceed to speak, more particularly for the benefit of students preparing for examinations, and those who would follow out my plan of attaining accuracy of outlines of history and other subjects.

Of *Memoria Technica*, the practice of almost all men of distinction coincides with the avowed opinions of Bacon and of Abercrombie, that the memory of such events as these systems teach is scarcely worth the process; and that the same degree of resolution which their use implies would supersede the necessity of them, except to that extent only to which every man of sense can, and commonly does, frame the best possible *Memoria Technica*, namely, one suited to his peculiar cast of mind. Of such kinds are the following:—

*First.* Looking at names in the index of a history, and following each separately through all the events with which it is connected. This plan with Herodotus and Thucydides I found invaluable. It aids *Memoria* most powerfully and leads to comparison and valuable reflection.

*Secondly.* Marking the names, words, or paragraphs, in your book, or numbering the separate arguments by figures 1, 2, and 3, in the margin. This I found useful not only with history but especially with Aristotle, and other works of science. It tends to distinct conception; to many casual associations; you sometimes fancy you see the page itself marked with your own figures, and then one event reminds you of another; it also enables you easily to refresh your memory of a book while you leisurely turn over the pages; above all, it keeps ever present to your mind, what many students do not think of once a month, that reading and remembering are two different things.

*Thirdly.* Making a very brief summary of the contents of each book, and thinning it by degrees as your memory can do with few catchwords as well as many. This plan answers many of the same purposes as the preceding; it is valuable to one who is preparing himself to write off-hand the history of any century required. Take one sheet of paper and write words enough on it to remind you of the whole Outline History, and after a month, try if a much more portable *skeleton-key* will not do as well, and this may be reduced in its turn till the whole has become transferred from the paper to your memory. Thus Niebuhr advised his nephew to keep a list of difficulties or new words and blot out each as soon as he could.

*Lastly*, associating things with places or objects around: thus the Roman orators used to associate the parts of their speeches with the statues or pillars in the building in which they spoke. Let my readers prepare a "*skeleton-key*" of each of the three Outline Histories, of England, Rome, and Greece, and take a walk in three different directions with each; then will they find, though I cannot say in the noble sense in which Shakspeare intended,—

"Tongues in trees—books in the running brooks,  
Sermons in stones—and good in every thing."

Gray's "Memoria Technica" for dates is very useful. But it must be used for kings and queens only, the dates of other events being remembered by association.

Example is better than precept. What man has done, man may do; so we will consider a few anecdotes of men famed for powers and memory.

Xenophon, in his "*Symposium*," speaks of Athenians who could repeat both the "*Iliad*" and the "*Odyssey*." This statement has been recommended to the consideration of those who assert the impossibility of the Homeric poems being orally transmitted. What was practicable for one man, however extraordinary a character he might be, would be comparatively easy for a society of Rhapsodists, if each member were intrusted with the memory of a part.

The nation that exerts memory in a more surprising manner than any other at the present day is the Chinese. Medhurst, in describing their education, enumerates nine books under the name of the *Chung*

Classics" and the "Four Books." The Classics consist of a Book of Diagrams; a Collection of Odes; The Public Ceremonies; The Life of Confucius; and the History of the Three Dynasties. The Four Books are, The Happy Medium; The Great Doctrine; Book of Discourses; and Mencius: the bulk of these nine is equal to that of the New Testament; and yet, says Medhurst, "if the whole were lost, one million persons (out of a population reckoned at 361,000,000) could restore every volume to-morrow." Public offices in China depend on examination in these books. Two per cent. of the population compete.

At Winchester and the Charter House many a boy has committed to memory 10,000 lines, so as to repeat from any part at which he was told to begin.

Matthews, the comedian, as we are told by his widow, had so surprising a memory, that he could go through an entertainment which he had not seen for many months. He has even been known to step aside as the curtain drew up, to ascertain by a play-bill the name of the piece advertised for the evening; and this, strange to say, at a time when he was suffering so much from cracks on the tongue that he had not spoken a word during the whole day, and felt the greatest pain in uttering what the audience were so delighted to hear.

Addison's daughter, said Lady Montagu, was nearly imbecile, yet so powerful was her memory, that she could repeat a sermon which she had heard once, and could learn pages of a dictionary by heart.

It is related of Bolingbroke that he learned Spanish enough in three weeks to correspond with the Spanish minister.

In a late article in the *Edinburgh Review*, on "Ignatius Loyola and the Jesuits,"<sup>1</sup> it is mentioned as indisputable that Xavier learnt one of the Indian languages, so as to prepare himself for his missionary duties, in the same space of time. This is an instance of the power that enthusiastic determination exerts over memory. To the same principle must we also attribute the fact that the Bishop of New Zealand preached to the natives in their own language as soon as he arrived, having studied it only during his voyage. This however, though highly meritorious, is by no means so surprising a case as that of Xavier.

Eusebius says that to the memory of Esdras we are indebted for the Hebrew Scriptures which were destroyed by the Chaldeans. St. Anthony, the Egyptian hermit, though he could not read, knew the whole Scripture by heart; while a certain Florentine, at the age of sixteen, could repeat all the Papal bulls and much more rubbish—a strange instance of misused talent! These and many other instances of memory are given in Millingen's "Curiosities of Medical Experience." Seneca tells us that the Emperor Hadrian could repeat 2000 words in the order he heard them. Petrarch says that Pope Clement V. had his memory impaired by a fall on the head (an accident which has been known to give a good memory to one who had little before), and by great application gained so much more power than he had lost, that he never forgot any thing he read. Cicero says, "Lucullus had a miraculous memory for events, but Hortensius had a better memory for words." Quintilian alludes to the well-known fact that we can repeat a task more perfectly on the following morning than on the night we learn it, and observes that things digest and settle in the mind during sleep.

Many instances are recorded of men losing the memory of a language and speaking it many years after, during a brain fever or some exciting illness. The truth of this is beyond all doubt, though it seems very much like the tunes being thawed out of the frozen trumpet.

Dr. Abercrombie knew a lady seized with apoplexy while playing at cards one Thursday evening, and on regaining consciousness early on Sunday morning her first words were, "What are trumps?"

## HOW TO GAIN KNOWLEDGE OF FOREIGN PARTS. ADDRESSED BOTH TO THOSE WHO TRAVEL AND THOSE WHO STAY AT HOME.

In reading travels, as in travelling, an inquiring and reflecting mind is requisite to collect facts and draw conclusions. Much letter-press as well as much ground may be passed over without rendering us any wiser or any better. Readers, as well as travellers, differ widely in curiosity and observation; therefore as some tourists consult Guides and Handbooks to learn what to visit or for what to inquire, and others Miss Martineau, to learn "How to observe," so for those who have only the pleasure of thinking about travelling, perusing the tours of others, and laying down the exact route they would like to take, should some next-to-impossible contingency occur,—to these speculative and fireside anglers in the wide waters of the round world I will offer a few hints suited to every variety of taste, showing how to gain as much knowledge as possible of foreign parts without foregoing the comforts of home.

Basil Hall advises a young midshipman to begin his career by "taking up a line," that is to say, to resolve on building up a character either for practical seamanship, for science, generalship, or diplomacy; so readers of travels should begin with choosing a topic which every volume may contribute to illustrate. Instead of turning over thousands of pages without an object, they should keep some one subject uppermost in their thoughts, on which they should try to become so well informed as not only to be considered, but really to be, competent referees whenever any question arises concerning it. Take, for instance, one of the following topics:—

The history of man, or human nature under every variety of climate or influence, whether social or physical: the savage, the slave, the freeman, the heathen, the Christian.

The wonders of creation,—the animals, produce; natural phenomena,—storms, earthquakes, or eruptions, in every part of the world.

The arts and sciences,—literature, education, ingenuity, and points of superiority in different nations.

Each of these subjects I will consider separately, pointing out the capacity required for each, and such authors as will be found most improving.

First. *As to the history of man.* This subject was chosen by Dr. Pritchard, whose learned work remarkably exemplifies how to collect and classify information. The author appears to have read all the travels he could procure, to illustrate the modifying influence of physical and moral agencies on the different tribes of the human family. From his work it appears that however much may be said about the artificial and unnatural habits that civilization produces, human strength, endurance, and longevity—to say nothing of the development of those capacities which are deemed the proper characteristics of man—are greater among civilized than uncivilized nations. This is a fact which the most ordinary reader would be curious to know: I have therefore selected it from a volume of deep and subtle investigation, to show with what care and interest we may illustrate a subject seemingly of deep philosophy. But these hints are intended, not for the learned, but the ignorant. Catlin's "Notes on the North American Indians,"<sup>2</sup> with 400 illustrations, contains a most curious history of our brother man. From these sources we learn that works of art, considered impossible under all the advantages of a civilized state, are every day produced by the simple instruments of untutored nations. After reading Mr. Catlin's travels, and visiting his collection, I happened to take up Bremner's excursion in Russia, and shortly afterwards Davis's and Gutzlaff's accounts of the Chinese, which induced me to visit the Chinese Exhibition in London. Let any reader con-

<sup>1</sup> In STEPHEN'S MISCELLANIES. Carey & Hart.

<sup>2</sup> CATLIN'S NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS, 2 vols. Wiley and Putnam.



sider the effect which must be produced on the mind by the following observations relating to three races of men in distant parts of the world: First, Mr. Catlin showed an Indian bow which no turner in London could equal, and cloth of a texture which astonished the manufacturers of Manchester. Secondly, Mr. Bremner stated that the Russians, with no plane or line, nor any other tool than an axe, will cut with the greatest precision and join even edges. And thirdly, in the Chinese Exhibition appeared that varied collection of works of art too well known to need description. Again; how must the mind be opened and improved by comparing the different habits of life,—the food, the occupation, the character of these widely differing and distant nations. And how much more light will be thrown upon man's history, if in the life of Ali Pacha we read of the state of Egypt, and see how that prince of slave-dealers carries on, or at least sanctions, the annual negro-hunts. One who has not read of the horrors of this chase has yet to learn how far it is possible for human nature, left to the control of conscience alone, without the chastening discipline of a Christian community, brutally to make prey of the flesh and blood of his fellow-man. In the extermination of the Red Indians by the encroachments of the colonists of America we learn more lessons of the same kind, though less cold-blooded and revolting. Borrow's "Gipsies in Spain,"<sup>1</sup> as well as his "Bible in Spain," which might as properly be entitled "Gipsy Adventures," together with the history of the "Thugs,"<sup>2</sup> or Indian Assassins, will all be valuable to those who think that "the proper study of mankind is man;" nor can any kind of reading afford more thrilling interest.

Secondly. As to the wonders of creation and natural phenomena. This, like the last, is a topic suited to every capacity,—to the philosopher, who needs no assistance, as well as to the general reader, who would beguile a winter's evening by gratifying his curiosity about the wide world and all things that are therein. A little book, entitled "Physical Geography,"<sup>3</sup> contains a good selection from the writings of travellers. But I shall mention other works presently.

Thirdly. The arts, sciences, literature, and comparative superiority of different nations, can also be studied by persons of various tastes and capacities. Some may compare the works of art and manual performance only, and see how little the pyramids of Egypt appear, in any thing but their uselessness, when compared with our mines and railways. The measurement of some of the tanks of India and the wall of China may be profitably remembered by reference to our docks, canals, water-works, gas-pipes, and other machinery. Again, those of maturer mind may regard rather moral and social, than physical, grandeur; and that, as I have before said, without any hints or direction from me. My intention is to prompt, encourage, and suggest the first attempts of a large class of readers, who are so diffident that they will scarcely believe they can attain the information which most of their friends possess. These humble aspirants should be told that many a naturalist who has presented a valuable collection of fossils or other curiosities to a museum, has attributed all his eminence to some accident which induced him to make a store of birds' eggs or snail-shells at school: so many an author who has enlightened the world on matters of the highest interest, has declared that he felt unworthy of the honours conferred upon him, because he believed he owed all his success to some chance suggestion, lighter even than those now offered, which first directed attention to his favourite order of phenomena, and because the theory which he had originated was too obvious to be overlooked by any one who had collected the same class of facts under equal ad-

vantages. Most truly may it be said that men of genius will rarely believe an investigation to be impracticable to others which is easy to themselves: still it seems highly probable that a patient adherence to a mere mechanical system of study has often produced results, which, to those ignorant of the process, has seemed the work, not of industry, but of genius. "If I surpass other men," said Newton, "in any thing, it is in patient examination of facts."

To the preceding we may add one more subject of investigation, and one which many will prefer, namely,

Fourthly. *The general condition of every nation in respect of climate and civilization.* To readers who choose this topic I would recommend keeping either one large Mercator's chart, or a separate map of each quarter of the globe, on which to mark from time to time, by a peculiar colour or other convenient sign, such countries as travellers' journals enable them to explore. One of my friends had a map of England, on which he had coloured each road he had travelled, every county of which he knew the habits of the people or the produce and advantages of the soil, also each town of which he had studied the present prospects or past history. He had also marked with figures many of the towns, as being of the first, second, third, or fourth class, in respect of population, having first determined the number to constitute each class. Such methods are a strong incentive both to deep research and methodical study; they forbid us to forget that we read, not to count volumes, but to store up knowledge. The maps we choose should be originally blank ones, representing terra incognita; a dark colour may also be appropriate. We shall thus be prompted to study, that we may dispel this cloud which broods over the face of the earth, and diffuse instead some lively hue emblematic of the light of knowledge.

After all that I have said on other subjects applicable also to the study of travels, these few hints will serve as a sufficient clue to the shortest, safest, and most agreeable road to the knowledge which travellers can impart. Of all works which may be "skimmed," travels are those with which the reader may avail himself of this privilege with the clearest conscience. He is not bound to read more than one passage from Dover to Calais, one ducking at the Line, or one account of old tricks upon travellers: the table of contents will generally point out the parts worth reading. It is proverbial that travellers' facts are not famed for accuracy, and are often partial and mistaken when not wilfully exaggerated; but a traveller's opinions must be received with greater caution still. Indeed, this kind of literature in every respect requires much discrimination on the part of the reader.

Respecting choice of voyages and travels, I might refer the reader to any bookseller's catalogue; but in compliance with the request of a few young friends, who assure me they represent a great many more, I add the following list, at the same time observing that such parts of a volume as do not interest a reader, he will do well to pass over, for a time at all events.

To listen when the speaker speaks against time, and to read where (as is too common with travellers) the writer writes against space, are equally void of improvement.

First. For those who prefer voyages of discovery, whale-fishery, and all the phenomena and wonders of the deep, the voyages of Cook and Parry are to be preferred, because it is injudicious to remain ignorant of books which others know.

The "General History of Maritime and Inland Discovery"<sup>4</sup> has been written by W. D. Cooley, in 3 vols. This is more suited to the mature than the inexperienced reader.

The "Lives of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier, with the History of the Buccaneers," form one small volume, well calculated to show the state of nautical affairs in early days.

<sup>1</sup> BORROW'S *BIBLE IN SPAIN AND GIPSIES IN SPAIN*, 2 vols. at 25 cents each. J. Winchester, New York.

<sup>2</sup> *HISTORY OF THE THUGS*, 2 vols. Carey & Hart.

<sup>3</sup> *PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY*, 1 vol. Carey & Hart.

<sup>4</sup> COOLEY'S *MARITIME AND INLAND DISCOVERY*,

A "Narrative of a voyage round the World, performed in H. M. S. Sulphur, 1836—42," gives a detail of naval operations in China. This is a work of authority.

"Voyages and Travels round the World, 1821—29," by deputies of the Missionary Society.

A "Narrative of a Ten Years' Voyage of Discovery round the World of H. M. S. Adventure and Beagle," with maps and illustrations.

The "Travels and Researches of Humboldt," being a condensed narrative of his journey in America and Asiatic Russia; a work greatly to be recommended; few travellers are quoted with more respect than Humboldt.

"Narrative of a Whaling Voyage round the Globe, 1833—36," containing an account of whaling, and the Natural History of the countries visited.

"An Historical and Descriptive Account of Iceland, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands," one small volume.

All which works are considered of good authority, and give much information in a pleasing way.

"Basil Hall's Fragments of Voyages and Travels" have been already recommended, as equal to any writings of the kind. "Two Years before the Mast"<sup>1</sup> must also be noticed.

With the foregoing list any young person, however unused to reading, may employ many a rainy morning, and probably gain a zest for subjects of another kind.

Secondly. As to manners, customs, and the general state of different nations. These form more or less the subject of all travels, but more particularly

"Catlin's Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, &c. of the North American Indians," above mentioned.

"Travels in North America, and a Residence among the Pawnee Indians," by the Hon. C. A. Murray.

"Life in Mexico,"<sup>2</sup> forming vol. ii. of the Foreign Library.

"Visit to the Indians of Chili," by Capt. Gardiner.

"General Description of China and its Inhabitants," by Davis.

"China Opened," by the Rev. C. Gutzlaff.

"Narrative of a recent Imprisonment in China, after the wreck of the Kite."

"Ten thousand Things relating to China and the Chinese," by W. B. Langdon, Esq., curator of the Chinese Collection; which forms an epitome of government, literature, trade, social life, &c. of the people.

"Manners and Customs of the Japanese of the Nineteenth Century."

"The Rural and Domestic Life of Germany,"<sup>3</sup> by W. Howitt.

"Borrow's Bible in Spain," and "Gipsies in Spain," above mentioned.

Which are works of very great interest, perfectly original both in style and matter.

"History and present Condition of the Barbary States," with a view of their antiquities, arts, &c., by the Right Rev. M. Russell.

"Nubia and Abyssinia,"<sup>4</sup> by the same author.

"Russia and the Russians in 1842,"<sup>5</sup> by Kohl.

"Excursions in the Interior of Russia," by Bremner; with an account of Nicholas and his Court, and exile in Siberia.

"Journal of a Residence in Norway, in 1834—5—6," by Samuel Laing.

All these works are of indisputable value, and contain much to interest both and old young.

Thirdly. For readers of mature mind, who can enter into historical disquisitions and historical reflections:—

"Notes (Moral, Religious, Political, Economical, Educational, and Phrenological,) on the United States of America,"<sup>6</sup> Of this it is enough to say, that it is written by George Combe.

"The Discovery of America by the Northmen in the Tenth Century,"<sup>7</sup> by J. T. Smith.

Buckingham's "America." The second series describes the slave states.

Miss Martineau's "America,"<sup>8</sup> A book of very great observation and reflection.

Sir F. B. Head's "Rough Notes;" the "Pampas and the Andes."

Bishop Heber's "Journal,"<sup>9</sup> very elegantly written and generally admired; though few readers receive from it very lasting impressions.

"Travels in the West. Cuba, Porto Rico, the Slave Trade."

"British India,"<sup>10</sup> from the most remote Period.—Early Portuguese and English Voyages; Revolutions of the Mogul Empire; Accounts of Hindoo Astronomy; Navigation of great Rivers by Steam, &c., by Jameson, Wilson, Dalrymple, Murray, and others eminent for science.

"Historical and descriptive account of Persia,"<sup>11</sup> Government Resources, Natural History, Wandering Tribes," by J. Baillie Fraser.

"Notes of a Traveller on the Social and Political State of France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy and other parts of Europe, during the present Century," by S. Laing.

"Greece as a Kingdom: Laws, Commerce, Army, Navy, &c., from the arrival of Otho, 1833, to the present time," by J. Strong.

"Tour to the Sepulchres of Ancient Etruria, in 1839," by Mrs. Hamilton Gray.

"Mediterranean Sketches," by Lord F. Egerton.

"Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira."

"Teneriffe, with a Visit to Algiers, Egypt, Palestine, Tyre, Rhodes, Telmessus, Cyprus, and Greece," by W. R. Wylde.

"Russia under Nicholas I." from the German.

"Narrative of Discovery and Adventure in Africa,"<sup>12</sup> from the earliest Ages to the present Time," by Murray, Jameson, and Wilson. The same authors have written similar works on discovery in the Polar Seas; also on the more northern coasts of America.

"Forest Scenes and Incidents in the Wilds of Canada," by Sir F. B. Head.

Waterton's "Wanderings in the N. W. of the United States. Catching rare Snakes and Birds; Natural History,"<sup>13</sup>

Fourthly. For those curious about ancient cities, ruins, and remains of by-gone days:—

"Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan,"<sup>14</sup> by J. Stephens, with numerous engravings.

"A Second Visit to the ruined Cities of Central America,"<sup>15</sup> by the same author.

"Rambles in Yutacan; or Notes of Travel through

<sup>6</sup> COMBE'S NOTES ON AMERICA, 2 vols. Carey & Hart.

<sup>7</sup> DISCOVERY OF AMERICA by the Northmen in the 10th Century, 1 vol. Boston.

<sup>8</sup> MISS MARTINEAU'S AMERICA, 2 vols. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>9</sup> HEBER'S JOURNAL, 2 vols. Carey, Lea & Carey.

<sup>10</sup> BRITISH INDIA, by Jameson, Wilson, &c. Edinburgh.

<sup>11</sup> HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF PERSIA. Edinburgh.

<sup>12</sup> NARRATIVE OF DISCOVERY AND ADVENTURE IN AFRICA. Edinburgh.

<sup>13</sup> WATERTON'S WANDERINGS IN AMERICA, 1 vol. Carey & Hart.

<sup>14</sup> STEPHEN'S CENTRAL AMERICA, 2 vols. Harper & Brothers.

<sup>15</sup> STEPHEN'S YUCATAN, &c. 2 vols. Harper & Brothers.

<sup>1</sup> DANA'S TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST, 50 cts. Harpers' Family Library.

<sup>2</sup> LIFE IN MEXICO, by Madame Calderon de la Barca, 2 vols. Little & Brown.

<sup>3</sup> RURAL AND DOMESTIC LIFE OF GERMANY, by Wm. Howitt, 2 vols., price 50 cts. Carey & Hart.

<sup>4</sup> RUSSELL'S HISTORY OF THE BARBARY STATES, and NUBIA AND ABYSSINIA, 3 vols. Edinburgh.

<sup>5</sup> RUSSIA AND THE RUSSIANS, SCOTLAND, AUSTRIA, AND IRELAND, by J. G. Kohl all in 1 vol., price \$1.25.



the Peninsula, including a Visit to the remarkable Ruins of Chi-chen, Kabah, Yazi, and Uxmal," by B. M. Norman.<sup>1</sup>

Laborde's "Arabia Petræa, and the excavated City of Petra," very interesting and curious.

"Narrative of a Journey to the Site of Babylon in 1811. Memoir on the Ruins, with engravings—Remarks by Major Rennell—Inscriptions copied at Persepolis," by Claudius James Rich, Esq. Also of a "Residence on the Site of Ancient Nineveh," by the same author. "Sheraz and Persepolis."

"Excursion in Asia Minor; including a Visit to several unknown and undiscovered Cities," by C. Fellows.

"Xanthian Marbles; their Acquisition and Transmission to England," by the same.

"Cairo, Petræa, and Damascus," described by J. G. Kinnear.

"Sepulchres of Ancient Etruria," above mentioned.

"Topography of Thebes, and General View of Egypt."

"Eboracum; or York under the Romans," by Sir G. Wilkinson.

"Pompeii; an Account of its Destruction and Remains."

"Egyptian Antiquities," by Professor Long.

"Ruins of Ancient Cities," by Charles Bucke.<sup>2</sup>

*Fifthly.* For the readers of the classical and Biblical literature:—

Sir A. Burnes' "Travels to Bokhara and up the Indus" may be read in connection with the life of Alexander the Great.

Cramer's Asia Minor, Ancient Italy, and Greece, are chiefly valuable to the more accurate students of the classics.

"Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa, in 1838,"<sup>3</sup> by Rev. Dr. Robinson.

Wilson's "Travels in the Holy Land, Egypt, &c."

"Letters on the Holy Land," by Lord Lindsay.

Slake's "Northern Greece;" also, "Topography of Athens and the Demi."

"A Winter Journey through Russia, Caucasus, and Georgia, thence across Mount Zagross, by the Pass of Xenophon, and the Ten Thousand Greeks," by Migdan.

Wordsworth's "Athens;" also "Ancient Greece," and Eustace's "Classical Tour," above recommended.

*Sixthly.* For tourists in Great Britain or on the Continent:—

A full and impartial catalogue of all the most approved works in every department of English literature is published annually by Messrs. Longman, containing, under the head of "Guides and Hand-books," a list of works for travellers visiting every part of England or of the Continent. In this catalogue the tourist will find pictures, hand-books, guides, and travelling directions of all kinds. But since Dr. Johnson wisely said that no traveller will bring knowledge home who does not take knowledge out with him, I would strongly recommend every tourist to inform himself of the government, constitution, resources, and general nature of the town, county, or country he intends to visit. The traveller should know what to look or inquire for, and should read sufficiently to understand common allusions to such events of the day, as every one with whom he converses will presume to be too familiar to need explanation. For this purpose, besides books which have been or will be elsewhere mentioned, I would specify for the Continental traveller—

Turnbull's "Travels in Austria," in which we read of the social and political condition of that country.

Mrs. Trollope's "Visit to Italy."

Forsyth's "Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters," during an excursion to Italy, in 1802 and 1803.

"What to observe; or, the Traveller's Remembrancer," by J. R. Jackson, Secretary to the Geographical Society.

"Belgium," by J. Emerson Tennent.

Hugh Murray's "Encyclopedia of Geography."<sup>4</sup> By help of this we may gain a knowledge of every country and town, with references to other sources of information.

Hand-books to every part of the Continent have been published by Mr. Murray. In short, the literary demands of Travellers have been so well supplied, that, by communicating with an intelligent bookseller, we may often be furnished with works which would almost seem to have been written for our peculiar information.

Having largely provided for those who are happy enough to be able to travel, it is only fair to add a list of illustrated works, specially for the amusement of *home-bound* readers.—In conveying ideas of scenery and architectural curiosities, the pen must give place to the pencil. No description can place the same view of a fine landscape before the minds of any two persons, nor, indeed, fix a correct impression on the mind of one. Would that all travellers were able to publish in the style of Dr. Wordsworth's Greece! Indeed, the daily increase of such works as the Pictorial Times and Illustrated London News, gives reason to hope that in a few years publishers will be obliged to employ almost as many Artists as Authors. The maxim *Nil sine labore*, that is to say, all is "bubble, bubble," without "toil and trouble," though generally so true in literary pursuits, should be somewhat qualified by what Horace says—

"Segniss irritant animum demissa per aurem  
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus;"

in other words, seeing makes a much more lively impression than hearing; and pictures are a better vehicle of some kinds of information than letter-press; therefore,

"The Moselle, the Rhine, and the Meuse" may be contemplated by the help of thirty drawings on stone, from Stanfield's sketches.

"The Rhine, Italy, and Greece" forms another series, with descriptions by the Rev. G. N. Wright.

"Italy, France, and Switzerland" have been illustrated with 135 engravings by T. Roscoe.

"Sketches of France, Italy, and Switzerland," by Prout; and

"Richardson's Sketches on the Continent," comprising France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Holland, &c.

"Switzerland," consisting of twenty-seven subjects by Barnard. The attempt of this author has been to give all the finest views which travellers delight in recalling.

"The Shores and Islands of the Mediterranean," by the Rev. G. N. Wright, with sixty-five engravings.

"The Turkish Empire illustrated." Constantinople and the Seven Churches of Asia Minor, with ninety-five engravings.

"Syria and the Holy Land," by John Carne, with 120 engravings.

"Rome and its surrounding Scenery," by W. B. Cooke.

"Rome and its Environs, in a Series of Twenty-five Views."

Robert's "Picturesque Sketches in Spain."

Oliver's "French Pyrenees," in twenty-six plates.

Lewis's "Spanish Sketches of the Alhambra."

<sup>1</sup> NORMAN'S RAMBLES IN YUCATAN. 1 vol. H. G. Langley, New York.

<sup>2</sup> BUCKE'S RUINS OF ANCIENT CITIES. Harper & Brothers, New York.

<sup>3</sup> ROBINSON AND SMITH'S BIBLICAL RESEARCHES IN PALESTINE. 3 vols. Crocker & Brewster, Boston.

TRAVELS IN THE HOLY LAND. By E. Joy Morris. 2 vols. \$1.50. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup> MURRAY'S ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF GEOGRAPHY. 3 vols. Svo. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

McCULLOCH'S GAZETTEER. 2 large 8vo vols. Harper & Brothers, New York.



"A Series of Sketches in Turkey, Syria, and Egypt," by Sir David Wilkie.

"Views of Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and Arabia," by David Roberts.

Hay's "Illustrations of Cairo."

"Sketches on the Danube," by G. Hering.

"Sketches of China and the Chinese," by A. Borget.

"Views in India, China, and the Shores of the Red Sea." Drawn by Prout, Stanfield, and others.

"China, in a Series of Views," in monthly parts; very copious, accurate, and beautifully executed.

"Himalaya Mountains," illustrated by Turner, Stanfield, and others.

"British Forces in Afghanistan," by Dr. James Atkinson, Surgeon of the Army on the Indus.

"American Scenery," by W. H. Bartlett.

A large proportion of the above works I have had the pleasure of looking over. With many I have had the advantage of taking the opinion of friends familiar with the subjects of the respective sketches, and can strongly recommend young persons to avail themselves of all the illustrated works they can procure, as the most fertile source not only of rational amusement but of serious instruction. With the productions of the pencil, as with those of the pen, methodical application and careful comparison of things of the same class are essential to real improvement. By carelessly turning over prints to please the eye, without any effort of the mind, we cannot reasonably hope to receive distinct or lasting impressions. Views of foreign lands and famous cities will serve to fill up many a blank in an inquiring mind, but, as I before said of the qualifications of a traveller, we must have a little knowledge when we begin, if we would retain any when we end.

"*Nil sine labore*" is true even of looking at pictures. Unless we read and reflect on the scenes we contemplate, and are contented to look only at a few at one time, we shall soon perceive that we have become more confused than informed, and parts of Italy, Spain, and Turkey will insensibly blend in the same picture.

## PHILOSOPHY, MORAL, POLITICAL, MENTAL—LOGIC—METAPHYSICS.

PHILOSOPHY, my young friends, may seem to you a very hard term, and you may feel disposed to pass by this chapter as wholly unsuited to your taste or talents; but if you will pay attention for a few minutes, it may appear that to think and reflect, not only on what you see, but on what you feel and are conscious of as part of your own nature—in other words, to think about your own thoughts and emotions, (just as you think about your words and actions,) and to examine curiously any thing which seems remarkable in such thoughts and emotions or feelings,—you may find, I say, that this kind of exercise is not too severe for your mind when you read, as you should read, a little at a time. And should you be induced to try, believe me, the course of reading I have to propose, or indeed any one volume or subject, can hardly fail to produce a very sensible effect upon your mind. For, let me ask, do you not remember some one of your acquaintance who is remarkable for giving a very favourable impression of his good sense and understanding to any person with whom he happens to converse, although only for a few minutes, and that too upon some topic that gives scope neither for general reading nor deep learning?

Now this mysterious influence, this weight of character, depends (as far as mind is concerned) chiefly on the exact truth of our thoughts and of our words. "The truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," should be the rule, not only of our legal evidence, but of the most casual of our daily remarks; and I believe that the degree of a man's conformity to this rule is the measure, mentally as well as morally, of his influence upon society.

fulness of thought and expression without knowing what they reverence. A certain plain and simple way of speaking, so generally admired, is nothing else but the language natural to those, and those only, who discern the exact truth of every question,—mean what they say, and say what they mean. Rugged sentences of outlandish words of many syllables, flowers and figures of speech, never please, though many think it creditable to admire them. This style is the reverse of the simple and the truthful, and is only natural to one who is more full of himself than of his subject.

To seek truth for truth's sake has therefore been the laudable object of those called philosophers, or lovers of wisdom, both in ancient and modern times. And if my youthful readers will follow the course of reading I have to propose, they can hardly fail to improve both in their own estimation and in that of their friends. To paint the surface of the human figure we must know anatomy, otherwise there will be a want of ease and true expression. So, also, to speak correctly on our thoughts and feelings, which directly or indirectly enter into almost every conversation, we must know the real nature of our feelings, or, Moral Philosophy, and the laws of thought, or, Mental Philosophy.

On MORAL PHILOSOPHY the most easy, plain, and intelligible work is that by Paley,<sup>1</sup> which for vigour, freshness, ease, and perspicuity of style, as well as for aptness of illustration, is unrivalled; but many of its principles and definitions savour so much of casuistry that it is generally believed that Paley would have been incapable of writing so loosely at a later period of his life. This, indeed, is the remark of Professor Sedgewick, whose admirable lectures I should strongly recommend to be read in connection with Paley's "Moral Philosophy."

The moral essays of Johnson's "Rambler"<sup>2</sup> and Addison's "Spectator"<sup>3</sup> should next be selected; and then such of Bacon's Essays as appear from their title to relate to this subject.

Next, Combe's "Moral Philosophy," in which is considered the duties of man in his individual, social, and domestic capacities.

Chalmers's "Bridgewater Treatise"<sup>4</sup> contains most ingenious illustrations, and is on the whole well calculated to give information in an amusing way. The style unfortunately is turgid, and contains many words "not found in Johnson."<sup>5</sup> Chalmers's object was to prove how admirably our hearts and minds are suited to the sphere in which we live. So far I have only mentioned works nearly the whole of which a reader of ordinary intelligence and application might study.

I do not presume that many will read all the volumes here recommended. Each may make choice of the chapters which are simple and entertaining enough to rivet his attention.

The following list is for those who have a more decided preference for philosophical works:—

Mackintosh's "Dissertations on the Study of Ethical Philosophy."<sup>6</sup> This is an admirable comprehensive work, well suited as a guide to subsequent reading. For the same purpose some recommend

Hampden's "Lectures on the Study of Moral Philosophy." These two works lay down the road and the sources of information on moral science. Sir James's work is universally admired.

Tenneman's "Manual of the History of Philosophy," and

<sup>1</sup> PALEY'S WORKS, 1 vol. 8vo. J. Woodward, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> JOHNSON'S WORKS, 2 vols. 8vo. A. V. Blake, New York.

<sup>3</sup> ADDISON'S WORKS, 3 vols. Harper & Brothers.

<sup>4</sup> CHALMERS'S BRIDGEWATER TREATISE. The Bridgewater Treatises, complete in 7 large 8vo vols., published by Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

<sup>5</sup> MACKINTOSH'S ETHICAL PHILOSOPHY, 1 vol. 8vo. Lea & Blanchard.

Ritter's "History of Ancient Philosophy," are much read at Oxford.

A German gentleman of considerable reading assured me that the views of Tennenman were strangely misrepresented in the English translation.

Beattie's "Principles of Moral Science"<sup>1</sup> have attained much celebrity, but less than

"The Philosophy of the Moral Feelings,"<sup>2</sup> by Abercrombie. Those, however, who would go to the fountain, should read

"Bishop Butler's Sermons:" this work is much read at Oxford, and forms a subject of examination for the highest honours. Dr. Chalmers and Sir James Mackintosh are both reputed to have said that nearly all they knew of moral philosophy they owed to Butler. The late Dr. Arnold also recommended it as one of the few works which we should never cease reading. An observation of this kind induced me, about ten years since, to study Butler till I was familiar with every page; and I can truly say, that the greater part of every book on moral philosophy which has fallen in my way appeared as trite as a thrice-told tale, and a mere development of Butler's thoughts and paraphrase of his words. The reasoning of Butler, I must confess, is too abstruse for the minds of many. But, in the present day, few persons, really desirous of improvement, can be at a loss for occasional assistance from men of sound education. I knew an instance of a young lady who read the sermons with her brother, that she might receive an explanation of every difficulty. Mrs. Somerville<sup>3</sup> truly remarks, as an encouragement of her country-women to study science, that the degree of intelligence required to follow a theory is not to be measured by the genius originally required for its discovery: so, dissertations most perplexing of themselves may be very easy when we have a friend to put one argument in a different form, and another in different words. If any of my readers has a friend to take so kind a part, let them remember, that many persons of sound judgment have declared, that if there were one book of human composition which they felt more thankful to have read than another, it was Butler's Sermons. Such are the merits of this work in respect of moral science: its value will still further be explained when we speak of Theology. After Butler, or instead of it, many recommend Sewall's "Christian Morals."<sup>4</sup>

Abercrombie's "Philosophy of the Moral Feelings" is a work of deserved celebrity. It is written in a clear and elegant style; brief, yet comprehensive, and suited to those who have only leisure to read a little.

Beattie's "Elements of Moral Science," and Long's "Essay on the Moral Nature of Man," are also much recommended. The former has passed through three editions.

John Foster's "Essays on Decision of Character"<sup>5</sup> are admirable, and of the greatest interest to the class of readers now addressed; as also is

Taylor's "Natural History of Society"<sup>6</sup> in a barbarous and civilized state; in which are considered the origin and progress of human improvement.

Dr. Hampden's Article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on Aristotle's Philosophy will convey much well-digested information on ancient ethics. This, as well as Harris's Treatises on "Art" and "Happiness," is very generally read by Oxford classmen. To those who study Aristotle's Ethics, I speak advisedly, with much experience, and on high authority,

when I say, that if they would select from the books here recommended all the chapters which treat on the same subjects as the several books of the Ethics, and if they would also accustom themselves to write Ethical Essays,—really *Ethical*, not Aristotelian,—they would have a better chance of University distinction, and, which is of far more value, they would have the benefit of that mental exercise and those literary qualifications which Oxford honours should, but do not always, imply.

We will next consider the study of

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.—Our duties as citizens form one part of Paley's "Moral and Political Philosophy" above mentioned. Bishop Butler's Sermon before the House of Lords on the 30th of January, 1740, contains very wholesome instruction, as also does Burke's "French Revolution," albeit Fox said he disliked it as much as any writing by Tom Paine.

On political economy, the most easy and instructive reading for young persons is found in the *Tales by Miss Martineau*. I knew a young lady who read the whole series with the greatest avidity, although she was not generally fond of study. The object of this authoress was to select the leading principles of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations,"<sup>7</sup> and show their operation in a village or other community, pleasantly and ingeniously represented, so as to show cause and effect, or the beginning and end of each impolitic system.

For men of reflection, Adam Smith's work must be the grammar and groundwork of political economy. Miss Martineau has, like all other persons, male and female, who have the boldness to "go ahead," been ridiculed; but few persons are at once so deep and clear that they need disdain her assistance. Read also

"The Economy of Machinery and Manufactures,"<sup>8</sup> by C. Babbage;

"The Cotton Manufacture of Great Britain,"<sup>9</sup> by A. Ure;

"The Corn Laws, as affecting all Classes of the Community," by James Wilson;

"Essay on the External Corn Trade," by Torrens.

A work on the same subject, by P. Thompson, as well as "Essays on Free Trade and Protection," in the *Edinburgh and Quarterly*, will show all that can be said on these engrossing subjects.

On "Colonization and the Colonies," read lectures by Herman Merivale; also,

"Colonization, particularly in S. Australia," by Sir C. Napier; and

Cornewall Lewis's "Essay on the Government of Dependencies."

On "Banks and Bankers," read a work, with review of failures, &c., by D. Hardcastle, jun., and

The works of J. W. Gilbart, General Manager of the London and Westminster Bank, consisting of

"The History and Principles of Banking,"

"The History of Banking in America,"

"A Practical Treatise on Banking," and

"The History of Banking in Ireland, and the Philosophy of Joint Stock Banking," by G. M. Bell.

"The Currency Question, an Examination of Evidence in Committee in 1840," and

"Country Banks and the Currency, from Evidence in Committee in 1841," by the same.

Read also the *Life of Horner*, in Brougham's "Statesmen," and Papers in the *Edinburgh Review* therein recommended, written in 1802-3-4.

On "Population," read Malthus, and the Reviews upon his Essay; also,

"Political Economy," by the same;

"Wheatley's Introductory Lectures;"

"McCulloch's Principles;"

Jones's "Essay on the Distribution of Wealth;"

7 SMITH'S "WEALTH OF NATIONS," 1 vol. 8vo. London, Tegg.

8 THE ECONOMY OF MACHINERY, 1 vol. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

9 COTTON MANUFACTURE OF GREAT BRITAIN, 2 vols. London, Tegg.

<sup>1</sup> BEATTIE'S MORAL SCIENCE, 1 vol. Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> PHILOSOPHY OF MORAL FEELINGS, by Abercrombie. Harper & Brothers.

<sup>3</sup> MRS. SOMERVILLE'S PHYSICAL SCIENCES, 1 vol. E. C. Biddle.

<sup>4</sup> SEWALL'S CHRISTIAN MORALS, 1 vol. Herman Hooker.

<sup>5</sup> FOSTER'S ESSAYS, 1 vol. 12mo. Appleton & Co.

<sup>6</sup> TAYLOR'S NATURAL HISTORY OF SOCIETY, 2 vols. 12mo. Appleton & Co.



Ramsay's work on the same subject, with "Principles of Population," by A. Alison, are the principal remaining works of note; Mr. Ricardo's work was much quoted some years since.

The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge has published "Political Philosophy, comprehending Principles of Government, Monarchical Government, Eastern Monarchies, and European Monarchies."<sup>1</sup>

The rise, progress, and practical influence of political theories, and the rise and growth of the continental interests of Great Britain, form the subject of a very popular work by Heeren, professor of history at Gottingen.

Lord Brougham, during this last month, has published his opinions on political economy.

Besides, or instead of any or all of these, the articles on taxation, rent, or any other part of political economy, may be studied in the Cyclopædias. I have only to add, that most people are apt to consider this subject, indispensable as it is for understanding the news of the day, as involved in deep mystery, into which none but a chosen few can hope to become initiated. If there is one subject more than another on which it is desirable that all men should be informed, and on which almost all are most deplorably ignorant, it is political economy. Many of the works above mentioned are suited to the most ordinary capacity from beginning to end; nor is there one of which most young ladies might not improve by the study of many portions. Young ladies reading political economy indeed! some will exclaim; and were there not some so silly as to laugh in the wrong place, this and many other books would be wholly unnecessary. It is not many years since, if indeed there are not some circles now, in which reading of any kind was held ridiculous in women: but happily the opinion that ladies were designed "to suckle fools and chronicle small beer" is less prevalent.

We will next consider the writers on

MENTAL PHILOSOPHY AND METAPHYSICS.—Abercrombie's work on the Intellectual Powers and the Investigation of Truth is the best for those who can only read one book. Another work much more interesting to the general reader is

Combe's "Constitution of Man"<sup>2</sup> considered in relation to external objects; at the same time I should recommend one of Combe's works on "Phrenology," and his "Lectures on Popular Education."<sup>3</sup> Whether the reader believes in Phrenology more, less, or not at all, the works of Combe and Gall are deeply interesting from the facts they contain. The Phrenologists, and Physiologists generally, write in a very lucid and pleasing style. Indeed, most persons must have observed that there is no class of men with whom it is so easy to converse, who keep more to the point, are more properly to be called clear-headed, than those included under the name of Medical men. Gall's work displays great learning, and is valuable to every one who would know the history of human nature. To be altogether ignorant of Phrenology, in the present day, is to be rather deficient in common information. It is now too late to laugh at the science, however much ridicule may attach to the ignorance of many who pretend to practise it.

Locke's work "On the Conduct of the Understanding"<sup>4</sup> is brief, and easily intelligible. This, as well as many parts of "Watts on the Mind," is well suited to young persons. Those who would dip more deeply into Metaphysics should read

Harris's "Philosophical Arrangements," and

Reid's "Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man," to which is annexed an analysis of Aristotle's Logic—these two works will give a general know-

ledge of ancient Metaphysics;—then "Bacon's Novum Organum."<sup>5</sup>

Locke "On the Human Understanding," and the works of Thomas Brown<sup>6</sup> and Dugald Stewart.<sup>6</sup>

But it is not my purpose to attempt to lay down a plan for readers capable of profound investigations; I would only remind them that Sir J. Mackintosh's papers in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," now collected in one large volume, give the character of every philosophical writer, and a criticism on his work. This book may be considered a valuable introduction to metaphysical studies.

"The Natural History of Enthusiasm"<sup>7</sup> is a very clever Essay, which has gained great celebrity to its author. He has also written, among other works,

"Fanaticism,"<sup>7</sup> and

"Physical Theory of another Life."

The same author has written an Introductory Essay to

"An Enquiry into the modern prevailing Notions respecting the Freedom of Will, which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency, Virtue and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame, by Jonathan Edwards."<sup>8</sup> This is a very important subject on which to form a sound opinion.

Hume's Essays<sup>9</sup> are very celebrated, though the skeptical character of the author must not be forgotten. They treat of matters, moral, political, and literary; the human understanding, the passions, principles of morals, and the natural history of religion.

Many works on Insanity are very interesting to the general reader—such as those by Munro, Mayo, and Willis. Of course, it is not intended that the practice of phrenology or of medicine forms part of the qualifications of any but professional men; still the facts on which the theories of every class of Physiologists are founded are so deeply interesting and generally useful, that they are supposed to be to some extent familiar to all persons of good education. In parts of Beck's "Medical Jurisprudence"<sup>10</sup> you will find the tests of insanity, the kind of insanity by which persons are legally irresponsible, as well as many interesting cases, in which medical science has promoted the ends of justice. Also,

Smith's "Forensic Medicine;"

Winslow's "Plea of Insanity in Criminal Cases;" and Dr. Pritchard's "Different Forms of Insanity, in reference to Criminal Cases,"<sup>11</sup> contain many interesting passages. Works of this kind, the unprofessional will read like a newspaper, as they happen to have leisure and curiosity. In opening books of this, and, indeed, of every other kind, we should consider that we dip into them with our minds as we would into a jar of filings with a magnet; more or less will adhere and be gathered together in proportion as the instrument has been previously charged. During the season of early education and discipline the mind must be forced and tasked; but when we read no longer to form, but to fill the mind, we should be advised only so far as this: to open a certain set of books and examine their contents, resolving to close

<sup>4</sup> BACON'S NOVUM ORGANUM. Translated in Montagu's edition of Bacon's works, published by Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>5</sup> BROWN'S PHILOSOPHY, 2 vols. 8vo. Glazier & Co., Hallowell.

<sup>6</sup> DUGALD STEWART'S COMPLETE WORKS, 7 vols. 8vo. J. Munroe & Co., Boston.

<sup>7</sup> THE NATURAL HISTORY OF ENTHUSIASM, FANATICISM, AND PHYSICAL THEORY OF ANOTHER LIFE, 3 vols. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

<sup>8</sup> JONATHAN EDWARDS'S WORKS, complete in 4 vols. 8vo. Leavitt, Trow & Co., New York.

<sup>9</sup> HUME'S ESSAYS, 2 vols. 8vo. London.

<sup>10</sup> BECK'S MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE, 2 vols. 8vo. Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., Philadelphia.

<sup>11</sup> TAYLOR'S MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE, 1 vol. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

<sup>12</sup> PRITCHARD ON INSANITY, 1 vol. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>1</sup> PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, By H. C. Carey, 3 vols. 8vo. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> COMBE ON CONSTITUTION OF MAN, 1 vol. Ticknor & Co., Boston.

<sup>3</sup> LOCKE ON THE UNDERSTANDING, 1 vol. Kay & Brother, Philadelphia.

them when curiosity fails. And here we may also speak of a line of reading very generally useful, or

**POPULAR WORKS ON MEDICINE.**—"Combe on the Constitution of Man" is very generally read by persons of all ages. Of late so many men of eminence have been impressed with a conviction that health and life are daily and hourly thrown away through ignorance of the most simple principles of health, air, exercise, food, and general habits, that many works have been written not only for the doctors but for the patients. Grimshawe's "Letters from a Surgeon to a Clergyman" were written expressly for the guidance of persons who, as is common with clergymen, are called upon to decide whether certain symptoms demand medical aid, and what is the best thing to be done in cases of poisoning, accidents, croup, &c., before the apothecary arrives. In my own experience, one life was saved by a lady having the sense to get a warm bath ready in case it should be prescribed when a child had the croup, and another case in which a fine fellow in the prime of life was killed by some one being so ignorant as to give him a plate of roast meat when he seemed recovering from an attack of inflammation.

Thomson's "Domestic Management of the Sick Room, teaching how to assist not supersede the Medical Man."

Reece's "Medical Guide, for Clergy, Heads of Families, &c."

Macaulay's "Popular Dictionary of Medicine."

"Curtis on Health."

Dr. Paris's "Treatise on Diet."

Any one of these will be found useful. Read particularly an article in the "Quarterly," No. CXXX. on Dr. Holland's medical treatment, and the case of St. Martin in America, in whom, from an open wound in the stomach, the process of digestion had been watched, and many hundreds of observations made on the digestibility of food and the influence of various habits both of the mind and body.<sup>1</sup>

On GRAMMAR, LOGIC, and RHETORIC, the following will suffice. The most useful English grammar I have ever seen is that by the celebrated William Cobbett.<sup>2</sup> He treats particularly of the points on which persons are most commonly deficient. There is also a grammar well worth perusing at the beginning of Maunder's "Treasury of Knowledge."<sup>3</sup> As works of a deeper and more philosophical character, Harris's "Hermes," and Horne Tooke's "Diversions of Purley,"<sup>4</sup> are known to most good English scholars. The "Edinburgh" and "Quarterly" also contain several instructive essays, which may be found by the index of each.

Dr. Crombie's "Etymology and Syntax of the English language" is also in high repute.

On Logic, read Whateley's "Elements,"<sup>5</sup> and a Treatise by Dr. Moberly, and "Edinburgh Review," No. 115. The Oxford student should make Aldrich his text book, and use the treatises of Huyshe, Moberly, Hill, Questions on Logic and Answers to the Questions to explain Aldrich. Also Hampden's article on the Rhetoric of Aristotle, Woolley's "Logic," and select chapters of Aristotle's "Organon." Mr. Newman's "Lectures on Logic," delivered at Bristol, are much admired.

On Rhetoric, read Whateley's "Elements,"<sup>6</sup> Campbell's "Philosophy of Rhetoric," and translations of Cicero, Quintilian, and Aristotle's "Rhetoric;" also, Hampden's article upon it before mentioned.

Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric are three subjects

on which those only who are naturally fond of science should study deeply; still no one can be considered soundly educated who has not read and reflected on one treatise upon each subject.

*Lastly.* The best general History of Ancient Philosophy, Moral, and Metaphysical, is that by Ritter, in 3 vols., translated from the German by Mr. Morrison of Trin. Coll. Camb.

## ON THE FINE ARTS.

PAINTING, Sculpture, and Architecture are three subjects on which nearly all persons of polite education, professional or unprofessional, feel compelled to conceal ignorance if they cannot display knowledge. It is not my purpose to minister to the vanity of those who pick up the names of a few ancient masters or galleries, and affect to be connoisseurs: but two or three simple directions for attaining the elements of criticism and a general history of art may be profitable in various ways. It will save us from that shame and confusion which we should otherwise feel when the fine arts form the subject of conversation; it will enable us to understand the elegant illustrations which authors commonly derive from the arts; it will qualify us to profit by the conversation of men of taste, giving a nucleus for gathering a new kind of matter, drawing forth a new power of the mind, and opening to us a never-failing source of the purest pleasure and refinement.

I trust I may encourage my young friends with the assurance that, great as is the advantage of cultivating a taste and acquiring knowledge of the fine arts, this to many minds is a work of very little time or toil. It consists more in observation than in reading, and in opening our eyes and ears with eager curiosity on occasions in which they are very frequently closed or turned away. Indeed, so prevalent is the opinion that to judge of any picture, statue, or piece of architecture requires some innate qualities with which only a chosen few are endowed, that many persons possessing not less judgment, but more honesty, than their neighbours, confess that for them to visit works of art is mere waste of time, that they know what is pleasing to themselves, but cannot venture an opinion, being aware that such things are not within the sphere of their understanding. The large class of readers who will see themselves in this representation may be assured that they have formed a very unfair estimate of their own capacities; and that with a little attention to the following directions they may be better qualified to give an opinion of works of art than many of the most confident connoisseurs of their acquaintance.

We will begin with PAINTING.

*First.* Request some intelligent friend who is fond of drawing and examining pictures, to accompany you to some extensive collection, and improve the opportunity according to the suggestions of the following anecdote:—

A youth of my acquaintance, who had been more than once in the National Gallery without seeing the peculiar merit of any of the pictures, chanced to visit them in company with a professional painter of correct judgment and good common sense. He observed on entering that he knew nothing of the value of paintings, and would gladly receive a little general instruction. The painter told him to look on each picture attentively, compare it with what he knew of nature, and say honestly, not what others thought, or what he had heard or read, but simply what impression it produced on his own mind. The opinions so elicited proved nearly all to savour of truth. In some instances, the artist told him to consider if he was conversant with nature under the peculiar forms represented, and whether he knew how much lay within the sphere of art; at the same time observing that these two points would require a comparison of paintings, first with nature, and then with each other. With such hints and cautions was this youth restricted to judging on such points only as were within the range of ordinary judgment. If he felt any

<sup>1</sup> BEAUMONT'S EXPERIMENTS, 1 vol. 8vo. \$1.50.

<sup>2</sup> COBBETT'S GRAMMAR, 1 vol. J. Doyle, New York.

<sup>3</sup> MAUNDER'S TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE, 1 vol. New York.

<sup>4</sup> TOOKE'S DIVERSIONS OF PURLEY, 1 vol. Agnew, Philadelphia.

<sup>5</sup> WHATELEY'S LOGIC, and RHETORIC. J. Munroe & Co., Boston.

<sup>6</sup> CAMPBELL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RHETORIC, 1 vol. Harper & Brothers, New York.



by the frequent corroboration of his own opinions by those of the artist, he was yet more prompted to the full use of his faculties and open expression of his sentiments, by the repeated assurance that nature had made nearly all persons judges to a certain extent, and that, if any were disqualified to give an opinion of her imitators, they were generally to be found among a certain set of pretending connoisseurs whose vanity had led them so long to appropriate the sense and opinions of others that they had lost the free use of their own. On that day my friend discovered how much he knew about paintings, and the precise points in which he was deficient; namely, that he wanted a more intimate and extensive acquaintance with nature, a knowledge of the limits of art, and correct standard of excellence in each kind of painting, as also the leading principles of perspective and composition. These are the chief points in which most common observers are deficient.

*Secondly.* Accustom yourselves to observe landscapes, figures, &c. in nature, and compare them with paintings of similar subjects. To appreciate, for instance, the famous sea pieces by the Vandervelde, you must observe the degree of buoyancy in ships upon the water, of distinctness in the outlines and picturesque swelling of the sails; and so, also, with reference to other pictures, observe the clouds, the tints of evening, and the foliage at different seasons, and, indeed, all other things, which works, below mentioned, will suggest.

*Thirdly.* Compare the works of those who have treated the same subject with different degrees of excellence. Do not join in decrying modern pictures, unless you can discern their peculiar points of inferiority. Universal censure and universal praise are equally unphilosophical, and far from truth; both must be qualified. More knowledge is required to point out beauties than defects. Things are good and bad by comparison; we must therefore study the best specimens of each kind of pictures till they are firmly impressed upon our memory, so as to serve as a common measure or standard of excellence by which to value all others of the same class.

*Fourthly.* We must take every opportunity of conversing and comparing our own opinions with those of others, or, which is the same thing, after seeing several pictures by Claude or Titian, for example, we may read some account of their characters and criticism on their style. There is no want of critical discussions on the styles of the ancient masters; every picture of celebrity has been the subject of an essay. And as to the practicability of obtaining the advantage of conversation with those thoroughly conversant with art, it must be observed that men are generally communicative on the subject of their favourite studies. It is natural with man to take an interest in those of similar taste. Doubtless the Creator ordained this sympathy between those capable of instructing each other, as a provision for the improvement of society. At all events, believe me, there is such an instinct, and a really teachable spirit can generally find a master. Besides, as to paintings of genius, their admirers say that every time they examine them they discover new beauties, and that ordinary observers frequently point out a touch of nature which the professed artist has overlooked. Again, it is not absolutely necessary that you should meet an artist in a picture gallery to gain much of the assistance he is able to afford. Whenever you meet a man of taste in company, the drawing-room table will be found furnished with some book of prints taken from the works of ancient masters, which will readily furnish the occasion and the subject of a lecture. Young ladies, I am sure, can never be at a loss to improve such opportunities. And as to the gentlemen, especially those who have money at command, if they will only inquire for one of the many ill-paid but well-deserving artists, they may receive such *peripatetic* lectures in the National or Dulwich Gallery as will be a very valuable initiation into the secrets of painting. Indeed, most happy should I be, if by this

casual observation, I could open a new and honourable source of emolument to a class of men who conduce very much to the refinement and ornaments of life, and receive very little in return. How many thousands are there in London whose fathers have earned in the East sums which they are squandering in the West (end), and to whom it would, if they only thought of it, be a pleasure to be lionized for two or three mornings by a person well qualified to inform and amuse them! How many of that order of society who are called callous, selfish, and indifferent to all wants but their own, have quite heart enough to confess that they would feel an extra relish in their own dinner, if they had earned an appetite in a way that provided a more generous meal to one who had as much sensibility, though less comfort than themselves.

Whether my readers adopt this or any other method of improvement, they should bear in mind that their object must not be to gain mere critical knowledge, and the terms and mechanical part of the art of painting. In this point of view a house painter would be nearly as good a teacher as an artist. But they should endeavour to gain a correct taste of beauty and propriety of expression, as well as a due appreciation of that invention and grandeur of conception which distinguishes the highest specimens of art. Sir Walter Scott showed that he knew the spirit in which pictures were to be studied, when he said that those of Sir David Wilkie gave him new ideas;—that there are ideas in pictures is a fact which many persons have yet to learn. But I must trust to works which will shortly follow, to show how paintings by men of genius are to be read almost like a poem, and that the conceptions of a grand imagination, and select delineation of nature's beauties, are the subject-matter of painter and poet alike, though the one conveys them with the pencil and the other with the pen.

I will now enumerate the books best suited to give a general knowledge of art.

Sir Joshua Reynolds's "Discourses to the Students of the Royal Academy" have been lately published, illustrated by explanatory notes and plates by J. Burnet, F. R. S.<sup>1</sup> Those who cannot procure this work may purchase for one shilling and nine-pence No. XXVII. of the "Student's Cabinet Library of Useful Tracts," containing a very excellent selection of those discourses. Sir Joshua, it must be observed, was a very accomplished scholar. Before Edmund Burke published his "Letters on the French Revolution," he submitted them to Sir Joshua's consideration. All of these discourses show a very superior mind, and are valuable to students of every kind of art and literature. I have scarcely known any questions arise concerning the limits and province of the imaginative arts which these writings do not tend to elucidate. The following topics may serve as a specimen:—How to "snatch a grace beyond the reach of art;"—different stages of art; selecting better than copying; how to gain the materials of knowledge; of the grand style; of beauty; general nature to be distinguished from local fashion; the meaning of invention; exact copying of nature, not properly to be called natural; genius begins where art ends; meaning of taste; standard of taste; the style and characteristics of each school and ancient master, &c.

At the same time that we read Sir Joshua's discourses, and all other lectures or essays on art, Pilkington's "Lives of the Painters" will be a useful hand-book.<sup>2</sup> Of this there is a good abstract, in one small volume, by Dr. Shepard, who selected and abridged 100 out of 1400 of the lives written by Pilkington. This is quite comprehensive enough for general purposes. I would recommend the student to procure an interleaved copy, and take it with him as a

<sup>1</sup> REYNOLDS'S DISCOURSES. 1 vol. 4to. Carpenter, London.

<sup>2</sup> PILKINGTON'S LIVES OF THE PAINTERS. A new edition, by Allan Cunningham. 1 vol. 8vo. Cheap edition. T. Tegg, London.



convenient catalogue and critique when he visits collections of paintings. For, suppose he sees some paintings by Claude or Titian, by turning to their respective biographies he will have his attention directed to the peculiar characteristics of the style of each. He will feel an interest in making a memorandum, as that such a landscape is in such a gallery, or that such a picture more or less exemplifies any critical remark. While reading or looking over a catalogue of an exhibition which he has not yet visited, he can write down the place where any celebrated picture may be seen on some future occasion.

It may be useful here to enumerate the several schools of painting. These are,—

The Roman school, comprehending Raphael, Cherubino Alberti, Giovanni Alberti, Caravaggio, Gauli, Michael Angelo, Campidoglio, Carlo Maratti, Andrea Sacchi :

The Venetian school, in which are, Titian, Annibal Caracci, Tintoretto, Paolo Veronese, Ludovico Caracci, Giacomo Bassano, Francesco Bassano, Francis Bolognese :

The Florentine school, with Michael Angelo Buonarroti, Andrea del Sarto, Leonardo da Vinci :

The Bologna school, with Guido, Albano, Domenichino, Guercino, Lanfranc, Correggio :

The Flemish and Dutch, of which are Rubens, Vanduyck, Rembrant, Teniers, Godfrey Kneller, Wouvermans, Vanderveldt, Albert Durer, Hans Holbein, Sir Peter Lely.

The French school, with Poussin, Le Brun, Perrier, Fresnoy, Claude :

The Spanish school, of which are Murillo, Ximenes, Velasquez, Gallego : and others in each school, too many to mention.

Of the English school, the most remarkable are the following, noticed in Allan Cunningham's "British Painters :"—Jameson, the Scotch Vanduyck ; Verrio, La Guerre, and Thornhill, architectural painters ; Hogarth, Wilson, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Ramsay, (Scotch), Romney, Runciman (Scotch), Copley, Mortimer, Raeburn (Scotch), Hoppner, Owen, Harlow, Bonington, Cosway, Allan, Northcote, Sir T. Lawrence, Sir H. Beaumont, who aided in forming the National Gallery, Liversage, Burnet, Fuseli, West, Bird, Barry, Blake, Opie, Morland.

Of the painters of later days, Mr. Bulwer, in his "England and the English," enumerates in historical painting, Haydon, Hilton, Westall, Etty, Martin ; in portrait painting, Owen, Jackson, Pickersgill, Philips ; in fancy painting, Wilkie, Macise, Parris, Howard, Clint, Webster, Newton ; in landscape painting, Turner, Stanfield, Fielding, Callcott, J. Wilson, Harding, Stanley, besides Landseer, Roberts, Prout, McKensie, Lance, Derby, Cooper, Hancock, Davis.

Dr. Shepard gives the following list of books which he considered necessary to be consulted, in order to become a judge of painting :—

Vasari's "Lives ;" Sandrart's "Lives of Painters ;" Du Piles's ditto ; Lord Orford's, 4 vols. ; "Vertue's Life ;" "Gilpin on Prints ;" Dallaway's "Anecdotes ;" Cochin's "Travels through Italy," 3 vols. French ; "Richardson on Painting ;" Raphael Mengs's "Works," 2 vols. ; Winckelman's "Works." Forty years ago these were probably the best works, but all that is valuable in them has doubtless been adopted by later authors. The three following works in the same list are still popular :—Sir J. Reynolds's "Lectures," above mentioned ; Cumberland's "Lives of Spanish Painters," and Fuseli's "Three Lectures ;" a copy of the last is published in the "Life of Fuseli."

I have before said that a continual comparison of pictures with nature and with each other is the chief source of knowledge ; still some books will quicken our observation both of nature and of art ; of these the best, next to the Discourses of Sir Joshua, are—

"Criticisms on Art," and "Sketches of the Pic-

ture Galleries of England," by Wm. Hazlitt. This contains catalogues of the principal galleries.

Mrs. Jameson's "Handbook to Public Galleries of Art," in or near London.

"Art and Artists in England, being Descriptions of the Public and Private Collections of Works of Art," by Dr. Waagen of Berlin.

"Handbook of Painting : Italy," Translated from the German of Kugler, by C. L. Eastlake, R. A.

"Painting and Fine Arts," by R. B. Haydon and W. Hazlitt.

"Synopsis of Practical Perspective, Linear and Aerial," exemplified by 19 Plates.

"Book of the Cartoons," by the Rev. R. Cattermole.

"The Dresden Gallery," consisting of drawings on stone from the finest originals in this collection. This is an expensive work, consisting of 120 pictures, price, when complete, about 40*l*. Still separate numbers of this work are not uncommonly accessible.

"Selection of Figures from Pictures in England," by Claude, Watteau, and Canaletto ; combining Arabesques and other embellishments, with figures and groups, from celebrated works by these masters. "Presenting a great number of subjects capable by their variety and interest of affording a large fund of amusement and instruction both in the drawing-room and study of the amateur." Similar use may be made of many prints in the "Pictorial Bible," Fisher's "Illustrations of the Bible from the Old Masters," with 60 Plates ; and "Mant's Bible." I remember seeing a young person quite surprised at the extent to which she was able to discriminate the styles of different masters, after turning over a set of these illustrations.

Merimée, "Art of Painting in Oil and Fresco," describes all the methods and materials used by the great continental schools of painting during the best period of the art. It has been translated by W. B. S. Taylor, who has added an historical sketch of the English school of painting.

"Museum of Painting and Sculpture," being a collection of engravings from the principal pictures, statues, and bas-reliefs in the galleries of Europe, with 1200 plates ! Price six guineas.

The works of Hogarth, with explanations of each plate, have been published in the "Penny Magazine," but more completely in fifty-two numbers by John Nicholls, F. S. A. Of all the paintings in the National Gallery, those of Hogarth are examined by the greatest number of persons. This observation was confirmed by one of the attendants.

Allan Cunningham's "British Painters," in the "Family Library," is a book of much general information. The same author has written a "Life of Sir David Wilkie." Much may also be derived from the "Life of Titian ;" "Life of Sir Thomas Lawrence ;" "Life of Fuseli."

We will next consider

THE ART OF SCULPTURE, though comparatively little remains to be said. By cultivating a taste for the highest order of painting, which is, characterized not by meretricious ornament but grandeur of conception and simplicity of execution, we shall not be at a loss to judge of sculpture.

The history of sculpture is very fully given in the "Penny Cyclopædia." You will there find an enumeration of all traces of the art found in Scripture. The extent to which it flourished among the Hebrews, Babylonians, and Phenicians, being little known, is the subject of only a few pages : but the style of sculpture at different periods among the Persians, Egyptians, Etrurians, Greeks, and Romans, admits of being illustrated with reference to existing remains. Of each of these schools, therefore, we have a succinct account. The history of Greek sculpture is written with peculiar care, and in the space of a few double-columned pages the reader may have a clear general view, sufficient, indeed, to give an increased interest in the collection of the British Museum, as well as in drawings of these and many other admired

works not so easily accessible. The revival of the art in Italy is usually ascribed to the tenth or eleventh century, though Flaxman traces it from the age of Constantine. Fuseli remarks that the arts had never been wholly lost in Italy, because there many barbarians had been long used to behold works of art while serving in the Roman armies, and were thus animated with a nobler spirit than the less disciplined invaders of other lands. Be this as it may, the history of the revival is given in the same article, nearly down to the present time. I can recommend also the articles on Bronze, Polycletus, Phidias, Phigaleian Marbles, Elgin Marbles, Townley Marbles, Praxiteles, Benvenuto Cellini.

Allan Cunningham's "Lives of the British Sculptors," in the "Family Library," contains a good account of British art.

The "Encyclopædia Britannica" has also an article on sculpture, with more criticism than that in the "Penny Cyclopædia." It is illustrated by plates, which, indeed, are almost indispensable for any essay on art which is not purely historical. Many works above mentioned, especially those on painting, throw light upon the art of sculpture: this will appear even from their titles. Mrs. Gray's "Etruria," Sir G. Wilkinson's "Egyptians," and Dr. Wordsworth's "Illustrated Greece," of course supply the best possible information on Etrurian, Egyptian, and Grecian art respectively.

Reveil's "Museum of Painting and Sculpture" gives not only the paintings, but the statues and bas-reliefs in the public and private collections of Europe.

"Description of the Ancient Marbles in the British Museum, with Engravings," will teach the principles of criticism.

"The Monumental Remains of Noble and Eminent Persons" comprises the sepulchral antiquities of Great Britain.

Flaxman's "Lectures and Illustrations of Hesiod, Homer, Æschylus, and Dante," are beyond all praise. "The Life of Flaxman," and of every other sculptor, will convey much general information. I have only to add, that the British Museum, Westminster Abbey (of which a history has been written by Smith, Flaxman, and others), and almost every cathedral, will not fail to improve a visitor who carefully examines and compares every piece of sculpture, and takes the earliest opportunity on his return home to correct his own observations by conversing with men of taste, or by reading critical essays on the respective artists.

Lastly, on ARCHITECTURE. The same remarks as to method, prints, illustrated works, general observation, conversing with men of taste, will of course apply to this subject.

To begin with a general view, take the article on Architecture, contained in a few pages of Chambers's "Information for the People," price only three-half-pence. In this we have an outline, and by means of its many simple woodcuts may learn to distinguish the several orders and styles. Study this paper till you have a clear and comprehensive knowledge of its contents; and from that moment you will be much more competent to speak of architecture than most of your neighbours; so rare is it to find persons conversant with the shortest treatise, even of an easy and interesting subject.

Secondly, take Barr's "Anglican Church Architecture," which contains also interesting details of ecclesiastical furniture: Bloxam's "Gothic Architecture" is also very clearly written: both of these works have numerous engravings. As a companion or dictionary for constant reference.

"The Glossary of Architecture" is admirable: this contains explanations of the terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian, and Gothic architecture, with 700 woodcuts: 400 additional examples to the same work

have lately been published separately. For further information read the paper on "Gally Knight's Architectural Tour," No. CXXXIX. of the "Edinburgh Review; and others which may be found both in that and the "Quarterly." Also, the Cyclopædians, under the terms Architecture, Arch, Architrave, Ionian, Corinthian, Pæstum, and under the name of any famous building, temple, &c.

Read also, in No. XIX. of the "Family Library," the lives of William of Wykeham, Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir J. Vanbrugh, James Gibbs, William Kent, and Sir W. Chambers, who, I am happy to observe, as an encouragement to young men of fortune to avail themselves of all the opportunities which wealth commands, was employed by George III., when heir apparent, as a tutor in architecture.

When the student of the Fine Arts has fully availed himself of all these hints, he may be safely trusted to run alone.

## THE WAY TO STUDY THE SCRIPTURES.

If my readers have not "an understanding heart," they stand in need of spiritual assistance, and must seek it where alone it is to be found, before they can ever be qualified to "read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest" the Holy Scriptures. For they are, as says the Apostle, *spiritually discerned*. None but those of poetical taste can appreciate the poetry of Scripture: none but those of musical taste can appreciate the flow of its most harmonious periods, though aided by all the powers of music. The poet has a natural sympathy for the one, and the musician for the other. Can the sluggard and the drunkard enter into your meaning when you speak of the pleasures of the temperate man as he goes forth to hear the carol of the lark and breathe the fresh incense of the morning? Can the young appreciate the sober cautions and chastened judgment of age? Can the old enter into the buoyant hopes and bright visions of youth? If not, what do these instances prove? One lesson is taught by each; namely, that our enjoyment or appreciation of every pleasure depends on a certain discernment, habit, or other qualification in ourselves, and therefore the mind best adapted to judge of one may be no kind of measure of another.

May we not, then, suppose that spiritual things also require a peculiar discernment, habit, or other qualification? For spiritual things are of the nature of deep counsel and eternal truth, which require the humble and teachable disposition of age: secondly, they savour of all that is pure, simple, and, in the best sense, natural, so require the wholesome taste of chastened temperance: thirdly, they are of the nature of what is most lovely, noble, exalted and divine: they require a spirit of holiness, fervent piety and thoughts, above mere things of earth. It appears, then, that under the name of Spiritual are included several orders of things of which each is allowed to require a peculiar taste or other qualification, taken separately: much more, then, shall a peculiar qualification be required for enjoying, improving by, or entering into the spirit of the same things taken collectively. Spiritual things, therefore, can only be understood in a peculiar way; they are not intellectually discerned; but, as says the Apostle, they are "spiritually discerned;" that is, they are discerned, understood, and appreciated only by those to whom there has been given a heart in sympathy, in unison, and in harmony with them.

However, the advice I proposed to give concerns the mind. I must therefore presume that my readers have to some extent the necessary qualification for studying the holy writings, and proceed to lay down a plan for improving by what the Scriptures address both to the mind and to the soul without further caution or comment.

Let us consider the best method of studying,

First, The text of Scripture—the Word.

Secondly, Commentaries; to which belong,

Thirdly, Biblical antiquities—Jewish history—versions of Scripture, and

<sup>1</sup> ALLAN CUNNINGHAM'S LIVES OF THE BRITISH SCULPTORS, 3 vols. Harpers' Family Library.

<sup>2</sup> GLOSSARY OF ARCHITECTURE, 1 vol. 8vo. D. D. London.



*Fourthly*, Doctrines—Articles—the Prayer-Book.

*Fifthly*, The principal writers on Divinity in order.

*Sixthly*, Books for the closet.

## 1. THE TEXT OF SCRIPTURE.

Select a copy of the Bible not larger than an octavo, with as much margin as possible. The one I use has uncut edges and flexible back, a minion 8vo from the Clarendon Press, without marginal references. If you use a 4to volume, you will not so readily turn to parallel verses. A large Bible is best for reading aloud, but a small Bible for the study. Marginal references, every student blessed with a sound and active mind should make for himself. When you make a study of the Scriptures, read with pen in hand; and decide on a few simple marks to affix to verses which are most important, as supporting doctrines, proving the genuineness or authenticity of any part of Scripture, or requiring further thought or illustration. These marks will enable you to refresh your recollection of any book of the Bible in a very short space of time. In my Bible the letters *T* mark passages most suitable for the text of a sermon, or for a rule of daily conduct. *Q* marks a difficulty, for further consideration or inquiry. When any new commentary falls in my way, I can at once test its value by passages of real difficulty. Again, *Art. 1, 2, or 3*, denotes that a verse contains a very plain proof of one of the Thirty-nine Articles. *Ch.* denotes an argument in support of an Establishment.

It is advisable, every time you read a book of Scripture, to propose one subject for particular attention. Read the Gospels, once to see wherein they agree and wherein they differ, and mark *M. Mk. L. J.* or any one or more of these initials according as *St. Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John* have also mentioned any parable, miracle, or other memorable part of our Lord's history occurring in the Gospel before you. Read them a second time for internal evidence of their truth. A third time with a Diatessaron to mark the order of events, or any other matter of instruction. To those fond of literature, the Scriptures will have also another and a wholly different value, for literary and secular purposes. For the Bible is allowed to be the most curious book in the world. It contains more knowledge of life and of the human heart than all the writings of Shakspeare, Horace, Clarendon, Thucydides, and as many others as we please to mention. It comprises all that was discovered, and much more that was overlooked, by the moral philosophers of ancient and modern times. And the proof is this:—Butler may be said to have been the corrector of the ancient ethical writers. Mackintosh, Robert Hall, and Dr. Chalmers, no inconsiderable writers of modern times, acknowledge that they were taught by Butler, and Butler pretends only to have been taught by Scripture. Well then might the Rev. H. Melville say, "It is a truth made known to us by God, and at the same time demonstrable by reason, that in going through the courses of Bible instruction, there is a better mental discipline, whether for the child or for the adult, than in any of the cleverly devised methods for opening and strengthening the faculties."

It is advisable, however, to bear in mind when we take up the Scriptures to gather the precious seed, and when to examine the husk—when to read the Word and when the letter; and since it is allowable in a proper spirit to improve the mind as well as the heart, and since ignorance of the Scriptures, in the present state of society, is happily accounted a disgrace, no less to the scholar than the man; it is convenient for literary purposes to keep a separate copy, in which to enter observations, as we read of Oriental customs, Jewish antiquities, Natural history of the Bible, or any thing else illustrative of Scripture. To show the interest and the great satisfaction which may arise from being thus attentive in the pursuit of knowledge, I will select from one of my own Bibles a few notes, which, without the method I recommend, might pass unheeded through the mind.

At Gen. vi. 15. "The length, depth, and width of

the 'Great Britain' steam-ship is in feet exactly what the Ark was in cubits!"

Acts xxviii. 1. *Melita*, certainly not Malta, but an island in the Adriatic called Melite, where there are snakes, though in Malta there are none, and of which the people were in St. Paul's day *barbarous*, but at Malta civilized. Besides, Malta is not in *Adria*, though Melite is.—*Coleridge's Table Talk*.

Acts xxviii. 13. "*Fetched a compass*. A friend, in making the same voyage from Syracuse to Rhegium recently, observed that a considerable *sailing round*, as the Greek means literally, was unavoidable.

Gen. viii. 9. The *dove*. Dr. Meuse says that the N. American Indians have a tradition of a *big canoe* in which came *eight persons* across the water *caused by the Great Spirit*. They hold the willow sacred, because a *dove flew with it from the canoe*.

John i. 1. At Otaheite, the names of the superior deities are the Father, the Son, and the Friend Bird, which inspires the priests.—*Serle's Horæ Solitariae*.

Job xxix. This chapter moved Sir J. Mackintosh to tears on his death-bed.

These instances will exemplify my meaning.

Again, the poetry of the Bible and the beauties of natural and simple diction deserve attention. To commit them to memory is the best exercise for the improvement of taste. Wordsworth once remarked that he knew no poetry finer than that of Jeremiah. Mrs. Hemans preferred St. John to the other Evangelists. Coleridge considered the Epistle to the Romans the finest of St. Paul's compositions. These are hints for the exercise of criticism. Again, whenever you read, compare scripture with scripture. Commentaries at best are only like advisers, who may assist for the moment, but never yet made any man wise. While you trust to commentators you will never gain the full use of the faculties which God has given you; nor indeed can you hope to enjoy any thing better than a flat, insipid, spiritless dilution of scriptural truth. With respect to the difficulties of holy writ, either they can be solved in an obvious and satisfactory way or they cannot. If they can, a person of ordinary understanding, by examining the context and seeking similar expressions, may solve the difficulties as well as any commentator; if they cannot, the opinions of commentators, though sometimes instructive, are frequently of little use, differing widely from each other, being enveloped in a cloud of words, and more fanciful than reasonable. On these grounds I maintain that one hour's study with references is worth ten with notes. Compare verse with verse, and let your maxim be "Every reader his own commentator."

*Learn by heart* one verse of the Bible every day. One of my friends takes the first verse which meets his eye as the Bible happens to open. A better plan is to mark the verses you prefer in several books, and learn them in order. If you are not contented with one, choose a second or a third from a different part; but do not impose too much upon yourself at first. The great thing is never to omit one verse each day. Do not despise the importance of this method, still less the self-command which constancy in its performance requires. I warn you that it is not very easy so to learn 365 verses in the year without being once in arrears. If you miss a day do not allow yourself to make it up; but let the inequality between the number of verses and of days continue as a punishment. Perseverance and regularity will insure such a knowledge of the more familiar texts of Scripture as experience alone can render credible. But remember that all depends on the regularity and uninterrupted habit. Mark the 30 or 31 verses on the first day of each month, and consider you have failed unless the number of the day and of the verse are the same. The Hebrew or Greek version is of course to be preferred by scholars; still none should omit the English.

One of my friends, a young lady, takes much interest in writing out the verses to which the marginal references of the Bible allude. Her paper is ruled by the stationer with one vertical column about two inches wide, for the text: the rest of the page has horizontal

lines. One line also guards the margin that the work may in future years admit of being bound. This is a much more profitable employment than knitting, though ladies may be allowed to do both. Who would not be more proud of a mother who bequeathed him a commentary than a quilt?

The Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge has published a prayer-book with marginal references. The Catechism, the Two Sacraments, and the Articles would be very useful portions for such illustration. In the last age young ladies used to be taught at school to present their mammas with a sampler; if every young lady and young gentleman too were required to produce a neat copy of all the scripture proofs of our liturgy, it would produce a wonderful extension of scriptural knowledge of the soundest kind.

Another exercise, really invaluable to clergymen especially, is to make a scriptural common-place book. This will require the use of two books, one as a day book, another as a ledger. The day book must be always at hand as you read the Bible from end to end. In this you will write down promiscuously any illustration of the divine attributes, faith, justification, types, prophecies, and innumerable other topics, as you please. Then in your ledger you will enter each of these under its proper head, which you will also notice with the number of the page in the index. A small work of this kind has been published by Chalmers.

Lastly, attend particularly to the style, dates, and proofs of the genuineness and authenticity of the several books of Scripture; and read the history of the different translations. For this purpose Gray's or Percy's "Key," Tomline, or Horne's "Introduction," will be serviceable.

## 2. WORKS OF COMMENTARY AND NOTES.

We will now consider some of the many valuable works which have been written to explain the several books or parts of Scripture respectively.

First. *On the whole of the Bible* it will be enough to mention

Horne's "Introduction," which contains information so varied, that few persons can require more. And here I remind my readers that this work contains further instructions on Theological reading.

The "Epitome of Horne's Introduction," (1 vol.,) and

"Key to the Bible," by the Society, will be useful for those who have little time for study.

"A Critical Commentary and Paraphrase on the Old and New Testament and Apocrypha," by Patrick, Lowth, Arnald, Whitby, and Lowman.<sup>1</sup>

The Commentaries on the Bible by Mant, Scott, Clarke, and others, are well known.

Secondly. *On the Old Testament*, Gray's "Key" is very valuable. That of Tomline is also useful. Bishop Horsley's *Biblical Criticism* is highly esteemed by the few who know it. A new edition is now advertised in a more convenient form.

Thirdly. *On separate portions and subjects of Scripture*.

On the Pentateuch, Graves's "Lectures" display much useful learning.

The "Horæ Mosaicæ," by G. S. Faber, 1818, is much admired for scriptural learning and truth.

Warburton's "Divine Legation" is one of the standard pieces of English literature.

On the *Prophecies generally*, read Sir I. Newton and Davidson's "Discourses upon Prophecy," also Keith.

On the *minor Prophets only*, Bishop Newcome and George Hutcheson (1675) have written. The first is

termed "critical and useful," the second "pithy, full, and spiritual."

On the *historical parts*, read "History of the Bible," and "History of the Jews." Also a most useful analysis given at the end of Mant's Bible.

On the *whole of the New Testament*, Percy's "Key to the New Testament" is very popular. "Paraphrase of the New Testament," by Richard Baxter, 8vo, 1810, is said to be a book "of much piety and good sense, but very brief." All commentaries will naturally be brief, when the author means rather to solve than evade difficulties.

Doddridge's "Family Expositor." Every work must be valuable by the author of the "Rise and Progress," of whom a writer in the "Edinburgh Review" truly said that "no man on earth more breathed the atmosphere of heaven. He writes like a man of open and honest mind; every page bears the stamp of truth."

On the *Four Gospels*. Campbell's "Four Gospels translated" is a valuable critical work. Read also Elsley's "Annotations on the Four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles."

Bishop J. B. Sumner's "Practical Expositions on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark."

The English "Diatessaron" is useful to mark the order of events.

On the *Miracles*, read Campbell's work.

On the *Epistles of St. Paul*, Paley's "Horæ Paulinæ" will never be superseded.

Shuttleworth's "Paraphrase of the Epistles" is the most concise and generally useful commentary.

On *St. Peter*, Leighton's book is one of the first of Scripture classics.

It will be of no real use to proceed with a list of the commentators of each separate book of the Bible; because every one who has read half of the works already mentioned, must have risen above the rank of those I presume to instruct. I must refer to Mr. Bickersteth's "Christian Student," which contains a classification of the booksellers' theological catalogues, with remarks.

On *Biblical Antiquities*. Many works combine entertainment with instruction; such as

Jenning's "Jewish Antiquities."

Lightfoot's works, chiefly on the same subject.

Shuckford's "Sacred and profane History connected."

Prideaux's "Connection of the Old and New Testament."

Harris's "Natural History of the Bible."

Burder's "Oriental Customs and Literature."

Calcott's "Scripture Herbal."

Townley's "Illustrations of Biblical Literature."

Carpenter's "Scripture Natural History, or an Account of the Zoology, Botany, and Geology of the Bible."

All of these works are highly valued. Those of Lightfoot, Shuckford, and Prideaux are standard classics. The last six, though not less improving, may be termed light reading, and give agreeable relief to severer studies.

## 3. ON DOCTRINE.

Of the *Person and Offices of Christ*. Horne recommends "Stuart's Letters to Dr. Channing" as admirably depicting the subtle criticisms of an accomplished Unitarian, in a fine spirit of Christian philosophy. Mr. Bickersteth mentions Gurney's "Biblical Notes to confirm the Deity of Christ," as a very solid, able, and profitable illustration of texts of Scripture.

On the *Offices of the Holy Spirit*. Serle's "Horæ Solitariae" exhausts the subject. In his chapter on the Trinity, he has availed himself of his extensive classical learning. Heber's "Bampton Lectures" are on the Holy Ghost as a comforter. Of Dr. Burton's Sermons, two treat of the sin of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, in a very sound and consistent manner.

On the *Trinity*. Serle's Essay, above mentioned,

<sup>1</sup> A CRITICAL COMMENTARY AND PARAPHRASE ON THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT AND APOCRYPHA, by Patrick, Lowth, Arnald, Whitby, and Lowman, a new edition, with the text printed at large, 4 vols. Carey & Hart, Phila., Wiley & Putnam, N. York.



and Horne's "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity;" also sermons and works too obvious to mention.

On *Election and Predestination*. There are some very fair and reasonable remarks in "Christ our Example." Bishop Tomline's "Refutation of Calvinism," gives all that can be said on one side, and Thomas Scott's "Remarks on Bishop Tomline's 'Refutation,'" on the other. Read the 17th Article of the Church, in Burnet. Copleston on "Necessity and Predestination," alludes to Scott, and terms him the most pious and temperate of modern Calvinists, though his doctrine of predestination, he says, "appears to me mistaken and dangerous." The Rev. J. Scott, in the life of his father, shows that he was very cautious of bringing this doctrine before a mixed congregation, and once observed of Wilberforce's book, that it was not Calvinistic, and so much the better, being more suited to the class of persons to whom it was addressed. In studying this doctrine, we should consider whether authors do not dispute about a word, while they agree about the thing.

On *Faith and Justification*, read Bishop Barlow's "Two Letters on Justification." Of this it was said by Archdeacon Browne, "The subject is treated with a degree of closeness of reasoning and logical accuracy, which defies confutation." Also Burnet's 11th Article.

On *Baptism*. The sentiments of the writers of the first four centuries, are given in Wall's "History of Infant Baptism." There is also a well known treatise on Baptism by Matthew Henry, and numerous sermons and essays both before and since. Read especially Burnet on the 27th Article.

On *the Lord's Supper*. Burnet on the Articles 25, 26, 28, 29, 30.

#### 4. READING FOR CONTROVERTISTS.

FIRST, *Against Infidelity*. On the evidences of Christianity, the following books, some simple, some abstruse, comprise answers to every possible objection.

Paley's "Evidences of Christianity," I have already mentioned. Almost the whole is easily intelligible, and many chapters so interesting as to require but little effort. It is universally allowed to be one of the first argumentative works in the English language.

Paley's "Horæ Paulinæ," is also considered very convincing, as well as one of the best commentaries on the Epistles. With this we may class Keith on the Prophecies, and the works of Bishops Hurd and Newton; as also Campbell on the Miracles. All of these combine explanation with argument.

Shuttleworth's "Consistency of Revelation with Human Reason," I have always considered especially valuable, because it meets the very difficulties which are most likely to occur to men of fair mind, honestly open to conviction. With this book I should class,

"First, "Graves on the Pentateuch," a very learned work, yet easy to understand. Few books should be chosen before this; it contains facts and reflections which are highly necessary to be known, though very unlikely to be found in common authors; and,

Secondly, "Watson's Apology for the Bible," of which George II. is said to have observed, he did not know that the Bible needed any apology, not considering that Justin Martyr and others of the early Christians used to set forth defences of the Gospel under the name of Apologia, which, in Greek, means a defence. Watson and Graves wrote in answer to the cavils of Paine and other infidels of the French Revolution. M'Ilvaine's "Lectures on Evidences," gives an account of the death of Paine, which, if well known, would be the best antidote to the poison of his life; it is an intelligible selection from Paley and others, containing but little original matter.

Of Butler's "Analogy," I knew one who said he always doubted till he read it, and never doubted

after. The reasoning is too deep for many readers, yet I would have all give it a trial. I have known cases in which it has been comprehended by those who had the greatest diffidence in attempting it.

Gregory's "Letters are much recommended, as giving a plain and easy exposition of difficulties.

Sumner's "Evidences,"  
Lardner's "Credibility,"  
Gibson's "Pastoral Letters,"  
Jenkins's "Reasonableness," and  
Stillingfleet's "Origines Sacrae," are all works of authority.

Paley and Butler, if well read and digested, nearly exhaust the subject. Butler shows that there is no reason why we should not believe, and Paley that there is much reason why we should. Shuttleworth is the best substitute for Butler. The value of the "Analogy" cannot be fully appreciated without considering the urgency of the times in which it was written. Butler observes, "It comes, I know not how, to be taken for granted, that Christianity is now at length discovered to be fictitious." Horace Walpole said, that Queen Caroline particularly recommended his father to read it; indeed, it was wanted in high life, for Lady Montague, even while she expresses her alarm at so many young ladies being infidels, speaks in a way which shows she regarded religion as rather useful than true.

Robert Hall's sermon on "Modern Infidelity," is very celebrated. This is a masterly composition, showing enlarged and comprehensive views.

Secondly, *In Controversy with Jews*, Bishop Kidder's "Demonstration of the Messiah," and Thomas Scott's "Discussion on the principal Question between the Jews and Christians," in reply to the Rabbi Crool. Of course all other works on evidences will be of much service, but Scott's reply to the Rabbi's "Restoration of Israel" teaches us to avail ourselves of every advantage which the faith of a Jewish adversary affords, and "discuss every important question concerning the Messiah of the Old Testament, on the ground of the Old Testament only."

Thirdly, *Against Popery*, Finch's "Sketch of the Roman Controversy" is said to contain a valuable collection of documents from many sources.

Bp. Marsh's "Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome."

M'Ghee's "Truth and Error contrasted."

Pascal's "Provincial Letters," affords the most witty and keen exposure of the Jesuits. Both for the brilliancy of composition, and the influence they exerted, these letters hold the highest place in the history of literature.

Besides these, numerous works have been written in the form of sermons, and notes of particular controversies, as well as histories, digests, and replies, which a bookseller's catalogue will point out.

Fourthly, *Against Arianism*, read Whittaker's "History of Arianism;" Burnet's "Articles," and the works which are recommended on the Trinity. This course of reading will apply also

Fifthly, *Against Socinianism*; read also J. Edwards's "Preservative against Socinianism;" Wardlaw's "Discourses on the principal Points of the Socinian Controversy;" and Fuller's "Calvinistic and Socinian Systems compared."

Sixthly, *Against Dissenters from the Established Church*.

The great champion of the *Established Church* is Hooker. His "Ecclesiastical Polity," like the writings of most men of true genius, is calculated to enrich and expand the reader's views on a variety of subjects. But Hooker is too grave a writer for the youthful student. Thelwall's "Letters (one duodecimo) on the Church," explain in a clear and familiar way, the nature of the Establishment, the excellence of our liturgy, and the importance of a national church. Boyd on "Episcopacy," enters more deeply into the origin and authority of our Church. To those who have not time to read Mr. Boyd's larger work, I would strongly recommend his "Lectures on Epis-



copy," delivered at Cheltenham. Mr. Thelwall recommends M'Neile's "Letters on the Church;" also the Rev. A. M'Cauley's three sermons on "The Divine Commission of the Christian Ministry," and the "Principles of a Church Establishment." To the general reader, a truly valuable work is "Essays on the Church," by a layman. This author modestly pretends to be only a compiler, who having read all the pamphlets for or against the dissenters, which appeared about the year 1833, endeavoured to bring the whole argument within the compass of one small volume. Chalmers's Sermons should also be read; also an article in the Edinburgh Review, vol. xxvi. From Dr. Dwight's "Travels in New England and New York," we learn how little the "case of America" proves against an establishment; an extract is given in "Essays on the Church."

## 5. THE PRINCIPAL WRITERS ON DIVINITY.

A mere list of authors will seem of little use; but my object is to induce the student to follow some method in his selection; to read writers of the same period at the same time, in order to learn the peculiar character and style of each school, so to speak, of divinity. It is useful also to compare the changes in the theological writing with those of other branches of literature. The different styles of composition may also be noticed, and more particularly the change from the weighty to the wordy style with smooth sounds instead of hard sense.

The following classification of Divines is that adopted by the Rev. E. Bickersteth in his "Christian Student," first published in 1829. This is a valuable guide in Divinity studies. Of course since its publication many works have appeared deserving of notice; and not a few have been rendered available by translations, selections, and reprinting.

The number of volumes of a serious character read by some persons, in the course of a year, is so great that if, instead of mere casual recommendation, they would be guided by the following lists of writers, they might soon gain a very comprehensive knowledge of Theology.

*First.* The FATHERS. Dr. Chalmers fairly says, "We ought not to cast the Book of Antiquity away from us, but give it our most assiduous perusal, while at the same time we sit in the exercise of our free and independent judgment over its contents." The writings of many of the Fathers are now accessible by means of English translations. Still the remembrance of all the tales of pale students, dusty folios, and the midnight lamp in monastic cells, which used to be associated with the very names of the Fathers, has not quite passed away; and therefore I am not sanguine that many will be persuaded even to open one of these awe-inspiring volumes, should it fall in their way; nor can I be disappointed if some cannot be induced to read first and judge afterwards.

As to another class of persons who do not hesitate to avow an utter indifference to the writings of the Fathers, I have only to say that to feel no curiosity about the compositions of men who were the first and foremost of Christian champions in times the most critical to the faith, and who have bequeathed to us the readiest weapons against the skeptics of our own times—to care nothing about Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Augustine—to feel no curiosity about the works of those who, like Jerome and Origen, have done much to restore and preserve the pure text of Scripture, this certainly betrays a feeling hard indeed to reconcile with a due sense of our Gospel privileges. "It is difficult indeed to be insensible," says Mr. Conybeare, in his Lectures, "to the beauty, the piety, the devotion, and the spiritual feeling which are found in almost every page of the Commentary of Augustine." In short, if any person doubt that the works of the Fathers have a real appreciable value, founded not in the mere curiosities of ancient literature, but on good and useful service done,

let him read the "Evidences" of Paley, and then consider, first, whether his leading arguments could be maintained without the testimony so largely derived from the Fathers; and secondly, whether these arguments are not indispensable to the defence of Christianity upon external evidence. The reason I instance Paley's work in preference to any other evidences is, that its style and way of reasoning is of a most popular kind, and while many other works may confirm those who believe, Paley is convincing to those who doubt. It is related of the Duke of Wellington, that, on hearing one of his officers speak lightly of Revelation, he asked him, "Did you ever read Paley?" "No." "Then you are not qualified to give an opinion."

The translations to which I alluded form the "Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church," published by the Oxford Tract party. Already some of the works of St. Augustine, Cyril, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Tertullian have appeared. Also in "The Christian's Family Library" there is one volume, entitled "The Christian Fathers of the First and Second Century; their Principal Remains at large; with selections from their other Writings." Milner and Mosheim may both be consulted for the general character of the Fathers. Also Horne's "Introduction." Conybeare's "Bampton Lectures," above mentioned, contain "An Analytical Examination into the character, value, and just application of the Writings of the Christian Fathers, during the Ante-Nicene Period." Dr. Burton also published "Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ."

In the works of N. Lardner (a Socinian writer) we have a careful examination of the testimony which the fathers have afforded to the Scriptures. Dr. Clarke's "Succession of Sacred Literature," with his "Bibliographical Miscellany," and more particularly Cave's "Lives of the Fathers of the First Four Ages of the Church," are books of high authority.

*Secondly.* The SCHOOLMEN. At the beginning of the Reformation, a monk declared that Greek was "the mother of all heresy," and that as to Hebrew, "it is certain that all who learn it become instantly Jews." For this abhorrence of learning we must blame the abuse of it by the schoolmen, of whom Luther said, "they did nothing but propose paradoxes, and that their whole art was built on a contempt of Scripture." The best advice I can offer the general reader is conveyed in the words of Leighton, "To understand and be master of those trifling disputes that prevail in the schools, is an evidence of a very mean understanding." Bonaventura, Aquinas, Bradwardine, Wickliffe, Huss, and Jerome, are the names of the principal schoolmen; the life and opinions of Wickliffe have been written by Mr. Vaughan. "Estius's Sum," says Mr. Bickersteth, "is considered to contain the best account of the Scholastic Divinity."

*Thirdly.* The REFORMERS. Tindal, Latimer, Cranmer, Ridley, and Philpot, Bradford, Jewell, Fox, Knox, are the writers whose lives and opinions are most worthy of attention. A work in twelve volumes, by the Religious Tract Society, gives selections from their works, as well as from those of Bale, Barnes, Becon, Bilney, Borthwick, Clement, Friih, Gilby, Lady J. Grey, Hamilton, Hooper, Joye, Lambert, Queen Parr, Poner, Rogers, Sampson, Saunders, Taylor, Wickliffe, and Wishart. More matter of the same kind will be found in Legh Richmond's "Fathers of the English Church," and in Bickersteth's "Testimony of the Reformers." Mr. Le Bas, Principal of the E. I. College, has written the lives of Cranmer, Wickliffe, Jewell, and Laud. The "English Martyrology," abridged from Foxe, by Charlotte Elizabeth, a most able writer, forms two small volumes in "The Christian's Family Library."

Of the Foreign Reformers, Luther, Melancthon, Erasmus, Calvin, Zuinglius, Cœcolampadius, Martyr, Bucer, Beza, Bullinger, are men with whom, either by biography (especially D'Aubigne's), or extracts, we have many opportunities of becoming acquainted.

**Fourthly, THE SUCCESSORS OF THE REFORMERS.**

Of these the principal writers are,

Hooker, whose "Ecclesiastical Polity" is universally allowed to be the strongest bulwark of the established church. In this work there is a wonderful weight of words, a most appropriate selection of topics and cogent reasoning. This author is usually quoted as "the Judicious Hooker." His life, by Isaac Walton, is one of the most valuable pieces of biography in our language. He died A. D. 1600.

Richard Sibbes, died about thirty-five years after Hooker. The "Bruised Reed," and "Soul's Conflict," are the titles of two of his best works.

Archbishop Usher, died A. D. 1656. He was called by Dr. Johnson "the great luminary of the Irish church." He is famed for having read all the Fathers. Mr. Bickersteth mentions Usher's "Answer to the Jesuit," as one of the best pieces against Romanism. Since Mr. Bickersteth's time, Usher's "Body of Divinity" has been published, in a convenient form, price only 12s. His works complete, in a handsome form, fill 18 vols., now publishing at 12s. each. A collection of Usher's letters, and his life, were published by his chaplain, Dr. Richard Parr.

Dr. Hammond, the chaplain of Charles I. in Carisbrook Castle, wrote a paraphrase of the New Testament. Sanderson, also attached to Charles, and to compensate for persecution, elevated to the bishopric of Lincoln at the Restoration, wrote "Nine Cases of Conscience," and "Discourse on the Church."

Dr. Mede, accounted the ablest interpreter of obscure prophecy.

Jeremy Taylor, a writer of great fertility and depth of thought. His defence of episcopacy and the liturgy were much admired by Bishop Heber, who thought that in imagination and real genius, Taylor was before either Hooker or Barrow. Few writers have been more gleaned by modern divines. His life has been written by Bonney.

Bishops Babington, Cowper, Greenham, and Andrews lived in this period.

**Fifthly, THE NONCONFORMISTS,** comprising all who separated from the liturgy and ceremonies of the Church, from the Reformation till modern times. On this period, and indeed on every other, "The Christian Student" is strongly recommended.

However deeply rooted may be our hatred of dissent, we must not carry it so far as to think lightly of all the writers of dissenters, or we shall lose some of the most valuable theological discussions and works of practical piety. One anecdote of Lord Burleigh deserves to be better known. When some complained to Lord Burleigh of the liturgy, and said they only wished its amendment, he told them to make a better; one class of the complainants formed a new one, like that of Geneva; another class altered the new one in 600 particulars; a third, quarrelling about the alteration, proposed a new model, and a fourth dissented from all.

Dr. Owen, famed for sound learning and judgment. His writings are very numerous, and they are of a high Calvinistic character.

Baxter. Read the article on his life and writings in the Edinburgh Magazine, 1843. He was chaplain to Whalley's regiment after the battle of Naseby. He tried to reconcile Calvinism with Arminianism. He wrote 145 treatises, of which four were folios, seventy-three quartos, and forty-nine octavos. He wrote much in jail, under the foul sentence of Jeffries.

Charnock, famed for masculine style and originality of thought. His "Discourses on Providence" are considered the best.

Dr. Goodwin, a favourite of Cromwell, whom he attended on his death-bed. He wrote sermons, expositions, and controversial treatises.

Howe, nervous and majestic. Robert Hall, said Burke, was the best author for earth, and Howe for heaven. His "Living Temple" is very celebrated. I would particularly recommend the work, published among the "Sacred Classics."

Dr. Bates, fluent, with beautiful similitudes.

Flavel, fervent, touching the conscience, and moving the feelings.

Caryl, officiated with Dr. Owen as a minister to Cromwell. His "Commentary on Job" is in 12 vols. 4to.

Dr. Manton. See Neal's "Puritans."

Matthew Pool: the "Synopsis Criticorum," in 5 folios, was his chief work.

**Sixthly, THE DIVINES OF THE RESTORATION AND REVOLUTION.** This era was marked, says Bishop Heber in his Life of Taylor, by a school of literature and composition, of all others which this country has seen, the least favourable to genius, and the most unlike that style of thinking and expression which had distinguished Jeremy Taylor and his contemporaries. What Augustine said of Cicero has been remarked of more than one of the following writers, with reference to their avoiding Scriptural terms, and not sufficiently enforcing Christian motives; namely, "that we cease to be captivated with him, because the name of Christ does not occur in him."

Bishop Burnet. Read his "Articles," "Reformation," and "Own Times."

Bishop Reynolds, very terse and full; devotional and controversial—a strong Calvinist.

Archbishop Leighton. His Commentary on St. Peter has been already mentioned.

Bishop Beveridge, very learned in Oriental literature. He wrote on the Thirty-nine Articles. His "Private Thoughts" are most known, and published among the "Sacred Classics."

Archbishop Tillotson. Locke considered Tillotson and Chillingworth very remarkable for perspicuity. Heber speaks of "the dull good sense of Tillotson." He attended with Dr. Burnet at the execution of Lord William Russell. He was accused of Socinianism, Dr. Jortin says, because, in making some concessions to the Socinians, he had broken through one ancient rule of controversy, "allow not an adversary either common sense or common honesty." In answer to this charge he republished four of his sermons "on the Incarnation and Divinity." His sermons are best known. As to the style in which he wrote, read "Fitzosborne's Letters" by Melmoth, who qualifies the excessive praise it had long received.

Isaac Barrow was so deep and copious that Charles II. used to call him an *unfair* preacher, because he left nothing to be said after him. His sermons are a mine of brilliant thoughts and sterling arguments. He was a great mathematician, deemed second only to Sir Isaac Newton. His sermon on "vain and idle talking" is quoted by Addison, as a specimen of singular felicity of expression.

Stillingfleet: his writings against popery are very valuable. The elegance and learning of the "Origines Sacrae" has made it more popular. His "Origines Britannicae" give antiquities of the churches of Britain. He had a controversy with Locke, arising from certain remarks made in his "Defence of the Doctrine of the Trinity."

John Locke wrote "on the Reasonableness of Christianity," and Paraphrases and Notes to several of St. Paul's Epistles.

Robert South held a controversy with Sherlock on the Trinity. His sermons are well known. His style is nervous, with much point and wit. His writings are in great repute.

Sherlock (William, named above) wrote against the dissenters. Thomas Sherlock, his son, wrote a tract well worth reading, called "The Trial of the Witnesses of the Resurrection."

Wilson, Bishop of the Isle of Man, published "Ecclesiastical Constitutions," of which Lord Chancellor King said, that "if the ancient discipline of the Church were lost, it might be found in the Isle of Man." He wrote also sermons and tracts.

William Law: his "Serious Call to a Religious Life" was considered by Dr. Johnson one of the most powerful works of the kind. His "Practical Treatise on Christianity" is also very good.



Bishop Warburton: his "Julian," "Alliance of Church and State," and "Divine Legation," are much admired. Read Dr. Johnson's character of Warburton in his "Life of Pope." It was said that Bishop Bull was his master, and Jeremy Taylor his favourite divine.

Bishop Watson answered Paine and Gibbon. His "Apology" has been already mentioned.

Archbishop Secker wrote "Sermons and Lectures on the Church Catechism."

Bishop Berkeley fell dead while hearing a sermon, written by Dr. Sherlock. He is more known as a philosopher than as a divine.

Bishop Butler, the author of the Sermons and Analogy already mentioned.

Secondly, MODERN WRITERS.

T. H. Horne, author of the "Introduction."

Jonathan Edwards, who wrote on "The Will."

Romaine, author of the most popular book on Faith.

Milner, author of the "Church History."

Jones, of Nayland, deemed one of the most satisfactory writers on the Trinity.

Newton, the history of whose life is universally recommended, as also are his letters.

Scott, the author of the "Commentary."

Robert Hall, one of the finest writers in the English language; clear, candid, and very powerful.

Bishop Horsley, the author of "Biblical Criticism."

These are the principal writers of the beginning of the present century. It does not seem requisite to enumerate any later authors.

### ON THE PRAYER BOOK.

Read first the "History of the Prayer-Book" by the C. K. Society. This is a small volume, containing a useful addition to Church History.

Shepherd "on the Common Prayer;"

Wheatley's "Illustration of Common Prayer;"

Nelson's "Companion for the Fasts and Festivals;" and

Mant "on the Liturgy," are all standard works.

On "The Rubrics and Canons of the Church," a work much recommended, was written in 1753, by Thomas Sharp.

"Lectures and Sermons on the Liturgy" have been published by Bishop Jebb, 2 vols. 8vo., 1830; Thomas Rogers, 2 vols. 8vo.; Bishop J. Bird Sumner, 8vo. (more particularly on the Fasts and Festivals); Matthew Hale, 4 vols. 8vo, 1838, a new edition; and others.

Bishop Taylor's "Apology for the Liturgy," Heber considered among the best of Taylor's Polemical Discourses.

Bishop Nicholson's work on the Catechism has been lately republished.

One of the most compendious and useful books of reference, to those who would purchase one only on this and most other ecclesiastical matters, is the Rev. J. E. Riddle's "Ecclesiastical Chronology, or Annals of the Church," containing History, the relations of the Church to the State; controversies, sects, rites, discipline, writers.

On the Church of England, besides the above,

Bishop Jewell's famous "Apology for the Church of England," written in Latin, and translated by the mother of Sir Francis Bacon, is considered to have promoted the Reformation more than any other book. This, with Hooker's "Polity," Burnet's "Articles," and Nicholson "On the Book of Common Prayer," are considered unexceptionable expositions of the doctrines of the Church of England.

As to the Sermons, exhortations and addresses to the feelings, they are abundantly supplied from our pulpits, and by the list of works which I shall presently recommend for the closet. For real instruction,

"The Bampton Lectures,"

"The Hulsean Lectures,"

"The 100 Sermons of the Sunday Library," by Heber, Secker, Blomfield, Horne, Horsley, Malby,

Mant, Sumner, Robert Hall, Chalmers, and others; Arnold's "Sermons at Rugby School;"

"Heber's Sermons;"

are all standard works, affording ample scope for every choice; so that after the many old writers already recommended, I may be spared the invidious and very difficult task of specifying what living authors deserve a preference.

For general theological reading—

"The Library of the Fathers;"

"Anglo-Catholic Theology;"

"The Theological Library;"

"The Englishman's Library;"

"The Christian's Family Library;"

are series of publications containing valuable reprints of old Standard Divinity, with some original composition.

Lastly, as to PRACTICAL WORKS, or Books for the Closet, Mr. Bickersteth remarks, that "it would be well for authors to consider to what books God has given the most influence in producing extensively a spirit of religion. If I were to name twelve works in our own language, I should name the following:—

Adams's Private Thoughts,

Alleine's Alarm,

Baxter's Call,

—Saint's Rest,

Beveridge's Private Thoughts,

Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress,

Doddridge's Rise and Progress,

Hervey's Theron and Aspasio,

Law's Serious Call,

Milner's History of the Church,

Scott's Force of Truth,

Wilberforce's Practical View.

I have requested many of my clerical friends to mention works of the same kind, and have invariably found most of their favourite authors in this list.

Bunyan, Doddridge, and Wilberforce are most true to nature. Of Doddridge a late edition has a valuable essay by John Forster.

Horne's "Introduction," Bickersteth's "Christian Student," and Messrs. Longman's "Classified Catalogue," will render any further assistance that the Biblical student can require.

### ON THE STUDY OF POETRY.—CRITICISM.—TASTE.

"JOHNSON'S Lives of the Poets" will be a handbook or guide to the poets.<sup>1</sup>

Of Chaucer few read more than one or two tales as a specimen.<sup>2</sup>

Spenser<sup>3</sup> will improve taste—an author whom men of deep poetic feeling fondly read, and others distantly admire.

Shakspeare<sup>4</sup> no one should every cease reading: begin with the tragedies.

Cowley, Waller, Philips, Parnell, Rowe, Prior, Gay, Green, Tickell, Somerville, Swift, Collins, Dyer, Churchill, Akenside, Lyttleton, Armstrong, J. Warton, T. Warton, Mason, Beattie, are authors of whom those of limited opportunities may be contented to read such parts only as Johnson or other critics point out.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> JOHNSON'S LIVES OF THE POETS, 2 vols. Phila.

<sup>2</sup> CHAUCER'S WORKS, a new edition, in 1 vol. 8vo. E. Moxon, London.

<sup>3</sup> SPENSER'S WORKS, a beautiful edition, in 5 vols. 8vo. Little & Brown, Boston.

<sup>4</sup> THE BRITISH POETS, complete, edited by Robert Walsh, 50 vols. 18mo. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia. THE POETS AND POETRY OF ENGLAND, of the 19th Century, with selections from 75 Poets, and biographical notices, by Rufus W. Griswold, 1 vol. 8vo, with seven beautiful illustrations, price \$3.50. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

THE POETS AND POETRY OF AMERICA, with biographical notices by Rufus W. Griswold, beautifully

Of *Milton*, to read "Paradise Lost" is the duty of all—the pleasure of a few. Fuseli thought the second book the grandest effort of the human mind. All the minor works are better known than "Paradise Regained."

Of *Dryden*, "Alexander's Feast" is one of the most popular lyric odes. His "Fables," "Annus Mirabilis" and "Translation of Virgil" are the most celebrated. Dryden is considered to evince more strength and real poetry with less smoothness than Pope. Bolingbroke admired his prose writing. Mackintosh thought "The Cock and the Fox" Dryden's best poem.

Of *Addison*, read the "Cato" and Psalm xxiii.

Of *Pope*, the "Rape of the Lock" is the best of all heroi-comical poems; "Eloisa to Abelard" is the most immoral and impious poem ever sanctioned; most unworthy of the author of the "Messiah," which should be learned by heart and compared with Isaiah and Virgil. The "Essay on Criticism" and "Dunciad" show that Pope could write as strong lines as any writer. Of the "Essay on Man" the argument was written by Bolingbroke, and versified by Pope.

Of *Thomson*, all admire the sensibility and natural beauty of "The Seasons." He had not the art of giving effect with a few touches. His "Castle of Indolence" shows more genius, though less known.

Of *Shenstone*, Gray said, "He goes hopping along his own gravel walk, and never deviates from the beaten track, for fear of being lost." "The School-mistress" is one of the best imitations of Spenser.

Of *Young*, "The Night Thoughts" hold a high place among devotional poetry. Most of the literary world read part, few read all; which, indeed, may almost be said of Milton, for reasons given in Johnson's "Life of Milton."

Of *Gray*, the "Elegy" and "Ode to Eton College" are best known. Of the rest of his odes, Sir J. Mackintosh truly said, "They are most pleasing to the artist who looks to structure." And again, "To those who are capable of that intense application, which the higher order of poetry requires, and which poetical sympathy always produces, there is no obscurity."

Of *Goldsmith*, "The Deserted Village," next to Gray's "Elegy," is the most popular piece of English poetry. The other poems are much read.

Of *Johnson*, "London," and "The Vanity of Human Wishes," much admired by Byron, every scholar should compare with the third and tenth satires of Juvenal. His prologue, spoken by Garrick in 1747, is very good.

Of *Cowper*, "The Task" is considered the masterpiece. All his poems are much read, especially Alexander Selkirk, John Gilpin, and all the smaller pieces. Cowper, like Euripides, was remarkable for reconciling poetical sentiment with the language of common life. He may be considered the first of the school of Wordsworth. His letters are equal to any. Few poets have had more readers than Cowper. The public say of poetry as cottagers of religious tracts, "We like something with a tale in it."

Of later writers *Wordsworth* is admired by all his brother poets. See Coleridge's "Biographia Literaria." Read "The Excursion." Crabbe's "Phœbe Dawson" was read to Fox on his death-bed. Of the "Borough" Mackintosh said, what Pitt observed of Sir W. Scott's "Minstrel," "I acknowledge his unparalleled power of painting."

Of *Coleridge*, Scott said, translation was his forte. He translated Wallenstein from manuscript, and Schiller adopted and printed some of Coleridge's de-

viations. The "Ancient Mariner," composed during an evening walk with Wordsworth, as well as his "Christabel," are very celebrated. Mackintosh said Coleridge's "talents were below his understanding; he had never matured his ideas, so as to express them with clearness and order." In other words, Coleridge, like Shelley and others of the same school, often failed in the single step which would have attained to the sublime, and therefore their writings seem to remain in the regions of the ridiculous. Burns, Byron, Moore, Southey, Sir W. Scott, Rogers, L. E. L. (Letitia Elizabeth Landon), Heber, Milman, Keats, Shelley, James Montgomery, are names which I need only mention. The reader may easily learn the names of the best pieces of each; and when he thinks he knows their several styles, then he may read with interest the "Rejected Addresses," and try how many of the supposed authors he can identify. Alfred Tennyson is the poet of the present day.

On *Taste*.—Read Burke "On the Sublime and Beautiful," Alison "On Taste," the principles of which were espoused by Stewart and Jeffrey; but see Burns' Letters (Lett. CC.). Read the critical articles in the Edinburgh and Quarterly.<sup>1</sup> Hallam recommends the papers in Blackwood on Spenser, by Professor Wilson.<sup>2</sup> Read Coleridge's criticism of Wordsworth in his "Biographia Literaria." The reviews of Wordsworth. Johnson's "Lives of the Poets;" his criticism of Gray is termed by Mackintosh "a monstrous example of critical injustice;" he adds, "he was unjust to Prior, because he had no feeling of the lively and the graceful." Sir James justly maintained that "there is a poetical sensibility which, in the progress of the mind, becomes as distinct a power, as a musical ear or a picturesque eye," which sensibility Johnson had not. The author of *Rasselas* certainly had a talent for poetry, and so Sir James himself was "not wanting in imagery," said Robert Hall, "but it was acquired and imported, not native to his mind." The essay in Blackwood on Burns's poetry, by Carlyle, was strongly recommended by Mrs. Hemans. Read also the papers on Milton in the Spectator. Lastly, study attentively poems of different degrees of merit; compare odes, blank verse, the different measures of Pope and Spenser, Scott, and others, and consider which are best suited to the English language, what poet excels in each; then confirm or correct your own opinions by those of reputed critics. I have also known much improvement conveyed by a few hours' reading with a tutor of good taste. Coleridge, high as were his natural endowments, ascribed much of his proficiency to school lessons in criticism from Dr. Bowyer at Christ's Hospital.

Since the method of studying all subjects is nearly the same, I may now conclude with works on Natural Philosophy, and Common-place Books.

Herschel's "Preliminary Discourse," Paley's "Natural Theology," and the Bridgewater Treatises, will each and all tend to a general knowledge of science. Lardner's treatises will teach *Astronomy, Mechanics, Hydraulics and Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, and Optics*.<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Somerville's "Connection of the Physical Sciences," was written to render science accessible to her countrywomen. Arnot's "Physics"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> CRITICAL ARTICLES IN THE EDINBURGH AND QUARTERLY REVIEWS AND BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE. A selection of all the most valuable papers in the above, from the commencement to the present time, has been made and published by Carey & Hart, in the Modern British Essayists. Amongst authors whose works will be found in the series, are

Macaulay,	Mackintosh,	Milman,
Sydney Smith,	Jeffrey,	Heber,
Sir W. Scott,	Hallam,	Prof. Wilson,
A. Alison,	Lockhart,	Gifford,
Talfourd,	Stephens,	&c. &c.

<sup>2</sup> THE NOCTES AMBROSIANA OF BLACKWOOD. 4 vols. price \$4.50. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>3</sup> LARDNER'S ASTRONOMY. 1 vol. ARNOT'S PHYSICS

illustrated. 1 vol. 8vo, price \$3. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

THE POETS AND POETRY OF EUROPE, with notices of the authors and translations from the Anglo-Saxon, Dutch, Italian, Icelandic, German, Spanish, Swedish, French, Portuguese, &c., with a history of their literature from the earliest times, by Henry W. Long-

is simple and instructive. On *Botany*, Mrs. Horry's "Opusculæ for Beginners of all Ages," removes very many of the old difficulties; the object being to teach the principles of the science in the most common words. On *Chemistry*, "Chemistry no Mystery," by Scoffern, with one of Palmer's chemical chests, &c., will furnish implements for a few shillings, and thus you may teach yourself all necessary experiments in a few evenings. The works of Brande, Donovan, and Graham<sup>1</sup> may then, and not till then, be useful. Lardner on the "Steam-Engine,"<sup>2</sup> Brewster on "Magnetism," Phillips on "Geology," and other treatises, simple or technical, elementary or abstruse, will be found in Messrs. Longman's "Classified Catalogue." Indeed every part of science has of late been treated in a way easy and intelligible to "men, women, and children."

Lastly, keep a Common-place Book. Procure "The improved Common-place Book on the plan of Locke." The preface contains instructions. This Common-place Book, I would advise students to use as a day-book, and to keep a common ruled book of 300 or 400 pages as a ledger. The day-book should contain an analysis of every book that is read, to aid the natural defects of memory, not to supersede it; that is, we should enter time, place, and persons, and little facts, when, and only when, we can trust our memory with the chief part of the narrative. The entry should resemble the summary we find in books.

<sup>1</sup> GRAHAM'S CHEMISTRY. 1 vol. Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia.

THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF CHEMISTRY, by Booth & Boyé, now in course of publication. Several Nos. have already appeared—to be completed in twenty Nos. at 25 cts. each. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> LARDNER ON THE STEAM-ENGINE. 1 vol. \$1.50. Carey & Hart, Philadelphia.

We may also enter original thoughts in order as they arise. Then the ledger should be a book of topics in which every subject of interest may have a page or two assigned it, for the purpose of classifying the contents of the Common-place or Day Book. To show the advantage of this, I will copy from my own book one of the pages in which I have long stored up any casual notice and recommendation of authors to determine my choice of reading.

*"Authors recommended and characterized"*

"Read 'Collingwood's letter on Trafalgar,' cp. 2. (i. e. Common-place Book, page 2), and Hutchinson 'On Alexandria,' cp. 8. Burke's opinion of Montesquieu, cp. 14, and of Voltaire, of Murphy's Translation and 'Ossian,' cp. 14. The prose of Dryden, Shaftesbury, and Hooker characterised, cp. 27. What Neibuhr and what Pitt considered the desiderata of literature, cp. 175. Gent. Mag. for 1747, about Hogæus. Miss Austin's 'Pride and Prejudice,' Scott thought unequalled, cp. 31. Adolphus's Letters to Heber. 'New Monthly' for 1822, about National Gallery. 'On India and Hindoos,' read Ward's book. Swift's letters better than Pope's, cp. 150. Read Cowper's letters, Mackintosh's opinion of Hume's History, cp. 38. Edinb. No. XLI. 2d article by Mackintosh. Canning's eulogy of Chalmers's 'Sermons,' cp. 257. Gray's opinion of Froissart; which was admired by Hemans, as also Paul and Virginia, cp. 54."

I have now said as much as can be useful, and perhaps more, and shall conclude with observing that, however imperfect this little work may be, any young person of ordinary understanding who will follow the advice it contains for one or two hours a day, will soon acquire such habits of reflection and general knowledge as will greatly increase the pleasure both of his solitary and his social hours.

THE END.



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<i>Rev. Sydney Smith,</i>	<i>Sir James Mackintosh</i>
<i>Professor Wilson,</i>	<i>T. Noon Talfourd,</i>
<i>James Stephen,</i>	<i>J. G. Lockhart,</i>
<i>J. Wilson Croker,</i>	<i>William Gifford,</i>
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The following is extracted from a very able article on Mr. Macaulay, by Mr. E. P. Whipple:

"It is impossible to cast even a careless glance over the literature of the last thirty years, without perceiving the prominent station occupied by critics, reviewers and essayists. Criticism in the old days of *Monthly Reviews* and *Gentlemen's Magazines*, was quite an humble occupation, and was chiefly monopolized by the 'barren rascals' of letters, who scribbled, sinned and starved in attics and cellars; but it has since been almost exalted into a creative art, and numbers among its professors some of the most accomplished writers of the age. Dennis, Rymer, Winstanley, Theophilus Cibber, Griffiths, and other 'eminent hands,' as well as the nameless contributors to defunct periodicals and deceased pamphlets, have departed, body and soul, and left not a wreck behind; and their places have been supplied by such men as Coleridge, Carlyle, Macaulay, Lamb, Hazlitt, Jeffrey, Wilson, Gifford, Mackintosh, Sydney Smith, Hallam, Campbell, Talfourd and Brougham. Indeed every celebrated writer of the present century, without it is believed, a solitary exception, has dabbled or excelled in criticism. It has been the road to fame and profit, and has commanded both applause and guineas, when the unfortunate objects of it have been blessed with neither. Many of the strongest minds of the age will leave no other record behind them, than critical essays and popular speeches. To those who have made criticism a business, it has led to success in other professions. The *Edinburgh Review*, which took the lead in the establishment of the new order of things, was projected in a lofty attic by two briefless barristers and a titheless parson; the former are now lords, and the latter is a snug prebendary, rejoicing in the reputa-

tion of being the finest wit and smartest divine of the age. That celebrated journal made reviewing more respectable than authorship. It was started at a time when the degeneracy of literature demanded a radical reform, and a sharp vein of criticism. Its contributors were men who possessed talents and information, and so far held a slight advantage over most of those they reviewed, who did not happen to possess either. Grub Street quarterly quaked to its foundations, as the northern comet shot its portentous glare into the dark alleys, where bathos and puerility buzzed and hived. The citizens of Brussels, on the night previous to Waterloo, were hardly more terror-struck than the vast array of fated authors who, every three months, waited the appearance of the baleful luminary, and, starting at every sound which betokened its arrival,

'Whispered with white lips, the foe! it comes! it comes!'

"In the early and palmy days of the Review, when reviewers were wits and writers were hacks, the shore of the great ocean of books was 'heaped with the damned like pebbles.' Like an 'eagle in a dove-cote,' it fluttered the leaves of the *Minerva* press, and stifled the weak notes of imbecile elegance, and the dull croak of insipid vulgarity, learned ignorance, and pompous humility. The descent of Attila on the Roman Empire was not a more awful visitation to the Italians, than the 'fell swoop' of the *Edinburgh Review* on the degenerate denizens of Grub Street and Paternoster Row. It carried ruin and devastation wherever it went, and in most cases it carried those severe but providential dispensations to the right places, and made havoc consistent both with political and poetic justice. The *Edinburgh* reviewers were found not to be of the old school of critics. They were not contented with the humble task of chronicling the appearance of books, and meekly condensing their weak contents for the edification of lazy heads; but when they delighed to read and analyze the work they judged, they sought rather for opportunities to display their own wit and knowledge than to flatter the vanity of the author, or to increase his readers. Many of their most splendid articles were essays rather than reviews. The writer, whose work afforded the name of the subject, was summarily disposed of in a quiet sneer, a terse sarcasm, or a faint panegyric, and the remainder of the article hardly recognised his existence. It is to these purely original contributions, written by men of the first order of talent, that the Review owes most of its reputation."

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REMARKS  
ON AN ARTICLE IN THE  
BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW  
CONCERNING A RECENT  
DISCOURSE  
DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
CONVENTION OF CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS  
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BY  
EDWARDS A. PARK,  
Abbot Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

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ANDOVER:  
PUBLISHED BY W. F. DRAPER.  
1851.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1851, by  
W. F. DRAPER,  
in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

ANDOVER :  
Press of W. F. Draper.

## REMARKS.

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IN the Biblical Repertory for October, 1850, has been published a Review of the last Convention Sermon delivered before the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts. Some admirers of this Review have published the remark, that no one can mistake "the hand" that is in it, and have fitly characterized its author as "one of the most accomplished Reviewers in the country." As it is said to have emanated from a well-known theological instructor; as it suggests some grave questions of rhetoric; and as it illustrates various evils incident to anonymous criticism, it seems entitled to a dispassionate regard. There is no need, however, of canvassing all the principles, right and wrong, which are advanced in the Review, nor of commenting on *all* the wrong impressions which it makes, with regard to the sermon. We shall content ourselves with noticing a few, as specimens of the many mis-statements into which the critic has inadvertently lapsed.

It is a familiar fact, and one of great practical importance, that there are two generic modes of representing the same system of religious truth; the one mode suited to the scientific treatise, the other to the popular discourse, hymn book, liturgy. They differ not in language *alone*, but in several, and especially the following particulars: first, in the images and illustrations with which the same truth

is connected; Reinhard's Dogmatic System, for instance, not admitting the fervid imagery which glows in his eloquent discourses; secondly, in the proportions which the same truths bear to each other: Van Mastricht's scientific treatise, for example, giving less prominence to some, and more to other doctrines, than would be given to them in the earnest sermons of Krummacher; thirdly, in the arrangement of the same truths; Turretin's arrangement not being adapted to the ever varying wants of men, women, and children; fourthly, in the mode of commending the same truth to popular favor; a treatise of Ralph Cudworth, depending on nice distinctions and scholastic proofs, but a practical sermon of John Bunyan, depending on a bold outline and the selection of a few prominent features which win the heart at once; fifthly, in the words, and collocations of words used for expressing the same class of ideas; the truths in Ridgeley's Body of Divinity not being clothed in the language proper for an impassioned exhortation, or for popular psalmody. The design of the sermon under review is, to develop some practical lessons suggested by this plain distinction between these two modes of exhibiting one and the same doctrine.

One of these lessons is, the necessity of the preacher's enlivening a single abstract doctrine by concrete exhibitions of it; as, for example, the doctrine of eternal punishment, or of the general judgment, or of the resurrection, by images of the fire, darkness, worm, gnashing teeth, throne, open books, palm branch, white robe, etc. etc.<sup>1</sup> Another of these lessons is, the importance of inferring certain great doctrines from their congeniality with constitutional or pious feeling, and of ennobling the manifestation of this feeling by the clear statement of those doctrines.<sup>2</sup> The expressions of feeling are premises from which the intellect must deduce important corollaries; while it must not force upon these expressions the meaning which might be derived from a rigid analysis of them, but, making allowance for their unguarded terms, must penetrate into their substantial import. So far from its being a design of the sermon to deny that "truth is in order to holiness," as a reader of the Review would infer, a design of the sermon is rather to show that "every doctrine which [the intellect discovers in the Bible or in nature] is in reality practical, calling forth some emotion, and this emotion animating the sensitive nature which is not diseased, deepening its love of knowledge,

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 540-542. Throughout this article reference is made to the edition of the sermon in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for July, 1850.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 542-546.



elevating and widening the religious system which is to satisfy it. Every new article of the good man's belief elicits love or hatred, and this love or hatred so modifies the train and phasis of his meditations as to augment and improve the volume of his heart's theology."<sup>1</sup>

Instead of its being a tendency of the sermon to discountenance logical studies, one object of it is to show that "we lose our civilization so far forth as we depreciate a philosophy truly so called;" and "our faith becomes a wild or weak sentimentalism, if we despise logic," p. 543. Instead of the sermon's being adapted, as the Review implies, p. 660, to represent 'diversities of doctrinal propositions as matters of small moment, and make light of all differences which do not affect the fundamentals of the Gospel,' it reiterates the idea in various forms, that the "metaphysical refinements of creeds are useful," that "our spiritual oneness, completeness, progress, require" us to "define, distinguish, infer, arrange our inferences in a system," and that although "there is an identity in the *essence* of many systems which are run in scientific or aesthetic *moulds* unlike each other," yet even some of these unessential differences are more important, others less so, than they seem. Hence is inferred the duty "to argue more for the broad central *principles*, and to wrangle less for the side, the party *aspects* of truth," and to guard against what Dr. Hodge calls "a denunciatory or censorious spirit," which "blinds the mind to moral distinctions, and prevents the discernment between matters unessential and those vitally important."<sup>2</sup>

Many pious men are distressed by the apparent contradictions in our best religious literature, and for their sake another practical lesson developed in the discourse is, the importance of exhibiting the mutual consistency between all the expressions of right feeling. The discrepancies so often lamented are not fundamental but superficial, and are easily harmonized by exposing the one self-consistent principle which lies at their basis.<sup>3</sup> The assertions, for example, that God repents of having made our race and that he never repents, although contradictory in themselves, are not so in their fit connections; for they refer not to the same specific truth, but to different truths, both of which, however, may be reduced to the same ultimate principle,

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. p. 543.

<sup>2</sup> See Hodge on Rom. 14: 1-23, also Bib. Sac. pp. 543, 559-561. It may be stated here, once for all, that whenever quotations are made in this article from the Review, or from the sermon, the writer has introduced his own italics, for the purpose of making this article the more definite.

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 546-550.

that the changeless God is disposed to punish sin. So the assertions God is a rock and God is a Spirit, are contradictory if interpreted as divines often interpret language, by its letter, but they are not contradictory if interpreted as divines ought to interpret language, by its intent; for they relate not to the same specific idea, but to different ideas, both of which, however, may be reduced to the same ultimate principle, that the immaterial Divinity is a strong and sure support of his people.

Numerous and serious errors arise from understanding figurative expressions as if they were literal, and from transferring prosaic, vapid formulas, into sacred songs, fervent prayers, pathetic appeals. For this cause another practical lesson developed in the sermon is, the importance of keeping in their appropriate sphere the two modes of expressing truth, and the importance of appreciating the evil which results from unduly intermingling them.<sup>1</sup> Much of this evil finds its way into the religious character of men. Every controversial essay exposes it. Every day we see that the careless intermixture of the two forms of truth "confuses the soul," raises feuds in the "church," encourages "*logomachy*," "makes men uneasy with themselves and therefore acrimonious against each other," causes them to "sink their controversy into a contention and their dispute into a quarrel," etc. Often "the massive speculations of the metaphysician sink down into his expressions of feeling and make him appear cold hearted, while the enthusiasm of the impulsive divine ascends and effervesces into his reasonings, and causes him both to *appear* and to *be*, what our Saxon idiom so reprovingly styles him, hot-headed." Sermon, p. 553. We have no right to press our dogmas so far as to check the natural tendency of men to use language which, if interpreted according to the letter, is not correct. We must allow them to say that the sun rises and the fire is hot. An eminent and excellent divine once commenced an epistle to a friend with the exhortation not to pray for power to do right, because all men have this power but are merely disinclined to use it; and he closed the letter with an affectionate petition that his friend might be *enabled* to discharge his duty in this respect. The feelings *will* express themselves in words which the intellect left to itself would never have devised. We must do justice to these feelings. Let them have free play. This, however, is no excuse for inferring from the language of emotion, that the idea denoted by the literal interpretation of that language is the truth. If

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 550—558.

so, the Romanists have gained their controversy and Galileo was rightly proscribed. We must not build a fortress of polemic theology on a mere flower of rhetoric; if so, we do not consolidate the fortress, and we crush the juices out of the flower. How much of theological mysticism has resulted from regarding the stanza of Cowley, that with God

"Nothing is there to come, and nothing past,  
But an eternal *now* does always last,"——

as if it were a scientific formula, not less exact than poetical? How much of ethical error has arisen from interpreting the fervid exhortation, that impenitent sinners should pray for grace to put forth their first holy choice, as if this exhortation were designed to imply that they may pray without holiness for aid in performing their first right act. Rigidly explained, the phrase must have this meaning, but was it intended for a logical or a popular phrase? And is it not often understood, in the sense which is not indeed, but which nevertheless *ought* always to be designed, as a stimulus to immediate repentance, a stimulus applied so vehemently that the solecism of the words is overlooked.

Other practical lessons suggested in the discourse are, the importance of making our sermons less dull and stiff, by making them less abstract; the importance of rendering our theological treatises less ambiguous by writing them in a style less in need of qualification; the importance of a larger charity toward good men, and of a deeper reverence for the one system of inspired truth which unites in its maintenance so many classes of devotees.

But the Reviewer seems not to have noticed the true practical aims of the sermon. He was led, perhaps, into his misapprehensions of it by its title. This title is distinctly affirmed to have been chosen "for want of a better,"<sup>1</sup> not because it is all that could be wished. Let us then state some of the reasons which may justify it.

First, it is less cumbrous than any other which would be equally expressive of the author's meaning. The title might have been, The form of theology suggested by and best suited to the calm processes of the intellect, and the form of theology suggested by and best fitted to awaken and then to gratify the right feelings. Or it might have been, Theology in the form prompted by the reasoning powers and best adapted to speculation, and theology in the form prompted by the sensibilities and suited to excite and then satisfy emotion.

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. p. 534.

But the title actually selected is, *The Theology of the Intellect and that of the Feelings*. This need not be misunderstood, for it is expressly defined as not denoting two *kinds* of truth essentially unlike, but as denoting two dissimilar *modes* of representing one and the same truth. A brief Proposition, when definitely explained, is allowed as a convenience to all preachers.

Secondly, the title was selected as a deferential and a charitable one. It was designed to mitigate prejudices, by conceding somewhat to them. The representations which are classified under the theology of feeling are often sanctioned as "the true theology," by the men who delight most in employing them. What the sermon would characterize as images, illustrations and intense expressions, these men call *doctrines*. It is a *doctrine*, for instance, that the bread is Christ's body; that men are regenerated in baptism; that the sins of a man are forgiven by God if a minister forgive them; that moral inability is not a mere desperate unwillingness, but a literal powerlessness; that guilt is as literally imputed to the innocent as innocence is imputed to them, and that innocence is as literally imputed to the sinful as sin is imputed to them. In like manner the conceptions most obviously denoted by such terms as eternal generation and procession, are often said by the men who are most fond of using these terms, to be necessary parts of "the correct theology." In deference to this frequent usage, these conceptions may be named "the theology of the heart." We call one system of theology "rational" or "liberal," simply because it is called so by its advocates; much more then may we designate by the phrase "emotive theology," those representations which are so tenaciously defended by multitudes as the truth fitted both for the feeling and the judgment. It appears less invidious to designate them by some such phrase, than to stigmatize them as merely figurative or poetical modes of statement. The sermon repeatedly declares, that there is a depth of significancy in some of these representations, which cannot be adequately expressed by the words figurative, imaginative and poetical, for these words have often an import too superficial; that the language of the emotions, even when *dis-sonant* from the accurate statements of truth, has yet a meaning which is perfectly correct, but is "more profound than can be pressed home upon the heart by any exact definitions." It affirms, that even when Dr. Jonathan Edwards, and Andrew Fuller, and Dr. Day call our "moral inability" a figurative term, they use the word figurative in a sense which needs to be explained, or it will be misunderstood.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 537, 538, 549, 567. See also note B. to the second pamphlet edition of the sermon.



Therefore, one design of the discourse is to show the dignity and importance of those subjective conceptions which, although not conformed to the literal verity, are yet, like all vivid conceptions, attended with a momentary belief in their conformity to it, and which enliven our more accurate ideas of it, and which, being supposed by many to be logically correct, may be honored with a more respectful name than *mere* fancies or metaphorical representations.<sup>1</sup>

A third reason for the title is, that it is conformed to the analogy of language. As a substance, though distinguishable, is yet inseparable from its form, the name of the substance is often applied to the form. We speak of a syllogistic and of a popular argument, when we mean merely two different ways of expressing the very same argument. We speak of the language of eloquence and of logic, of the imagination and the passions, when we refer to the same identical language in different arrangements. We allude to the Jehovah of the Old Testament and the Jehovah of the New, without implying that there are two different Gods, but implying only that there are two different manifestations of God. The Sabellians, in order to avoid Tritheism, speak of God the Father, *and* God the Son, *and* God the Spirit, as one God in three modes of development; but, according to the Reviewer's way of interpreting the title of this sermon, the Sabellians may be fairly charged with being Tritheists, and believing in three different Supreme Beings. Diverse names are often applied to dissimilar forms or states of the same essence; as to one material substance when it is exhibited in dissimilar shapes; to the soul itself in different modes of its activity. The same ideas and even words, as they are presented in differing combinations, are denominated eloquence, poetry, or prose. Men distinguish between a doctrinal and a practical sermon, a didactic and a controversial theology, between the theology of one master and that of another,<sup>2</sup> between the theology of Paul and that of John, when they fully admit and intend only to declare by these phrases, that exactly the same truths are presented in diverse styles for different ends. Why then may we not distinguish between an intellectual and an emotive theology, when we expressly affirm that each differs from the other in form rather than in

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 540, 549.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Tholuck has said that the theology of Pres. Edwards *and* the theology of Hegel, on the subject of the will, *are* the same; of course he could not mean the same in form. Dr. Channing has said that the theology of Dr. Hopkins *and* the theology of Fenelon, on the subject of disinterested benevolence, *are* the same; of course he could not mean the same in style and *contour*.



essence? If we may speak of a belief or conviction of the head as distinct from a belief or conviction of, i. e. prompted by the heart, when we mean essentially one and the same mental belief or conviction, why may we not speak of a theology of the head as distinct from a theology of, i. e. prompted by the heart, when we mean the same theology in essence? This appellation is by no means unusual, even in familiar converse. And for the Biblical Repertory to distort the title of the sermon into an affirmation of "two theologies" (a phrase never used in the discourse) substantially opposite to each other, is as marked a violation of the rules of speech, as it would be to represent the eloquence of the outward manner, of the reasoning process, of the passionate address, of the direct exhortation, as four radically different "eloquences." But this remark anticipates one class of the misapprehensions developed in the Review.

1. The Repertory mis-states the very object of the discourse. It describes the sermon as advocating not two different forms but two essentially antagonistic "*kinds* of theology," two opposing sets of "*doctrine*," both equally correct. It recognizes no difference between an image or symbol, and a truth. As many of its reasonings are directed against the wrong subject, they spend themselves like arrows aimed at the wrong target. It is needless to refute them, after they have been shown to result from a misunderstanding of the theme.

The Review mis-states the object of the discourse, first, by omitting the formal *definition* of its title. In introducing the subject, after having stated that "when preachers aim to rouse the *sympathies* of a *populace*, they often give a brighter coloring or a bolder prominence to *some lineaments* of a doctrine than can be given to them in a *well compacted science*," the discourse proceeds, "There are two *forms* of theology of which the two passages in my text are selected as individual specimens, the one declaring that God never repents, the other that he does repent. *For want of a better name* these two *forms* may be termed the theology of the intellect and the theology of feeling. Sometimes, indeed, both the mind and the heart are suited by the *same modes of thought*, but often they require dissimilar *methods*."<sup>1</sup> And immediately afterwards, lest this should be misunderstood, the subject is thus re-announced: "What then are some of the differences between these two kinds of REPRESENTATION?" Now, against the canons of fair criticism, the entire paragraphs containing this formal definition are omitted by the Reviewer. The true intent of the discourse is thus in a degree hidden from his readers. This definition

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. p. 534.

given in form at the outset, adds an emphasis to many subsequent phrases which our critic has either kept entirely out of view, or the meaning of which he has in some degree concealed by his one capital omission. No reader of the sermon needs to doubt, that the theology of feeling is "*the form of belief* which is suggested by and adapted to the wants of the well trained heart;"<sup>1</sup> contains the '*literal truth* presented in appropriate *images*;' allows '*discordant representations* of the one self-consistent *principle*;' sanctions "an interchange of *styles* all unfolding the same *idea*;" includes "*forms* of language which circumscribe a *substance of doctrine*, a *substance* which *fashioned* as it may be, the intellect grasps and holds fast; a *substance* which arrests the more attention and prolongs the deeper interest by the *figures* which bound it." With the preceding definition the whole tenor of the discourse shows its object to be, the delineation of "*our mode of shaping and coloring* the doctrines of theology," and these doctrines are "those *cardinal truths* which the Bible has lifted up and turned over in so many different lights as to make them [the truths] the more conspicuous by their very alternations of *figure and hue*."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the discourse delineates the *one doctrine* of Future Punishment and the "*symbols*" by which it is illustrated; the *one doctrine* of the Resurrection, and the "*pictures*" by which it is enlivened; the *one doctrine* of the General Judgment and the *poetical conceptions* which vivify it;<sup>3</sup> the *one doctrine* of Regeneration "revealed in dissimilar *forms*;" the *one doctrine* of man's unwillingness to repent, expressed in '*phrases* which disagree with each other';<sup>4</sup> all these "*symbols*," "*pictures*," "*poetical conceptions*" and illustrative images not being distinct doctrines but only distinct modes of representing the same doctrine, not belonging to theology as used for speculation but belonging to theology as employed for impression.

Throughout the sermon the distinction is between the "*intellectual statements* of doctrine," and the more "*impressive representations* of it," i. e. of the same doctrine; and it is declared in apology for even the anthropopathical style, that "into more susceptible natures than ours the *literal verities* of God will penetrate far deeper than even when shaped in their most pungent *forms*, they [i. e. the literal verities] will penetrate into our obdurate hearts." But notwithstanding all these various and wearisome repetitions of the same idea, the Reviewer makes the impression that the sermon really advocates "two conflicting theologies," which are unlike in *substance* as well as in *style*; two

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. p. 535.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 540-542.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 555, 560.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 547.

antagonistic "*doctrines*" pertaining to the sinful nature, the atonement, etc. He has made this impression, partly by omitting the author's essential definition of his theme. Is it not a rule of controversy, that a writer's formal definitions shall be formally quoted by his antagonist? Does not the sermon state that its title is selected "for want of a better," and does not this imply that the title may be perverted, unless it be defined? Why, then, does the critic fail to apprise his readers that the title has been defined, and why does he thus make it easy to misrepresent the entire scope of the sermon? We wish to be distinctly understood. The "accomplished Reviewer," of whom his admirers say that no one can mistake "*his hand*" in these criticisms, is by no means accused or suspected by us of *dexterity* in keeping important explanations out of sight; but is merely reminded of his inadvertence in not bringing them clearly and prominently into view; an inadvertence which is none the less hurtful because it is accidental. His fault, however, is not one of omission merely; for,

Secondly, he mis-states the very object of the sermon by explaining the theme in words and with illustrations which the discourse neither uses nor justifies, but clearly opposes.<sup>1</sup> He has not only *left out* the phrases which *interpret* the Proposition, but has also *put in* phrases which *misinterpret* it. The fact is a curious one, that whenever he seems to gainsay the main distinction between the two forms of religious truth, he departs from the phraseology of the discourse, and substitutes a phraseology of his own. His objections would seem inapposite, if he did not prepare the way for them by defining the object of the discourse in words which he himself has introduced, not with the design we presume, but with the result of caricaturing that object. Thus he repeatedly conveys the idea that the sermon directly authorizes such unqualified terms as "two theologies," "two kinds of theology," one of which is conformed to the "logical consciousness," the

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<sup>1</sup> It is singular that not only the Reviewer's literal language does injustice to the literal language of the sermon, but his figures of speech do injustice to the figures of the sermon. Thus he says, p. 660: "The temple of God which temple is the church, is not to be built up by *rubbish*," but the sermon speaks of the "jealousies of those good men who build their faith upon Jesus Christ as the chief corner stone, and yet are induced by unequal measures of genius and culture to give different *shapes* to structures of the same *material*;" and again "the *subject matter* of these heterogeneous *configurations* may often be one and the same, having for its nucleus the same cross, with the formative influence of which all is safe." p. 559.

other to the "intuitional consciousness,"<sup>1</sup> the one "true to the feelings and false to the reason, the other "true to the reason and false to the feelings;" whereas none of these unmodified phrases have been employed, and some of them have been designedly rejected as inaccurate, by the author of the discourse.<sup>2</sup> But the Reviewer may say that the sermon must be considered as advocating two essentially different theologies, because it speaks of a theology of the intellect *and* a theology of the heart. In the same method of reasoning, it may be inferred, that because the author of the sermon believes in the divine Creator, and in the divine Preserver, and in the divine Governor, and in the divine Lawgiver, therefore he believes in four first persons of the Trinity; and because he believes in the divine Redeemer, and in the divine Mediator, and in the divine Judge, and in the divine Intercessor, therefore he believes in four second persons of the Trinity; and because he believes in the divine Renewer, and in the divine Sanctifier, and in the divine Comforter, and in the divine Inspirer of truth, therefore he believes in four third persons of the Trinity. The simple fact is, that our critic, without intending to abuse, has distorted language.

Having thus described the sermon as advocating two radically opposite kinds of theology, the Reviewer has (innocently, we presume) prepared his readers for a new dualistic invention, and he therefore represents the discourse (without specifying wherein) as proceeding on the supposition "that the feelings perceive in one way and the in-

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<sup>1</sup> In unfolding (or rather obscuring) the design of the sermon, the Reviewer says (p. 646) of its author, "he proposes the distinction between the theology of feeling and that of the intellect. There are two modes of apprehending and presenting truth. The one by the logical consciousness (to use the convenient nomenclature of the day) that it may be understood; the other by the intuitional consciousness, that it may be felt. These modes do not necessarily agree; they may often conflict, so that what is true (?) in the one, may be false (?) in the other." These terms, "logical and intuitional consciousness," are the well known terms of Mr. Morell; and a reader of this Review, who had not read the sermon, would infer that the sermon advocated Morell's philosophy. For the honor of this Reviewer, we trust that he did not intend to excite a suspicion at once so false and so hurtful; but by using these suspicious terms, which he must have known were not in the sermon, he has prepared the way, as really as if he had designed it, for several of his subsequent charges.

<sup>2</sup> The sermon alludes once to "different *kinds* of theology which cannot be reconciled with each other," and alludes to them as *contradistinguished* from the different *forms* of theology which are the theme of the sermon. It characterizes them as two antagonistic systems of *intellectual* belief; and specifies, for an example, the theology which inserts and that which omits "the *doctrine* of justification by faith in the sacrifice of Jesus," p. 559.



tellect in another," that "the perceptions themselves vary, so that what appears true to the feelings, is apprehended as false to the intellect," that there are "different percipient agencies in the soul," two conflicting intelligences in man; the one seeing a thing to be true, and the other seeing it to be false, and yet both (each?) seeing correctly from its own position and for its own object."<sup>1</sup>

Now, we presume that in the history of theological criticism, there have been more singular caricatures than this; and accordingly this may be endured with patience. Let us then calmly consider the foundation of this oft repeated charge, that the sermon represents the soul as not "a unit," but as having "a dualism" in it. The only foundation for it is, that the discourse contains a prolonged account of the feelings as distinct from, and often as opposed to the reason. But what shall we say of those metaphysical systems in which one volume is devoted to the intellect, and a separate volume to the sensibilities? What shall we say of the common language of men, in which we hear every day that the judgment governs the fancy, or the imagination controls the judgment, the passions mislead the conscience, and contend with each other; the "old man" and the "new man" struggle together in the same man, we have "a divided soul," "a divided heart," are "double minded," etc. etc.<sup>2</sup> Does any one pretend to find in this ordinary speech an implication that the soul is dichotomized and subdichotomized into ten or twenty "conflicting agents?" One might as well make this pretension, as profess to discover an implied "dualism" in the sermon which is thus bisected. What shall we say of this very Review, speaking, as it does so often, of an expression "*false to the taste and to the feelings*,"<sup>3</sup> Does the taste perceive *falsehood*? Do the feelings *perceive* it? What shall we say of its peculiar remark, that the phrase "God the mighty Maker died," has to be *defended* by the *intellect* at the bar of the *feelings*?<sup>4</sup> What shall we say of the "dualism" which is found between this Reviewer and Dr. Hodge; for Dr. Hodge says in his Commentary on Romans 7: 15-23, that "there is a conflict between the natural authoritative sense of right and wrong and [the] corrupt inclinations," that "*indwelling sin wars against the renewed principle*, and brings the soul into *captivity* to itself," and he deliberately affirms that the

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Rep. pp. 663, 669, 666.

<sup>2</sup> When a man says, I have a soul and body, does he mean that the "I" is separate from the soul and body? What does he mean by *my* soul, *myself*?

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 652.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid p. 666.



word "I, in the language of the apostle, includes, as it were, *two persons*, the new and the old man."<sup>1</sup>

Now, can a fair critic infer from this language, that the Reviewer *and* Dr. Hodge, (if we may continue so long in our dualism,) and all men are ready to reason on the principle that one person is two persons, and has two souls? Why, then, does the Reviewer draw such an inference from the sermon? *Every body knows* that such language is necessary in this imperfect state of being. Just in proportion to the clearness with which we aim to distinguish between the dissimilar processes of the soul, must we employ terms which, if pressed to the letter, would imply not a "dualism," but an indefinite multiplication. Two things which cannot be separated, may yet be distinguished throughout a prolonged description. We may reason for hours on the distinction between the substance and the attributes of matter, without implying that there is a separation between them. The Reviewer's charge of dualism rests on his own oversight of the difference between *distinct* and *separate*. We can no more easily converse without alluding to an apparent division in the soul, than without saying that the sun sets, or ice is cold. Usage justifies such representations. It requires them. We should be mere pedants without them. All philosophers admit them. But such expressions, as they are generally understood, are reconcilable with the truth that the soul is simple and indivisible. For this undivided agent has different states or modes of activity, and in relation to these different states or modes of activity, it assumes different names. The conscience is the soul viewed as capable of acting in one manner; the will is the same spirit viewed as capable of acting in a different manner; the intellect is the same soul viewed as capable of perceiving; and the heart is the same spirit viewed as capable of loving what is perceived. And here is suggested another reason why the modes of presenting truth which are adapted to the soul in one method of its action, may receive a different name from that applied to the modes

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<sup>1</sup> One of the sweeping assertions made by the Reviewer is, that "the Bible *never* recognizes that broad distinction between the intellect and the feelings which is so often made by metaphysicians," Bib. Rep. p. 671. But does it not often represent a pure spirit as having a perceiving eye and ear, and a feeling heart, bowels of mercies, etc.? Dr. Hodge says, (Com. on Rom. 14: 1-23) that "conscience or a sense of duty is not the *only* and perhaps not the most important principle to be appealed to in support of benevolent enterprises;" "but we find the sacred writers appealing *most frequently* to the pious and benevolent *feelings*;" and yet the Reviewer says that the Bible "*never* predicates depravity or holiness of the feelings as distinct from the intelligence."

of presenting the same truth which are adapted to the soul in another method of its action. And this illustrates the persistive error of the Review, which detects in these two modes of presenting truth, two radically antagonistic "kinds of theology," because the word theology is applied to each; and which also detects in the two different modes of the spiritual activity which the sermon describes, two intelligences, or "*such a dualism in the soul.*" Why did not the Review push its consistency still farther, and because the sermon describes two different modes of teaching astronomy and natural philosophy, charge it with advocating two radically opposite astronomies and philosophies? The sermon specifies two diverse methods of representing our personal identity; therefore, there are two opposite identities in each individual, as our critic might infer, if he should persevere in the course which he has begun. We will not borrow his own decorous language, and say of his reasoning on this subject, that it "indicates a most extraordinary confusion of mind;" we only say that it makes a confusion of mode with essence, the forms of a thing with the thing itself.

It is indeed possible, (for what is not possible?) that from some rhetorical phrases in the sermon, if they be interpreted as if they were found in a mathematical treatise, and if also they be severed from their relations, an inconsiderate or else a resolute critic might force out an inference in favor of "two percipient principles in the soul;" as with the same ease he might infer a similar dualism from the language of every man, not excepting the author of the seventh of Romans, and especially from the most carefully written treatises of this Reviewer. But the argument of the discourse is independent of that rhetorical and convenient phraseology; it might be conducted with the more cumbrous phrases of "the soul in the state of reasoning," "the soul developing itself in the mode of emotion or volition," etc. Indeed, the direct aim of a note to the sermon,<sup>1</sup> is to show that "the heart (*never*) perceives, for the intellect *only* is percipient, but holy feelings prompt the intellect to new discoveries, furnish *it* with new materials for examination and inference, and regulate it in its mode of combining and expressing what *it* has *discerned*. An affection of the heart towards a truth develops a new relation of that truth, and the *intellect* perceives the relation thus suggested by the feeling," etc. If there are any principles underlying and pervading the whole dis-

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 564, 565. This note is not even referred to by the Reviewer, and still seems to have drawn from him the concession, that the author would "deny that he held to any such dualism in the soul." Bib. Rep. 660.

course, they are that "the theology of the intellect is the one *system* which recommends itself to a dispassionate and unprejudiced *mind* as *true*," (perceived to be true by the intellect); and that "the theology of the heart is the *collection of statements* which recommend themselves to the healthy moral feelings as *right*," (not *perceived to be true* by the heart);<sup>1</sup> that while the intellect is the only faculty which apprehends truth, and while it forms various conceptions of it, the feelings are more gratified with some of its conceptions than with others, and those conceptions of doctrine, which are peculiarly congenial with the excited heart, belong to its favorite cast of theology; that the Bible teaches one and only one definite system of doctrines; these doctrines contemplated by the mind arouse the sympathies of the heart, and these sympathies prompt to varied forms of expressing the same doctrine. As the Reviewer has well said, p. 657, "it is because such doctrines are didactically taught in the Bible, and presented as articles of faith, that they work themselves into the heart, and find expression in its most passionate language," language, however, which the critic must and does repeatedly affirm to be different from the style fitted for speculation.

What does the Reviewer mean, then, when he represents<sup>2</sup> the sermon as teaching, that "conflicting apprehensions are equally true," and as ascribing "to the sacred writers conflicting and irreconcilable representations?" Over and over it is asserted in the discourse, that while the intellectual theology is "accurate not in its spirit only but in its letter also," the emotive theology involves "the substance of truth, although when *literally* interpreted it may or may not be false."<sup>3</sup> The purpose of one entire head in the sermon<sup>4</sup> is to prove, that the one theology is precisely the same with the other in its real meaning, though not always in its form; that the expressions of right feeling, if they do contradict each other "*when unmodified*," *can* and *must* be so explained as to harmonize both with each other and with the decisions of the judgment; that "literally understood these expressions are dissonant from each other; their dissonance adds to their emphasis; their emphasis fastens our attention upon the principle in which they all agree; this principle is too vast to be vividly uttered in a single formula, and therefore branches out into various parts, and the lively exhibition of one part contravenes an equally impressive statement of a different one; the intellect educes light from the collision of these repugnant phrases and then modifies and reconciles them into" the

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. p. 563.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 664.

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 534, 535.

<sup>4</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 545-550.

harmonious and harmonizing truth. The sermon repeats, again and again, that it is *impossible* to believe contradictory statements "without qualifying some of them so as to prevent their subverting each other;" that the reason "being that circumspect power which looks before and after, does not allow that of these conflicting statements each can be true save in a qualified sense;" and that such statements *must* be qualified by disclosing the fundamental "principle in which they all agree for substance of doctrine," "the principle which will rectify one of the discrepant expressions by explaining it into an *essential* agreement with the other."<sup>1</sup>

But there is a third way in which the Reviewer makes a wrong impression with regard to the very object of the sermon. He implies and assumes, that the representations fitted for the excited sensibility are supposed in the sermon to be always different from the representations fitted for the calm intelligence. He feels satisfied that he has annihilated the distinction between the style of the intellect and that of the feelings, when he has cited passages which belong to both! He hurries on to the inference, that if the theology of the intellect "aims to be intelligible rather than impressive," then of course the theology of the heart must *always* not only aim to be, but absolutely *be* unintelligible! And he gives plausibility to this (his undesigned) caricature of the sermon, by omitting its oft-repeated explanations. One of these explanations is stated in the most prominent paragraph of the discourse, thus: "*Sometimes, indeed, both the mind and the heart are suited by the same modes of appeal.*"<sup>2</sup> A second of these explanations is stated as an introduction to the analysis of the style suited to the heart, thus: "In some respects, *but not in all*, the theology of feeling *differs* from that of intellect."<sup>3</sup> A third of these explanations is stated in another prominent passage, thus: "Both of [these forms of theology] have *precisely the same* sphere with regard to *many* truths, but not with regard to all."<sup>4</sup> Yet not a single one of these explanations has the Reviewer so much as even noticed. He has quoted passages immediately *before* and immediately *after* them, but has not quoted *them*. In despite of numerous other repetitions of the same modifying thought, as where the sermon so often says that the representations prompted by feeling are often minutely and literally accurate, this critic has persisted in reasoning as if the sermon had affirmed precisely what it has denied, that the two generic forms of theology differ at all times, in all respects, and

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 546, 548.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 535.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 534.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 551.



in regard to all doctrines. One object of the sermon is, to state the differences between the two generic forms, where any differences exist, and it is repeatedly announced that they do exist at some but not all times, in some but not all respects, in regard to some but not all truths. The Reviewer might as well say, that when we speak of prose as distinct from poetry, we must mean that no passages are suitable both for an essay and a poem; he might as well say that when we speak of "doctrinal" as distinct from "experimental" preaching, we must mean that they are unlike in all particulars, as he can say that when we speak of the intellectual theology as distinct from the emotive, we must mean that all parts of the one are unfitted for the other. Turretin's Theology is called scientific, because in its primary intent and as a whole it is fitted to aid our speculations; still, in some particulars, it is practical in its tendencies. Baxter's Saints' Rest is called practical, because in its primary intent and as a whole it is fitted to move our affections; still, in some particulars, it is scientific. So the theology of and for the intellect is represented in the sermon as likewise suited in a degree to the heart, and *vice versa*; but the primary and general scope of the one is easily distinguished from the primary and general scope of the other. The style of the pulpit would be as much improved as the style of our doctrinal treatises, if this distinction were more faithfully observed.

Without staying to comment on the many similar instances in which our critic has begun his quotations directly *after*, or has broken them off directly *before* the remarks in the sermon which qualify them, let us proceed to another class of his undesigned mis-statements.

2. He gives an erroneous view of the main theory of the discourse, with regard to the peculiar language of the emotions. We have just seen, that the expressions of the heart are not described in the sermon as uniformly differing from those of the judgment. Here is one error of the Reviewer. He has committed another in supposing, that the sermon "does not discriminate between mere figurative language, and the language of emotion."<sup>1</sup> Now, the sermon not only repeats the idea that the theology of feeling differs from that of intellect in other particulars than in its use of figures, for it differs in "proportions of doctrine," in "the especial prominence given to" certain features of it, etc. etc.; but the sermon also reiterates the idea, that the language appropriate to the sensibilities is not *un-*

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 674.



*formly* figurative, but "may or may not be false when *literally* interpreted," and "aims to be impressive, *whether it be* or be not minutely accurate;"<sup>1</sup> that it often consists of those earnest, intense expressions which, not being hyperbolical, are not ordinarily termed figures of speech; that *merely* figurative expressions do not constitute the language of emotion, for this language is often characterized by the *abundance* and *boldness* of its metaphors; that it is not merely figurative or poetical in the sense of arbitrary or unsubstantial,<sup>2</sup> and still mere poetry often admits the most literal expressions. From the saying that the heart "sacrifices abstract remarks to visible and tangible images," must an expert critic infer that the heart is *never* satisfied with a plain expression? Must he rush on from "often" to "always," from "frequently" to "universally," from a qualified sentence to a rash one?

The Reviewer<sup>3</sup> makes the following criticism: "Our author represents the feelings as expressing themselves in figures, and demanding 'visible and tangible images.' We question the correctness of this statement. The highest language of emotion is generally simple."—And suppose we concede to the Reviewer, that the *highest* language of feeling is *generally* simple, must we therefore retract the remark that "sometimes both the mind and the heart are suited by the same modes of thought, but often they require dissimilar methods"? (Sermon, p. 534.) The Reviewer proceeds to say that "nothing satisfies the mind when under great excitement, but literal or perfectly intelligible expressions. *Then is not the time for rhetorical phrases.*" And after these remarks, which he ought to have qualified, he quotes some impassioned phrases of the Bible, as specimens of "the simplest form of utterance." And suppose that these phrases were every one apposite, must we therefore recant the remark that, "in some respects, *but not in all*, the theology of feeling differs from that of intellect"? (Sermon p. 535.) Has not our critic, however, made some unexpected mistakes in his citations of simple as opposed to figurative phrases? Has he not quoted some passages which Gerhard would not record as literally accurate statements? He has, for instance, actually cited as unrhetical, the well known words, "Against thee, thee only have I sinned." Now, it so happens that John Milton has specified these very words as an example of a highly figurative style. "Yet some would persuade us," says the poet, "that this absurd opinion was king David's, because in the fifty

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 535, 536.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 538.

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 650.

first Psalm he cries out to God, 'Against thee only have I sinned;' as if David had imagined that to murder Uriah and adulterate his wife, had been no sin against his neighbor; whenas that law of Moses was to the king expressly, Deut. xvii. not to think so highly of himself above his brethren. David, therefore, by those words could mean no other, than either that the depth of his guiltiness was known to God only, or to so few as had not the will or power to question him, or that the sin against God was greater beyond compare than against Uriah. Whatever his meaning were, any wise man will see that the pathological words of a Psalm can be no certain decision to a point that hath abundantly more certain rules to go by."<sup>1</sup> We have heard of a respectable clergyman in our land, who from the passage, "Against thee, thee *only* have I sinned," attempted to prove that "all sin is against God only," that David committed no offence against Uriah, who must soon have died, even if he had not been slain in battle; nor against Bathsheba, who was elevated in consequence of the sin to great renown; nor against the Jewish people, etc. etc. Now, if the expression of David be not rhetorical, not figurative, not distinguishable, and our Reviewer cites it as not distinguishable from the simple language of the judgment, this preacher's inferences were correct. Another divine of no mean name has inferred from the phrase in the same penitential prayer, "Create in me a clean heart," that the Psalmist had not been regenerated before the sin which he here laments; for, in praying that a clean heart may be *created*, he implies that it did not antecedently exist. Now, it is very obvious that the sermon under review was aimed against such a use of such phrases, a use which is far too frequent and too lamentable to be sanctioned by the precipitate assertions of even so eminent a Reviewer.

There is one more particular in which our critic mis-states the theory of the discourse with regard to the peculiar language of emotion. He implies that the discourse represents this language as not at all under the supervision of the intellect, as entirely independent of logical rule. Assuming that the style for the feelings is identified with the figurative, and is described as uniformly different from the intellectual style, he criticizes the sermon as not only giving two intelligences to one man and making two radically opposite theologies, but also as justifying figures of speech which are intended to express a doctrinal error. He says that the author of the sermon "evidently

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<sup>1</sup> English Prose Works of Milton, Vol. II. pp. 164, 165.

confounds two things which are as distinct as day and night; viz. a metaphor and a falsehood; a figurative expression and a doctrinal untruth. Because the one is allowable, he pleads for the other also.”<sup>1</sup> But is it not sufficiently easy for the Reviewer to perceive, that one design of the sermon is to justify the emotional, or, as the Reviewer will have it, the figurative theology, because when explained aright it never opposes but contains the substantial truth? Does not the sermon repeat over and over that the fit language of emotion never really *means* what is logically incorrect; that it is “substantially accurate when not literally so,” and that whatever diversity there may be in the modes of faith which the mind or heart adopts, yet “the central principles of it” are always one and the same truth?<sup>2</sup> Does the Reviewer really suppose, that because “the theology of feeling when literally understood may or may not be false,” therefore, according to the sermon, it is to be literally interpreted and believed although false? “It is a canon of criticism,” says the sermon (p. 511), “that we should express all the *truth* which our hearers need, and express *it* in the *words* which they will most appropriately feel.”

But the Reviewer goes farther still. He has read in the discourse that the Bible, when “it represents Christians as united to their Lord,” “*does not mean* to have these endearing words metamorphosed into an intellectual theory of our oneness or identification with Christ,” and when “it declares that God has repented,” etc., “it *does not mean* that these expressions, which as inflected by times and circumstances impress a truth upon the soul, be stereotyped into the principle that Jehovah has ever parted with his infinite blessedness,” and when the Psalmist cried, “Awake! why sleepest thou, O Lord,” and Martin Luther exclaimed, “Hearest thou not, my God; art thou dead?” they used “words that excite no congenial glow in technical students, viewing all truth in its dry light, and disdaining all figures which would offend the decorum of a philosophical or didactic style, but words which wake the deepest sympathies of quick-moving, wide-hearted, many-sided men, who look *through* a *superficial* impropriety and discern *under* it a *truth* which the nice language of prose is too frail to convey into the heart, and breaks down in the attempt.”<sup>3</sup> But although the Reviewer has seen this idea repeated more times than there are pages in the sermon, he yet without a blush represents this very sermon as teaching that the feelings do not need to be nourished by the truth, and that in devotional exercises we may express

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 665.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 535, 537, 540, 545, 555, 561, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 538, 539.

*doctrines* which we do not believe. He says, "In *opposition* to this view, *we* maintain that the feelings demand truth, i. e. truth which satisfies the intellect in the approbation and expression of their object:" the soul "cannot believe what it knows to be a lie;" "the hymn book or liturgy of no church contains doctrines contrary to the creed of that church."<sup>1</sup> What the sermon calls the "poetic license" of hymn books, the "style of remark which for sober prose would be unbecoming, or even, when associated in certain ways, irreverent;" what it calls "the words, not the truths, but the *words* which have been embosomed in the love of the church," all this the Reviewer confounds with a meant doctrinal falsehood. When the sermon says that some poetic stanzas "are not accurate expressions of dogmatic *truth*," the critic flies to the conclusion that they are intended to teach dogmatic error! He thus complains of the sermon as recommending a style of worship "profane to the feelings and a mockery of God." He makes the impression that he is impugning the discourse when he asserts, that "to use in worship expressions which the intellect pronounces to be doctrinally untrue is repudiated by the whole Christian church as profane."<sup>2</sup>—We are willing to forgive the Reviewer seven times and seventy times seven; but we beg leave to ask, how many times he really needs to be told, that the sermon never justifies expressions which are untrue in the *doctrines* designed to be taught by them, and that it only justifies some expressions which overpass "*at times* the proprieties of the didactic style," and which are untrue in their *literal meaning*? It insists as plainly as it can insist, that men must understand the language of the intellect "according to what it *says*," for it is definite and precise; and must understand the language of the heart "according to what it *means*," for the words "God came from Teman," do not mean that he moves from place to place, etc. It insists that the hyperbolical language, so called, is to be interpreted "as it is meant," and when so interpreted it "never transcends" but rather "falls short of" the real verity; that all the emotional language, indeed, is the "most natural utterance" of "a heart moved to its depths by the *truth*."

One cause of the Reviewer's mistakes on this subject is, that he does not seem to recognize the power or even the existence of those conceptions which the mind forms for the sake of illustrating and vivifying its ideas of the substantial truth, as such conceptions are distinct from the mind's ideas of the substantial truth itself; and therefore he

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 665.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 667.

does not properly estimate the force or design of figurative language. We were not prepared to expect from so learned a man such a sentence as the following, (Bib. Rep. p. 652): "Figurative language when interpreted literally will of course express what is false to the intellect, *but it will in that case be no less false to the taste and to the feelings.*" Now, of what use is the figure? What is the power of its primary, as distinct from its secondary meaning? The obvious principle is, that figurative language causes the mind to form certain conceptions which, although not according to the exact truth, yet often illustrate it. These conceptions are, often at least, combined with a momentary belief in the presence of the objects conceived, and thereby they often so interest the mind as to give it a more vivid idea of the truth to be illustrated; further, the comparison between the conception proximately, literally suggested, and the idea remotely, figuratively suggested, often interests the mind in its examination of the exact truth; and thus the taste is pleased, the intellect aided, and the feeling awakened by the conception, which the mind would not form, were it not for the figurative language, and which would have no influence were it not for the understood literal meaning of that language.

But all figures are not equally adapted to illustrate, to please, and to excite. Some are used merely for convenience, as many figures of syntax and etymology. Others are used chiefly for illustration, as what rhetoricians call the "explaining comparisons." Others are used mainly for ornament, as what rhetoricians call the "embellishing comparisons." Others still are used for the excitement of feeling, as what rhetoricians call, the "figures of passion," which are distinct from "figures of the imagination." The figures of passion belong to the peculiar language of feeling; the other figures are appropriate, under proper restraint, to the language of the intellect, although many of them are more frequently used in that of the heart. If the literal terminology were of itself copious and versatile enough, it would be, as it is not now, uniformly employed in our reasoning processes. As the argumentative style *abounds* with plain, so the emotive style *abounds* with figurative diction. Because the sermon under review asserts that the intellectual theology prefers "the literal to the figurative" we must not leap to the conclusion that the sermon would exclude the figurative altogether from this theology. Because a man prefers gold to silver, we must not infer that he would trample silver in the dust. Still there are some figures, those of passion, which the well known rule is to exclude from the didactic theology.



They are too bold for calm discussion; they need to be modified too laboriously; they suggest conceptions so vivid, as to be mistaken for the premises of an argument, rather than to be regarded, as they should be, the illustrations of the truth.

Of these passionate figures, so often found in the theology of feeling, some are used by impulse more than by design. "When the mind," says Dr. Campbell,<sup>1</sup> "is in confusion and perplexity, arising from the sudden conflict of violent passions, the language will of necessity partake of this perturbation. Incoherent hints, precipitate sallies, vehement exclamations, interrupted perhaps by frequent checks from religion or philosophy, in short, everything imperfect, abrupt, and desultory, are the natural expressions of a soul overwhelmed in such a tumult." The words which are uttered in such a state, though obscure in themselves, are perspicuous as expressive of the feelings, they work upon our sympathies and prompt us to form more vivid ideas of the object which thus excites the soul than we could form, if the words uttered had been in themselves more precise. Let these words, however, be transferred from their fit connections into a didactic treatise, and they *may* be absolutely unintelligible. There are other figures of passion which are designed to give us vivid ideas of an object in one of its particular aspects, when the mind has no power to form a definite, precise idea of that object as a whole. These figures, also, are often obscure in themselves, and their very obscurity rouses the imagination and heart, and under the stimulus of this excited sensibility the mind forms a more impressive notion of the entire object than it would form were it not thus stimulated. Thus, says Dr. Blair,<sup>2</sup> obscurity "is not unfavorable to the sublime. Though it render an object indistinct, the impression, however, may be great; for, as an ingenious author has well observed, it is one thing to make an idea clear, [precise], and another to make it affecting to the imagination; and the imagination may be strongly affected, and in fact often is so, by objects of which we have no clear [precise] conception. Thus we see that almost all the descriptions given us of the appearances of supernatural beings, carry some sublimity, though the conceptions which they afford us be confused and indistinct. Their sublimity arises from the ideas which they always convey, of superior power and might joined with an awful obscurity." And Mr. Burke<sup>3</sup> says, "I think there are reasons

<sup>1</sup> Philosophy of Rhetoric, Book II. Ch. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Rhetoric, Lecture III.

<sup>3</sup> On the Sublime and Beautiful, Sect. IV.

in nature, why the obscure idea, when properly conveyed, should be more affecting than the clear." "The mind is hurried out of itself by a crowd of great and confused images, which affect because they are crowded and confused." "In nature, dark, confused, uncertain images have a greater power on the fancy to form the grander passions, than those have which are more clear and determinate." On some subjects, he adds, "a clear idea is therefore another name for a little idea." So in his celebrated parallel between Dante and Milton, Mr. Macaulay says,<sup>1</sup> that the former "gives us the shape, the odor, the sound, the smell, the taste, he counts the numbers, he measures the size" of all which he describes. "His similes are the illustrations of a traveller" "introduced in a plain, business-like manner," "in order to make the meaning of the writer as clear to the reader as it is to himself." "Now, let us compare," proceeds Mr. Macaulay, "with the exact details of Dante, the dim intimations of Milton. — The English poet has never thought of taking the measure of Satan. He gives us merely a vague idea of vast bulk. In one passage the fiend lies stretched out huge in length, floating many a rood, equal in size to the earthborn enemies of Jove, or to the sea-monster which the mariner mistakes for an island. When he addresses himself to battle against the guardian angels, he stands like Teneriffe or Atlas; his stature reaches the sky. Contrast with these descriptions, the lines in which Dante has described the gigantic spectre of Nimrod. 'His face seemed to me as long and as broad as the ball of St. Peter's at Rome; and his other limbs were in proportion; so that the bank which concealed him from the waist downwards, nevertheless showed so much of him, that three tall Germans would in vain have attempted to reach his hair.'"

In accordance with these very simple principles, not dug out of the depths of German metaphysics, but taken from the surface of Blair's Rhetoric, the sermon under review describes the theology of feeling as introducing "obscure images," "vague and indefinite representations," all of which, however, so affect the heart as eventually to aid the mind in forming more vivid ideas of the truth than it would have otherwise formed. These very obscurities are intelligible as exhibitions of excited feeling, but often would not be intelligible if used as didactic statements. The emotive theology is also described as introducing other figures "the most expressive which the debilitated heart will appreciate, but which yet fail of making a full disclosure,

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<sup>1</sup> Miscellanies, Vol. I. p. 32.

and are only the foreshadowings of the truths which lie behind them.<sup>1</sup> But the Reviewer, opposing the theory of the sermon with regard to figurative language, says,<sup>2</sup> that this language "is just as definite in its meaning, and just as intelligible as the most literal." He ought to have qualified his remark, and said, first, that *some* figurative language is thus perspicuous; and secondly, that some is in itself designedly indefinite, and its indefiniteness is more expressive than its precision would be; thirdly, that some is easily intelligible if properly used in its fit connections, and yet may not be intelligible out of those connections; and fourthly, that there are some kinds of writing, the prophetic for instance, of which the minute signification was not intended to be obvious to all readers. But, according to the Reviewer's unmodified statement, the prophetic style would be as perspicuous to us as the style of the Gospel narratives; the highly wrought figures of Hebrew poets would present no more difficulty to commentators than do the simplest phrases in John's epistles, and figurative language would be as common as plain language now is in works of science. The Reviewer sweeps on too fast and too far. He fails to discriminate between a vivid idea of one feature of an object, and a definite idea of the whole object; and also between clearness and preciseness. Figures of speech may be clear, when they express not only the notion intended, but also something more; in expressing more they are not precise. He also fails to discriminate between the intelligibility of figures when they are used in their proper place, and their intelligibility when they are used out of their proper place;<sup>3</sup> just as if the figure, "a man ought to hate his father and mother, brother and sister," which is perfectly clear in one connection, would be equally clear if transferred without a qualifying phrase to a dogmatic treatise; just as if "The Way of Life," might fitly contain an unmodified exhortation to "The duty of hatred towards parents and benefactors." The Reviewer himself, where he has no theory to controvert, has hit the truth far more nearly than in these controversial criticisms; for in commenting on the seventh of Romans, he represents Paul as exclaiming: "It is not I therefore, my real and lasting self, but this intrusive tyrant [sin] dwelling within me that disobeys the law;" and then the commentator adds: "This *strong* and *expressive* language, though susceptible of a literal interpretation which would make it teach not only error but nonsense, is still perfectly perspicuous and correct because accurately *descriptive of the common*

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<sup>1</sup> Bib Sac. pp. 550, 566, etc.    <sup>2</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 651.    <sup>3</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 551, 555, 556.

*feelings of men.*" In different words,—this vehement language *in other connections* might be nonsensical, but in its present connection it is clear in its import, because it is perfectly expressive of agitated feeling. Again, the very gentleman, of whom it has been said without any sinister intent, that no one can mistake "his hand" in this Review, explains the celebrated passage, Rom. 9: 3, "I could wish that myself were accursed," etc., with the remark, "The difficulty arises from pressing the words too far, making them express *definite ideas*, instead of *strong and indistinct emotions*." Similar criticisms are frequent in this commentator, who is in an ungraceful *dualism* with the Reviewer. If we should retort upon him his own courteous accusations we should say, "It is to be remembered that it is not the language of excited, fanatical, fallible men that our [critic] undertakes thus to eviscerate," by representing it as having been uttered *without definite ideas*, etc. But are these the fitting accusations for a Christian and a *divine*?

In what way can we account for it, now, that when the learned commentator comes to criticise a New England sermon, he should have forgotten the rhetorical principles with which he was once familiar? He does not discriminate between the truth that often "obscurity favors the sublime," and the error that obscurity is proper for science. Because the sermon says that "*often*" when a passionate phrase is wrested from its fitting adjustments and transferred to a dogmatic treatise, it appears unintelligible or absurd, the Reviewer represents the sermon as teaching that all passionate phrases are absurd or unintelligible. We shall soon see that, according to him, the theology of feeling is characterized in the discourse, as a collection of statements which are false and incapable of being understood. He reasons on the principle that because a mathematician could not, without an absurdity, attempt to prove that something is less than nothing, therefore when men confess in prayer that they are less than nothing, they have no meaning. He might as fairly say, that because a natural philosopher would be unintelligible in advancing the proposition that there can be a point in space which is underneath the very lowest point, therefore there is no idea conveyed in the poetic hyperbole:

"Which way I fly is hell, myself am hell;  
And in the lowest depth, a lower deep  
Still threatening to devour me, opens wide  
To which the hell I suffer seems a heaven."

In regard to the nature of such figurative language as is peculiarly

appropriate to the theology of the heart, there is indeed an obvious difference between the sermon and the Review, but there is a difference equally obvious between this Review and some other productions of its reputed author. The following is a notable illustration. The sermon says,<sup>1</sup> in a style which might appear to be sufficiently guarded: "*Left to its own guidance*," (the intellect) "would never *suggest* the *unqualified* remark<sup>2</sup> that Christ has fully paid the debt of sinners, for it declares that this debt may justly be claimed from them; nor that he has suffered the *whole* punishment which they deserve, for it teaches that this punishment may still be righteously inflicted on themselves; not that he has *entirely* satisfied the law, for it insists that the demands of the law are yet in force. If it should allow those as logical premises, it would also allow the salvation of all men as a logical inference, but it rejects this inference and accordingly, being self-consistent, must reject those when viewed as literal premises. It is adapted to the soul in her inquisitive moods, but fails to satisfy her craving for excitement. In order to express the definite idea that we are exposed to evil in consequence of Adam's sin, it does not employ the passionate phrase, 'we are guilty of his sin.' It searches for the proprieties of representation, for seemliness and decorum. *It gives origin* to no statements which require apology or essential modification; no metaphor, for example, so bold and so liable to disfigure our idea of the divine equity, as that Heaven imputes the crime of one man to millions of his descendants, and then imputes their myriad sins to him who was harmless and undefiled." Now, the Reviewer confronts this passage with remarkable decision,<sup>3</sup> and avers, not that some, but that "*all* the illustrations" [and among them is the phrase, "God the mighty Maker died"] "which our author gives of modes of expression which the theology of the intellect would not *adopt*" [give origin to, suggest] "are the products of that theology. They are the language of speculation, of theory, of the intellect, as distinguished from the feelings." What, then, are

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. p. 535.

<sup>2</sup> The sermon admits, p. 568, that the intellect may make an occasional use of such remarks, *when* they are qualified, and *after* they have been suggested by the feelings, but says that, "*left to its own guidance* it would never suggest" them. But the Reviewer, while he fairly quotes the *rest* of the sentence, drops from it the important qualifying words, "*left to its own guidance*," and he thus fails to give its full meaning. Afterwards, also, he confounds the words "suggest," "give origin to," which the sermon uses, with the word *adopt*, which he seems to use as their synonym.

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 648.



these illustrations? One is the "*unqualified* remark that Christ has *fully* paid the debt of sinners." Does not the Reviewer himself qualify this phrase, in his common explanations of it? Why does he so often teach that Christ has not paid the debt of sinners *in any such sense* (which would be the ordinary sense of the phrase) as to make it unjust for God to demand the sinner's own payment of it? Why does he teach, that although the debt of sinners is paid, *in a very peculiar sense*, yet it is not so paid but that they may be justly "cast into prison until they themselves have paid the uttermost farthing?" Another illustration is, the "*unqualified* remark that Christ suffered the *whole* punishment which sinners deserve." And does not the Reviewer elsewhere thrust in various modifications of this phrase, saying that Christ did not suffer *any* punishment in such a sense as renders it unjust for the entire punishment of the law to be still inflicted on transgressors; that he did not suffer the whole, the precise eternal punishment which sinners deserve,<sup>1</sup> that in fact he did not suffer any punishment at all in its *common* acceptance of 'pain inflicted on a transgressor of law on account of his transgression, and for the purpose of testifying the lawgiver's hatred of him as a transgressor?' Why, then, does the Reviewer here represent this "unqualified remark" as identical with the ambiguous phrase, "Christ bore our punishment," and as a "summation of the manifold and diversified representations of Scripture?" Another of these illustrations is, the equally unmodified statement that "Christ has entirely satisfied the law." How many times has the Reviewer elsewhere asserted that Christ has not satisfied the law *as a rule of duty*, but that it still continues and will always continue its demand for perfect obedience? Of course he does not believe, without a qualification, that "Christ has *entirely* satisfied the law." Why, then, does he here treat this "unqualified remark" as identical with the loose phrase "Christ has satisfied the law," and as a "*precise* representation" of the truth. The statements that "Adam's sin is imputed to us, and our sin is imputed to Christ," are likewise characterized by the Reviewer as not less "purely addressed to the intellect," not less

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Joseph Huntington, believing that Christ literally endured the precise punishment threatened in the law, reasons thus: Sinners "in their surety, vicar or substitute, i. e. in Christ, the head of every man, go away into everlasting punishment, in a truly gospel sense. In him, they suffer infinite punishment; i. e. he suffers (it) for them, in their room and stead;" and therefore as they have once suffered the whole curse of the law, they cannot be justly exposed to it the second time; hence Universalism.

“purely abstract and didactic formulæ.” than any others. It is a matter of literary history, that to impute sin to a man is, in the common primary use of the terms, the same as to accuse him of having committed it; and that when these terms are employed in the sense of merely treating a man in certain respects as if he had committed the sin, they are used with a secondary meaning, stronger and more nervous than the unimpassioned intellect would have prompted for itself. So the phrase, “guilty of Adam’s sin,” is a figure of speech; i. e. “a mode of speaking or writing in which words are deflected from their ordinary signification, or a mode more beautiful and *emphatical* than the ordinary way of expressing the sense.” As all of these phrases have originally a like figurative character, (in the best meaning of the term, figurative,) so they retain this character after they have been transferred to the technical dialect. They retain it just so long as their scientific is different from their primitive and ordinary signification. They were originally prompted by a desire to enstamp deeply upon the heart, certain doctrines in certain individual relations. They were not *originally* intellectual statements, but have been *transferred* from their pristine to the dogmatic sphere. They still continue, however, to be impressive rather than transparent, to be vehement rather than explicit. And therefore it is notorious, that long after they have been explained and re-explained so as to abate their primitive force, and give them a technical diverse from their obvious meaning, the common usage will yet réassert its claims, and these very terms are to be again qualified, and once more softened down, limited, restricted, hedged in with adjuncts, defined as often as employed, and after all, they are misunderstood by multitudes who contend for them, who *will have* it that doctrinal terms are used in their plain sense, and who thus make it needful for these giant-like and long-suffering divines, whose business is the taking care of these evasive words, “to pace forever to and fro on the same wearisome path, after the same recoiling stone.” Such is the character of these emphatic utterances, even when transmuted into what are called “intellectual propositions.” Their history has made them useful for reference. Their own nature makes them often eloquent in use. They are natural modes of developing the heart’s deepest affections in certain pensive moods; but ‘*left to its own guidance*, the intellect would never have *suggested* them as *unqualified*.’ Being figurative in the scientific sense of the term, they are exciting; some of them being often obscure when used in prosaic connections, irritate their already excited devotees, and induce them to upbraid where they

ought to reason. John Foster says of such devotees to the technical style, that "if a man has discarded or has never learned the accustomed theological diction, and speaks in the general language of good sense, as he would on any other subject, they do not like his sentiments, even though according with their own; his language and his thoughts are all Pagan; he offers sacrifice with strange fire." And a celebrated political writer has said of such men, "They will themselves die or make others die for a simile."

3. This topic, however, introduces another class of the Reviewer's unintended mis-statements. He gives a wrong idea of the doctrinal illustrations in the discourse.

It is a melancholy truth, distinctly asserted by the writer of the sermon, that man has a "fallen," "evil," "loathsome," "corrupt," "odious" "nature, which precedes and certainly occasions (his) first actual sin." This is the doctrine in its prosaic, but it may be stated in an intensive form: and one aim of the sermon is to justify the occasional use of such words, as that this "diseased" and "disordered" state of the sensibilities is "sinful," "blamable," "guilty;" provided that such words be used, not for implying that there can be a literal sin which is uncondemned by conscience, i. e. the power of deciding on the moral character of acts; not for implying that our "inborn, involuntary corruption" can be the sole ground why a subject of it, *if he can be supposed to be innocent* of all actual disobedience, should be condemned to a punishment which supposes that the punished one is personally and literally ill-deserving on account of his "transgression of the law;" not as implying that a soul merits a legal penalty merely for the passive condition in which it was created: but the words "sinful, blamable, guilty nature" are to be sometimes justified, provided that they are used for historical reference, or for vehemently expressing "our dread or hatred of this" evil nature, which is so intimately connected with our actual sins, and so surely as well as justly exposes us to punishment on account of them.<sup>1</sup> But the Reviewer, without any fair attempt to explain the principles on which the use of these words is allowed or disallowed, satisfies himself with reiterating the charge, that the doctrine of our sinful nature is affirmed in the discourse to be true to the feelings and false to the intellect.<sup>2</sup> We think that the Reviewer would have done more justice to himself, if he had acknowledged that when *he* uses the term "sinful nature" as denoting a nature antecedent to all sinful exercise of it, he

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 567, 568.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. Rep. pp. 664, 673.

does not mean by "sinful" what men generally mean by the word, a quality which is condemned by our "power of discerning the moral character of acts;" he does not mean by sinful a quality for which the being who has never harbored it is personally ill-deserving; but he means a peculiar kind of sin, and uses the term with a very peculiar signification; and he differs from the sermon, therefore, not so much with regard to the doctrine, as with regard to the propriety of often designating that doctrine by a common word used in a sense which men in common life do not give it, a sense which they frequently and fatally misunderstand. What does a man gain by calmly denominating that passive condition a sin, for which alone the subject of it cannot be personally reproved by conscience, nor be condemned as himself deserving of a real and proper punishment.

It is another sad truth, plainly declared by the author of the sermon, "that man with his unrenewed nature will sin and only sin in his moral acts;" that "man, with no extraordinary aid from divine grace, is obstinate, undeviating, unrelenting, persevering, dogged, *fully set* in those wayward preferences which are an abuse of his freedom;" and "so important is it that this infallible certainty be felt to be true, that our hearts often incline us to designate it by the most forcible epithets," to express an accurate *dogma* in a more impressive *form*. It was, therefore, one design of the sermon to justify the occasional use of such phrases as, "man is unable to repent," "sin is necessary," provided that such terms be used to express strongly and impressively the certain, fixed unwillingness of unrenewed man to do right.<sup>1</sup> But the Reviewer, although he must know full well that this doctrine of the sermon has the sanction of President Edwards, yet with apparent coolness represents the sermon as denying the doctrine of inability and affirming this doctrine to be "false to the intellect."<sup>2</sup> He goes farther still<sup>3</sup> and declares that the theory of the discourse represents feeling and knowledge "in *perpetual* (?) conflict," "the one teaching the doctrine of inability, the other that of plenary power," and he implies that the discourse represents the same man as having "the *consciousness* of inability to change his own heart, and yet the *conviction* that he has the requisite power." The critic means well, but it would be interesting to learn how he became unable to see that man is not once represented in the sermon as having a consciousness opposed to his conviction, but is uniformly represented as having both a *consciousness* and a *conviction* of his *unwil-*

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 548, 566, 567.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. Rep. pp. 664, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Rep. pp. 673, 661.



*lingness* to repent, and as often expressing this unwillingness by the forcible word inability. Will the Reviewer never distinguish between "two doctrines," and the same doctrine expressed in two forms? He has not done honor to himself as a fair-minded critic, in so strangely perverting or *ignoring* the following passage of the sermon: "The emotive theology, therefore, when it affirms this [i. e. the natural] power is correct both in matter and style; but when it denies this power, it uses the language of emphasis, of impression, of intensity; it means the *certainty* of wrong preference by declaring the *inability* of right; and in its vivid use of *cannot* for *will not* is accurate in its *substance* though not in its form;" and this "discordance being one of letter rather than of spirit is removed by an explanation which makes the eloquent *style* of the feelings at one with the more definite *style* of the reason."<sup>1</sup>

Besides often affirming that there is an infallible certainty of man's continued impenitence until he be regenerated by the Divine Spirit, the sermon introduces the statements, that man's "*unvaried* wrong choices imply a full, unremitted *natural* power of doing right," and that "the character of our race needs an essential transformation by an interposed influence from God."<sup>2</sup> The Reviewer now springs to the charge that the first of these statements is "a vapid formula of Pelagianism," and the second is "a very genteel way of expressing the matter which need offend no one, Jew or Gentile, Augustin or Pelagius."<sup>3</sup> Does the Reviewer mean to say, that Pelagius would have sanctioned either of the above cited statements when fairly presented in its connections? Did Pelagius recognize our "disordered nature," our "unvaried, undeviating wrong choices," our "natural" as *opposed* to our "moral power?" Did he suppose that the character of the *race*, as well as of particular individuals, needs not only an improvement but also an *essential transformation*, and that this radical change must be effected not only by moral suasion, but by the *interposed* influence of the Holy Spirit? Will not the Reviewer acknowledge then, that the two statements so offensive to him are wrested from their adjuncts and merely caricatured, when they are held up as involving the substantial error of Pelagianism?

The author of the sermon has never doubted but firmly believes, that in consequence of the first man's sin all men have at birth a corrupt nature, which exposes them to suffering, but not punishment, even

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. p. 548. See also 547, 565-567.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 547, 548.

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Rep. pp. 655, 656.



without their actual transgression ; which, unless divine mercy interpose, secures the certainty of their actual transgression, as soon as they can put forth a moral preference, and of their eternal punishment as the merited result of this transgression ; a corrupt nature, which must be changed by the supernatural influence of the Holy Ghost before they will ever obey or morally please him ; and therefore the author believes that men are by nature, i. e. in consequence, on account of it, sinners, and worthy of punishment "for all have sinned." But the Reviewer is bold enough to say, that the two passages "a sentence of condemnation passed on all men for the sin of one man," and "men are by nature the children of wrath," are represented by the author of the sermon as "impressive but not intelligible," "true to the feelings but false to the reason."<sup>1</sup> We do not believe that the Reviewer intended to make a false as well as injurious impression by these words ; he probably leaped to the inference, as untrue in itself as it is illogically drawn, that if some figures of speech do *sometimes appear* false and unintelligible when they are transferred from their proper to an improper place, then *the two above cited passages* not only *appear* but *are* both false and unintelligible *in this place* and as they are ordinarily used. This inference, however, is rejected as a mere paralogism by the writer of the discourse.

The author of the sermon has never doubted but fully believes, that all converted men will be, on the ground of Christ's death, not only saved from punishment but raised to happiness, will be not only pardoned but justified, not only treated in important respects as if they had never sinned, but treated in important respects as if they had been positively and perfectly holy. Still, the Reviewer, both without and against evidence, has preferred the charge that the author represents the passage "men are not merely pardoned but justified," as "not intelligible," and as "false to the reason."<sup>1</sup> Now here is a definite and an unfair accusation, to which we reply by asking a definite and a fair question. When and where has the author denied that the doctrine of justification as distinct from that of pardon, is intelligible or true ? If the Reviewer has not borne "false witness against" the author, let him prove his witness to be correct. If he has been thoughtlessly betrayed into an accusation not more injurious than it is groundless, let him have the kindness to remember the words of Mr. Pitt : "Whoever brings here a charge without proof, defames." It is of no use for him to say that because the sermon represents *some*

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 674.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid p. 674.

figures of speech as absurd when in their wrong connections, therefore the sermon represents the phrase "men are not merely pardoned but justified" as absurd in the particular connections in which it is generally used. The primary meaning of the word justify, is altogether less conspicuous and embarrassing than the primary meaning of the word impute, and *if* the sermon *had* affirmed the word impute to be ordinarily "*unintelligible*," the Reviewer had no right to draw the false inference that the word justify would be characterized in the same manner. Because some pictures appear to be mere daubs, unless viewed at *one* specified angle, the Reviewer must not dash on to the conclusion that the Sistine Madonna is a mere daub, when it is viewed at all the angles which are commonly taken.

It is a solemn truth, distinctly avowed in the discourse,<sup>1</sup> that "There is a life, a soul, a vitalizing spirit of truth, which must never be relinquished for the sake of peace even with an angel. There is (I know that you will allow me to express my opinion)<sup>2</sup> a line of separation which cannot be crossed between those systems which insert, and those which omit the doctrine of justification by faith in the sacrifice of Jesus. This is the doctrine which blends in itself the theology of intellect and that of feeling, and which can no more be struck out from the moral, than the sun from the planetary system. Here the mind and the heart, like justice and mercy, meet and embrace each other; and here is found the specific and ineffaceable difference between the Gospel and every other system. But among those who admit the atoning death of Christ as the organific principle of their faith, there are differences, some of them more important, but many far less important than they seem to be." And, again, the author of the discourse avers,<sup>3</sup> in the most prosaic language, that "the atonement has such a relation to the whole moral government of God, as to make it *consistent* with the honor of his legislative and retributive justice to save all men, and to make it essential to the highest honor of his benevolence or general justice to renew and save some. Therefore it satisfies the law and justice of God *so far and in such a sense*, as to render it proper for him not only to give many temporal favors, but also to offer salvation to all men, bestow it upon all who will accept it, and cause those to accept it, for whom the interests of the universe allow him to interpose his regenerating grace." But

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. p. 559.

<sup>2</sup> As the discourse was delivered before a Convention of Trinitarian and Unitarian clergymen, such a parenthetical clause seemed to the author to be decorous.

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 562, 563.

our critic represents the sermon as denying that Christ satisfied the law and justice of God, as "explaining away the scriptural representations of the satisfaction of divine justice by the sacrifice of Christ," and as intimating that "because I may express the truth that Christ was a sacrifice by calling him the Lamb of God who bears the sin of the world, I may in solemn acts of worship so address him without believing in his sacrificial death at all."<sup>1</sup> It is a noticeable fact, that while the sermon *deduces* the intellectual truth of a vicarious atonement from the demands of holy feeling, and definitely affirms, p. 544, that "the doctrines which concentrate in and around a vicarious atonement are so fitted to the appetences of a sanctified heart as to gain the favor of a *logician*, precisely as the coincidence of some geological or astronomical theories with the phenomena of the earth or sky, is a part of the syllogism which has those theories for its conclusion;" yet the Reviewer inverts this whole process, and, p. 673, unblushingly represents the sermon as teaching that feeling and knowledge are in "perpetual (?) conflict," "the one craving a real vicarious punishment of sin, the other teaching that a symbolical atonement is all that is needed." Anxious to find some excuse for this charge of the Reviewer, we have searched for one in vain. He will not attempt, we imagine, to extenuate his fault by pleading that the author speaks of a "vicarious *atonement*," while the Reviewer speaks of a "vicarious *punishment*," for the Reviewer himself will acknowledge that "in the most strict and rigid" meaning of the term, "punishment has reference to personal guilt."<sup>2</sup>

The author of the sermon believes, and has never implied the contrary, that Christ's death being vicarious, his sufferings being substituted for our punishment, we are literally unable, after having once sinned, to be saved without him; that we are not only redeemed from eternal punishment by his propitiatory sacrifice, but, even after we have been regenerated by his Spirit, we are entirely dependent on his grace in sending the same Spirit to secure our continuance in holiness; and, moreover, that we are every instant preserved in being by his Almighty power, so that without him we literally *cannot* even exist: and still it is boldly declared in the Review, that the sermon represents the passages, "without Christ we can do nothing" and "he hath redeemed us from the curse of the law by being made a curse for us," as "not intelligible" and as "false to the reason!"<sup>3</sup> But the accom-

<sup>1</sup> Bib. Rep. pp. 653, 664, 665, 674.

<sup>2</sup> Princeton Theol. Essays, Vol. I. p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 674.

plished critic, not satisfied with inflicting this injury, has actually made the following cool statement: "The phrase that 'God came from Teman' or 'he made the clouds his chariot,' *when interpreted according to the laws of language*, expresses a truth. The phrases, 'Christ took upon him our guilt,' 'he satisfied divine justice,' *when interpreted by the same laws*, express, as our author thinks, what is false."<sup>1</sup> If the Reviewer is able to say all this, what will he not say next? He has not only concealed some of the most important *declarations* of the sermon, but has published the non-existent thoughts of its author. "*As our author thinks!*" Is it not a rule of comity in letters, never to report that a man believes what he emphatically denies that he believes? The phrases "Christ took upon him our guilt, and satisfied divine justice" are false, "as our author thinks," "when they are interpreted according to the use of language!" Really, unless we had learned long ago not to be surprised at anything which can be said by anonymous critics, even when in the main they are good men, we should be astonished at this apparently sober charge. Might not the Reviewer have easily seen it to be one aim of the discourse to prove, that all such phrases, when interpreted according to the laws of language, express what is intellectually and morally true? to prove that they must be explained according to what they *mean*, and that they always mean what the intellect can reconcile with other truths? The eager critic has here committed two faults. The first is a fault of logic; for he has taken the premise, that passionate phrases when explained literally and without qualification, and so not according to the laws of language, are *often* untrue, and has hence inferred that these phrases when explained with the proper qualification, and according to the laws of language are untrue. His reasonings may be reduced to this enthymem: The sermon states, pp. 522, 563, that Christ has satisfied the law and justice of God, so far and in such a sense as to render it not a matter of legal obligation, but a matter of propriety and consistency for him to regenerate some men, offer salvation to all men, and bestow numerous favors on the elect and non-elect; therefore, it follows that the phrase Christ "satisfied divine justice," *when interpreted according to the rules of language, expresses, as our author thinks, what is false.*

As the first error of the Reviewer in this charge is one of logic, so the second is one of controversial ethics. He has asserted that his own inference from the sermon is the actual opinion of the author of

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 665.



that sermon. And here his ethical fault is the more unseemly, because the Reviewer's inference is illogical, and the author's premise is a simple one, laid down in many of our elementary works. We should advise our critic to review Dr. Hey's *Canons of Controversy*, if we could suppose him ignorant of the rule, that one should never impute his own inferences, especially his unwarrantable inferences, to another man who is innocent of them. He should not impute them literally, by affirming outright that the innocent has committed these errors: nor should he impute them figuratively, by treating the innocent as if he had been guilty of these wrong conclusions.

If the Reviewer had pursued to its full length the principle which he seems to have adopted in some of his criticisms, he would have said, that the sermon denies the doctrine of Eternal Punishment, because it implies that this doctrine would be true, even if there were to be no literal fire or worm; that the sermon denies the doctrine of the General Judgment, because it implies that this doctrine would be true, even if there were to be no opened books; that the sermon denies the doctrine of the Resurrection, because it implies that this doctrine would be true, even if the same particles of matter composing our earthly bodies should not compose our spiritual bodies. For the Reviewer seems to have reasoned on the strange principle, that if the same doctrine be presented in two forms, one prosaic and one poetical, then the doctrine is denied, or is described as false to the intellect. Obviously, the sermon never intimates that any truth is false to the intellect. This language, and the idea suggested by it, are merely of the Reviewer's imputation. He has, apparently, reasoned thus: the sermon affirms that certain doctrines are, at certain times, associated with certain images, and expressed in certain words, which the intellect would never have suggested for the purposes of speculation; and therefore the sermon affirms that those doctrines are false to the reason. Just as if the sermon would have denied the truth of John 21: 25, provided that it had declared the possibility of the world's containing more books than can be ever written.

But the Reviewer is not satisfied even with these imputations. Although the sermon was designed to be homiletical rather than doctrinal, yet it incidentally teaches the dogmatic truths of Eternal Punishment, the Resurrection, the General Judgment, man's Entire Sinfulness, his Native Corruption, his need of Regeneration by the interposed influence of God, the Vicarious Atonement, and "the doctrines which centre in and around" it; and it repeatedly represents all Christian truth as that "which God himself has matched to our



nicest and most delicate springs of action, and which, so highly does he honor our nature, he has interposed by miracles for the sake of revealing in his written word."<sup>1</sup> Still, the Reviewer often characterizes the sermon as "inimical to the proper authority of the Bible," "subversive," "destructive" of it, as exhibiting sad affinities to Rationalism; and as fit to be associated in some of its doctrinal tendencies, with the writings of Schleiermacher, Röhr, Morell, etc.<sup>2</sup> In his Eleventh Letter on Clerical Manners and Habits, Dr. Miller says: "Let all your conduct in judicatories be *marked* with the *most perfect* candor and uprightness:" "Men in the main upright and pious, do sometimes indulge in a species of indirect management, which minds delicately honorable and strictly desirous of shunning the very appearance of evil, would by no means have adopted. Such are the little arts of concealment," etc.: "Never employ language toward any fellow member (of a judicatory) which you would not be willing to have directed toward yourself."<sup>3</sup>

Suppose, now, that in criticising this Review, we should use his own *argumentum ad captandum vulgus*. There are fundamental heresies, that of the Theopaschites that of denying the Trinity to be eternal, the Godhead to be perfect, etc., of which he might be convicted, as easily and as honorably as he has convicted the sermon of a neological spirit. Take a single illustration. It is an established principle, that the properties and attributes of either nature by itself, may be applied and ascribed to the whole person who combines two natures, but that the properties and attributes of the whole person cannot be ascribed, without qualification, to either nature by itself. Thus we may affirm that man, compounded of soul and body, eats and thinks, but not that the soul eats, nor that the body thinks; the complex being is perhaps corpulent and sentimental, but the body is not sen-

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 561, 544.

<sup>2</sup> We will do justice to the charitable spirit of the Reviewer, and say, that in *one* passage on p. 646, he makes the following concession: "We are far from supposing that the author regards his theory as subversive of the authority of the Bible. He has obviously (?) adopted it as a convenient way of getting rid of certain doctrines (?) which stand out far too prominently in Scripture, and are too deeply impressed on the hearts of God's people, to allow of their being denied."—The charm of this passage lies in the fact that it purports to be apologetic. It begins to be a serious question with us, whether we have any acquaintance with the author whose designs are thus charitably explained; whether we have ever read a paragraph of his discourse. Either we are lamentably ignorant of the sermon, or else the gentleman who has assailed, has radically misapprehended it.

<sup>3</sup> Miller's Letters, pp. 320, 328.

timental, nor the soul corpulent. On the same principle we may affirm, that Christ, compounded of God and man, is immutable, and died, but not that the man is immutable, or the God died. If we say that God has died, we speak poetically or erroneously. But the Review defends the phrase, "God the mighty Maker died," as "a dogmatic truth," for "its strict doctrinal propriety," its "doctrinal fidelity," and even goes so far as to state that this phrase belongs to "the language of speculation, of theory, of the intellect, as *distinguished* from the feelings."<sup>1</sup> But, if it be true that God the mighty Maker died, then it is true on the principle that all which Christ did and suffered, God did and suffered; and all which was done by Jehovah, was done also by the man Christ Jesus. And this profane principle the Reviewer adopts; and so accordingly he believes, not only that the worlds were made by a man, the eternal decrees formed by the son of a carpenter, but also that, as Christ, so the eternal Deity was born, was educated, was ignorant, was lost by his parents, was carried about from place to place, was fatigued; God the Spirit was refreshed by food and sleep; God the Mighty was unable to bear his cross, was weak and not mighty; God the Maker was (contrary to one of the Reviewer's creeds) both begotten and also made; God the immutable grew in stature, was subject to daily, hourly change; God who is ever blessed, was at one period the greatest sufferer on earth, was nailed to the cross; the everlasting God was dead, not living; and therefore unchangeable power, wisdom, blessedness, and even life cannot be ascribed to him, "as our Reviewer thinks." Now, we will do this Reviewer the *justice* to say, that if we should imitate him in imputing to him as his own belief, the inferences which he has never avowed, but which might be drawn from his words, as fairly as he has drawn inferences from the sermon, we should do what our self-respect forbids us to do.

Pitiable indeed is the logomachy of polemic divines. We have somewhere read, that the Berkeleians who denied the existence of matter, differed more in terms than in opinion from their opponents who affirmed the existence of matter; for the former uttered with emphasis, "We cannot prove that there is an outward world," and then whispered, "We are yet compelled to believe that there is one;" whereas the latter uttered with emphasis, "We are compelled to believe in the outward world," and then whispered, "Yet we cannot prove that there is one." This is not precisely accurate, still it

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Rep. pp. 666, 648.

illustrates the amount of difference which exists between the Reviewer and the author of the humble Convention sermon. Let us listen to them in an imagined colloquy. The Reviewer exclaims aloud, "I believe in a sinful nature preceding all sinful exercise of it," and then whispers, "This passive nature is not sinful in the sense of being condemned by the conscience of one who never acted amiss; men are not personally blamable for being born with it; they do not deserve the fatal sentence at the judgment merely for the way in which they were made." The author exclaims aloud, "I believe that man's nature preceding all exercise of it contains no such sin as itself deserves to be tried, blamed, condemned at the judgment, and punished forever," and then he whispers, "Still this nature, as it certainly occasions sin, may be sometimes called sinful in a peculiar sense, for the sake of intensity." The Reviewer cries on a high key, "I believe that the sin of the guilty is imputed to the innocent under a just administration," and then adds in a lower tone, "The word impute, however, is not here used in its more obvious meaning, and does not imply that the imputation affects the character of the innocent or makes them actually displeasing to God." The author cries with a loud voice, "I believe that the sin of the guilty is not imputed to the innocent," and then adds on a lower key, "The innocent, however, are made to suffer in consequence of the guilty, and being thus treated in certain respects as if they had done wrong, sin may be sometimes said, for the sake of a deep impression, to be imputed to them." The Reviewer exclaims in a loud tone, "I believe that the innocent are justly punished for sin which they have never committed," and then adds in a milder accent, "They are not punished however in the most strict and rigid meaning of the term, but are only made to suffer on account of the sin of those with whom they are connected, and for the purpose of sustaining the law as inviolable." The author exclaims in a bold tone, "I believe that the innocent are not justly punished for sin which they have never committed, for, in the words of Andrew Fuller,<sup>1</sup> "*real and proper* punishment is not only the infliction of natural evil for the commission of moral evil, but the infliction of the one upon the person who committed the other, and in displeasure against him; it not only supposes criminality, but that the party punished was literally the criminal:" still in a milder accent the author adds, "The suffering of the innocent for the guilty may be sometimes called punishment with a peculiar meaning, for the

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<sup>1</sup> Fuller's Works, Vol. IV. p. 34.

sake of unusual force." The Reviewer exclaims with earnestness, "All men sinned in Adam," but he explains with deliberation; "They did not literally exist in him, and his voluntary acts cannot be reckoned theirs strictly and properly." The author is earnest in saying, "All men did not literally exist in Adam, and could not have strictly and literally sinned before they existed;" but he is careful to add, "Adam's fall was so infallibly connected with the total depravity of his descendants, as to give a true and deep meaning to the phrase, which may be sometimes used as an intense one, that they sinned in him." The Reviewer proclaims aloud, "I believe in a limited but not general atonement," and then whispers, "It is sufficient, however, for the non-elect as well as the elect." The author proclaims aloud, "I believe in a general but not limited atonement," and then repeats with diminished emphasis, "It was never decreed, however, that this atonement should result in the regeneration of the non-elect." Says the Reviewer, "I will use terms in their technical, although it is not their most obvious meaning;" says the author, "I will generally use terms in their more obvious, although it is not their technical meaning." Whereupon the Reviewer speaks out: "You are inimical to the proper authority of the Bible;" to which the author responds, "You found this charge upon a mere difference about words, about the emphasis to be given them; about the modifications of voice with which the words are to be uttered; and it is notorious that a dispute about words leads to more and still more words, and ends, if it end at all, in hard and sharp words; it is what our polemic divines ought by this time to be tired of, logomachy."

4. But we have already anticipated a distinct class of the Reviewer's unintentional mis-statements. He represents the sermon as unguarded in its tendencies. He says that "it enables a man to profess his faith in doctrines which he does not believe,"<sup>1</sup> and thus to advocate opposing creeds. Is such an objection worthy of such a critic? Does not he himself cling to the creed that the children of Adam are punished for the sin of their father, and also to the Biblical creed "that the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father;" "neither shall the children be put to death for their fathers; every man shall be put to death for his own sin?" But the critic will respond, these apparent discrepancies can be reconciled; and we rejoin, one aim of the sermon is to show that all creeds which are allowable can be reconciled with each other; for, as far as allowable, they contain underneath their diversified forms the substance of the truth and of nothing but the truth.

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Rep. p. 646.



Dr. Blair remarks<sup>1</sup> what every body knows, that "all passions, without exception, love, terror, amazement, indignation, anger and even grief throw the mind into confusion, aggravate their objects, and of course prompt to a hyperbolical style." In accordance with this trite saying, the sermon makes an hypothetical assertion,<sup>2</sup> that if a creed be wrongly viewed as "a triumphal song of thanksgiving," and if agreeably to this view it be written in the style of a highly poetical effusion, and if when written in this style it be chanted under the influence of thrilling music and amid the pomp of a gorgeous ceremonial, then, in such a false position, the cantilator of such a creed may be so rapt in enthusiasm as to sing the ecstatic words without inquiring for their "precise" import. Who could imagine that the following inference would be drawn from the foregoing truism:—If a man with *false* views of the nature of a creed, may be so overcome by the minstrelsy of a cathedral as to cry out, "credo quia impossibile," while he cantilates an imaginative Confession, which is obscure in its sublimity, and confusing by its crowd of images; then it follows that a student acting, as a student ought to act, deliberately and circumspectly, may with set purpose subscribe a plain and precise creed when he knows it to be false both in its language and in its meaning. The man who can reason thus will soon conclude that if Peter spoke on the mountain without knowing what he said, then he wrote his epistles under the same kind of afflatus. We cannot imagine what a person means by extorting such inferences, but whatever he means, we forgive him.

That the Reviewer arrives at any of his accusations by reasoning in this way, we do not affirm. We cannot divine the process by which he comes to some of his charges. Sometimes he appears to adopt the premise, that the language of the Bible or of a creed must not be qualified at all, and if it be qualified then it is, (to use a word of his own) "eviscerated" of its meaning. But he "explains away" the literal import of many technical terms, just as really as they are explained away in the sermon. And as for qualifying the language of the Bible, does the Reviewer infer the "real presence" from the plain phrase "this is my body;" or the necessity of the pedilavium from the still plainer phrase, "ye ought to wash one another's feet." It were just as fair for us to affirm that he "explains away" the Bible when he denies that God manifests frowardness. Ps. 18: 26, as it is for the Reviewer to affirm that the sermon "explains it away." He has used, *totidem verbis*, the same argument of "rationalistic tenden-

<sup>1</sup> Rhet. Lect. XVI.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. Sac. pp. 553, 554.



cies," which the Romanist brings against the Protestant. It is the notorious *argumentum ad invidiam*.

But he is more definite in one of his charges. He says that the sermon proposes "no adequate criteria for discriminating between the language of feeling and that of the intellect," leaves "every one to his own discretion in making the distinction, and the use of this discretion, regulated by no fixed rules of language, is of course determined by *caprice* or taste;" that the sermon is "*perfectly arbitrary*" in explaining figurative language, etc., and its operation "must be to subject [the teachings of the Bible] to the opinion and prejudices of the reader," etc.<sup>1</sup>

All the principles of Morus and Ernesti on Interpretation, cannot, of course, be collected into one Convention Sermon. But this sermon does propound some criteria for discriminating between the true and the false.

One of these criteria is, the agreement of a doctrine with right or Christian feeling. Whatever *words* this feeling sanctions are thereby signified to be correct in form; whatever *meaning* it sanctions, is thereby signified to be *true* in fact. Every statement is to be disapproved "which does not harmonize with the well ordered sensibilities of the soul." "In this light we discern the necessity of right feeling, as a guide to the right proportions of faith," pp. 546, 555.

A second of these criteria involved in the first, is the agreement of a doctrine with the *necessary* impulses of the soul. Reason "will sanction not only all pious feelings, but likewise all those which are *essential* developments of our original constitution," p. 567. "Whenever a feeling is constitutional, and *cannot* be expelled—whenever it is pious and cannot but be approved, then such of its impulses as are uniform, self-consistent and persevering, are data on which the intellect may safely reason, and by means of which it may add new materials to its dogmatic system." "Has man been created with *irresistible* instincts which *impel* him to believe in a falsehood? Or has the Christian been inspired with holy emotions, which allure him to an essentially erroneous faith? Is God the author of confusion, in his Word revealing one doctrine, and by his Spirit persuading his saints to reject it?" p. 544. Whatever the Reviewer may say of these necessary impulses, Dr. Hodge cannot disparage them, for he says in his Commentary on Rom. 3: 1-8, "What God forces us, from the very constitution of our natures, to believe, as for example, the existence of the external world, our own personal identity, the differ-

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<sup>1</sup> Bib. Rep. pp. 652, 653, 673, 674.

ence between good and evil, it is at once a violation of his will and of the dictates of reason to deny or to question."

A third of these criteria involved in the two preceding is, the moral tendency of a doctrine. Whatever belief is on the whole useful, the same is thereby signified to be true; whatever mode of expressing this belief is useful, the same is thereby signified to be right. "So far as any statement is hurtful, it parts with one sign of its truth. In itself, or in its relations, it must be inaccurate whenever it is not congenial with the feelings awakened by the Divine Spirit. The practical utility, then, of any theological representations, is one criterion of their propriety." "Here also we learn the value of the Bible in unfolding the suitable adaptations of truth, and in illustrating their utility, *which is on the whole so decisive a touch-stone of their correctness*," p. 555. The Reviewer may say, perhaps, that this tendency of a doctrine is "no adequate criterion" of its truth; but Dr. Hodge says in his Commentary on Rom. 3: 1-8, "There is no better evidence against the truth of any doctrine, than that its tendency is immoral." Now, the preceding extracts from the sermon are not desultory passages, but are parts of lengthened paragraphs, the *main object* of which is to show that a standard of truth is to be found in the congeniality of a statement with pious or constitutional feeling, and in its moral tendencies; see pp. 544, 545, 555-558. *So far forth* as, and *in whatever sense* it is agreeable and healthful to our moral feelings, to say that God exacts of men more than he gives them power to perform, to say that he imputes to them a crime which they never committed, just so far forth, and in just that sense, may we be entitled to believe those sayings as substantially true.

But a fourth criterion propounded in the sermon is, the agreement of a doctrine with the feelings of good men in general. "These *universal* feelings provide us with a test for our own faith." Pious men differ in the minute philosophical forms of truth, but their unanimity in the substance of it, indicates "the correctness of their cherished faith, as the agreement of many witnesses presupposes the verity of the narration in which they coincide." "The broad substance of doctrine around which the feelings of all *renewed* men" (the point of the argument lies in the word "*renewed*," which the Reviewer changes into "reverent")<sup>1</sup> cling ever and everywhere, "*must be right*," for it

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<sup>1</sup> The sentence of the Reviewer is the following: "The church is not infallible in her bodies of divinity, nor her creeds, nor catechisms, nor any logical formula; but underneath all, there lies a grand substance of doctrine, around which the feelings of all reverent men cling," etc., Bib. Rep. p. 654.

is precisely adjusted to the soul, and the soul was made for it," pp. 544, 545. In whatever sense the feelings of all good men welcome the Reviewer's "dogma," that the Maker of the world has once died, *in that sense* is the dogma indicated to be correct.

A fifth criterion is the agreement of a doctrine with other well known truths. Correct figures of speech disagree with each other; correct literal statements, never. The intellectual theology "regards a want of concinnity in a system, as a token of some false principle. And as it will modify itself in order to avoid the error involved in a contradiction, so, and for the same reason, it has authority in the last resort to rectify the statements which are often congenial with excited emotion," p. 546.

A sixth criterion mentioned in the sermon is, the agreement of a doctrine with the inferences of reason enlightened by revelation. The chief aim of pp. 546-550 is, to show that "as the head is placed above the heart in the body, so the faith which is sustained by good argument, should control rather than be controlled by those emotions which receive no approval from the judgment." "In all investigations for truth, the intellect must be the authoritative power," it "explains, modifies, harmonizes the meaning" of all conflicting statements; must bring them all "into unison with the intellectual statements which, however unimpressive, are yet the most authoritative." And the reason draws its inferences from the works of God, but chiefly from his "miraculously attested" word. So far forth and in whatever sense it can be *proved* that the innocent are punished for the guilty, just so far forth and in that sense, is the statement true. It is now a noticeable fact, that at the very time when the Reviewer condemned the sermon, as leaving every one to his "*caprice or taste*" in distinguishing between literal and figurative language, he had upon his table the edition of the sermon containing these words:<sup>1</sup>

"No one hesitates to say that the poetic view of astronomy, in which the sun is described as masculine, the moon as feminine, the stars as children of the moon, should be reduced into a consistency with the philosophical view, and that the demonstrable science should not be distorted so as to harmonize with the graceful fable. Neither does any one shrink from interpreting the assertion, God is a rock, into an accordance with the assertion, God is a spirit; for both statements cannot be literally true, and the one which commends itself to the intellect, is the rightful standard by which to modify the one suggested by the heart. Else the *fancies* and *caprices* of man will be, what his reason and conscience ought to be, his guide."

If, then, an interpretation be intuitively perceived to be correct, or be proved so by valid argument from the word or works of God, if it

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<sup>1</sup> Second pamphlet edition, p. 46.

substantially agree with other interpretations known to be right, if it have been generally received as true by "*renewed*" men, if it have a healthful moral influence, if it accord with our constitutional or pious feeling, then it has so many signs of its correctness. All these criteria, and others also, are stated by the author, who is "*perfectly arbitrary in the application of his theory,*" and according to the Reviewer "adopts or rejects the representations of the Bible *at pleasure*, or as they *happen* to coincide with or contradict his own preconceived opinions."<sup>1</sup>

The author does, indeed, recognize (Sermon, p. 555) the solemn truth that "here," in his theme, "we see our responsibility for our religious belief. Here are we impressed by the fact that much of our probation relates to our mode of shaping and coloring the doctrines of theology." We cannot escape from this probation. Our Almighty Sovereign designs to try our hearts in our detection of the principles which are communicated to us in symbols. It were, indeed, congenial with our love of ease, to have our duties for every day written out with exactness on the palms of our hands, that we may simply look and read. It were pleasant if God had arranged the stars of heaven into letters and sentences all unfolding our precise relations to him, and modifying themselves into new testaments of truth whenever we needed new light. But instead of thus accommodating our listless spirit, he has required us to *dig* for our knowledge, to *work* out our salvation with fear and trembling; and has made the probation of all men, and the chief probation of some men to consist in their mode of regulating their judgments, imagination and feelings in the pursuit of wholesome doctrine. Let us not attempt to flee from our appointed trial, but let us endure it as men with humility and prayer. Let us not arraign our Maker because he has sown the path of investigation with perils; but let us meet the perils with a manly trust in his guidance. All study is dangerous; but the neglect of it is more so. Candor may be abused to our hurt; bigotry will be used to our sorer mischief. If we aim to be fair inquirers for truth, we may err; if we strive to be pugnacious defenders of a party we shall lapse into sad mistakes. Let us ever bear in mind that we are to give account at the great day, not only for every idle, injurious, defamatory word, but also for the narrow, clannish, sectarian spirit with which we may have discussed the truth. Who is sufficient, without God's help, for *preaching* or even for *thinking* of that Gospel which "is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel."

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<sup>1</sup> Bip. Rep. p. 684.

## REVIEW

OF

DR. BUSHNELL'S DISCOURSES

ON

CHRISTIAN NURTURE.

EXTRACTED, BY PERMISSION, FROM THE PRINCETON REVIEW

"Prove all things ; hold fast that which is good."

NEW-YORK :

LEAVITT, TROW &amp; CO., 191 BROADWAY.

1847.



{Permission having been obtained from the conductors of "the Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review," to extract from the last number the following article, it is submitted to the public, as containing a seasonable discussion of a very important subject. A. B.]

## REVIEW.

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1. *Discourses on Christian Nurture.* By Horace Bushnell, Pastor of the North Church, Hartford. Approved by the Committee of Publication. Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. 1847. 12mo. pp. 72.
2. *Dr. Tyler's Letter to Dr. Bushnell on Christian Nurture.* 8vo. pp. 22.
3. *An Argument for "Discourses on Christian Nurture," addressed to the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society,* By Horace Bushnell. Hartford: Edwin Hunt. 1847. 8vo. pp. 48.

THE leading idea of Dr. Bushnell's Discourses, is organic, as distinguished from individual life. Whatever may be thought of the expression, or whatever may be the form in which it lies in his mind, it represents a great and obvious truth; a truth which, however novel it may appear to many of our New England brethren, is as familiar to Presbyterians as household words. Strange, and in our view distorted, as is the form in which this truth appears in Dr. Bushnell's book, and incongruous as are the elements with which it is combined, it still has power to give his Discourses very much of an "Old-school" cast, and to render them in a high degree attractive and hopeful in our estimation. Apart from the two great illustrations of this truth, the participation of the life of Adam by the whole race, and of the life of Christ by all believers, we see on every hand abundant evidence that every church, nation, and society has a common life, besides the life of its individual members. This is the reason why nothing of importance can occur in one part of the church, without influencing all other parts. No new form of doctrine, no revival or decline of spiritual life, can exhibit itself in New England, that is not effective throughout the Presbyterian church. We as a body owe, in no small measure, our character, as distinguished from other Presbyterian communities, to our participation, so to speak, of the life of New England; and the New England churches, are indebted, in like manner, for their character as distinguished from other congregational bodies, to the influence of their Presbyterian brethren. No com-

munity can isolate itself. The subtle influence which pervades the whole, permeates through every barrier, as little suspected, and yet as effective, as the magnetic or electric fluid in nature. This fact may be explained in a manner more or less obvious or profound, according to our philosophy or disposition, but it cannot be denied, and should not be disregarded.

We are therefore not uninterested spectators of the changes going on in New England. They are changes in the body of which we are members, and their effects, for good or evil, we must share. We are not therefore stepping out of our own sphere, or meddling with what does not concern us, in calling attention to Dr. Bushnell's book and to the discussions to which it has given rise.

The history of this little volume is somewhat singular. Dr. Bushnell was appointed by the Ministerial Association of which he is a member, to discuss the subject of Christian training. He produced two discourses from his pulpit, and read the argument before the Association, who requested its publication. To this he assented, but before his purpose was executed, a request came from a member of the Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, that the publication should be made by them. The manuscript was forwarded to the committee, who retained it in their possession six months, twice returned it to the author for modifications, and finally published it with their approbation. It excited no little attention, being favourably noticed in some quarters, and unfavourably in others. So much disapprobation however was soon manifested, that the committee felt called upon to suspend its publication. We are not surprised at any of these facts. We do not wonder that the committee kept the book so long under advisement; or that they should ultimately venture on its publication; or that, when published, it should create such a sensation, or meet with the fate which actually befel it. There is enough in the book to account for all this. Enough of truth most appropriate for our times, powerfully presented, to make the committee anxious to bring it before the churches; enough of what was new in form and strange in aspect, to create doubt as to its effect and its reception; and enough of apparent and formidable error to account for the alarm and uneasiness consequent on its publication. We cannot regret that the book has seen the light, and done, or at least begun, its work. We anticipate immeasurably more good than evil from its publication. What is wrong, we trust will be sifted out and perish, what is right, will live and operate.

The truths which give value to this publication, and from which we anticipated such favourable results, are principally the following. First, the fact that there is such a divinely constituted relation between the piety of parents and that of their children, as to lay a scriptural foundation for a confident expectation, in the use of the appointed means, that the children of believers will become truly the children of God. We do not like the form in which Dr. Bushnell states this fact; much less, as we shall probably state more fully in the sequel, the mode in which he accounts for it; but the fact itself is most true and precious. It is founded on the express and repeated declaration and promise of God. He said to Abraham: I will establish my covenant between me and

thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be a God to thee and to thy seed after thee. Deut. vii. 9, Know, therefore, that Jehovah thy God, he is God, the faithful God, which keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love him and keep his commandments, to a thousand generations. Deut. xxx. 6, The Lord thy God will circumcise thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, that thou mayest live. Is. lix. 21, As for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord ; My Spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, from henceforth for ever. In the New Testament the fact that the promises made to believers include their children, was recognized from the very foundation of the Christian church. In the sermon delivered by Peter on the day of Pentecost, he said, The promise is to thee and to thy seed after thee. And Paul assures us even with regard to outcast Israel, The children are beloved for the fathers' sake. It is, therefore, true, as might be much more fully proved, that, by divine appointment, the children of believers are introduced into the covenant into which their parents enter with God, and that the promises of that covenant are made no less to the children than to the parents. He promises to be their God, to give them his Spirit, to renew their hearts, and to cause them to live.

This promise, however, like all others of a similar character, is general ; expressing what is to be the general course of events, and not what is to be the result in every particular case. When God promised that summer and winter, seed time and harvest, should succeed each other to the end of time, he did not pledge himself that there never should be a failure in this succession, that a famine should never occur, or that the expectations of the husbandman should never be disappointed. Nor does the declaration, Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it, contain a promise that no well-disciplined child shall ever wander from the right path. It is enough that it expresses the tendency and ordinary result of proper training. In like manner, the promise of God to give his Spirit to the children of believers, does not imply that every such child shall be made the subject of saving blessings. It is enough that it indicates the channel in which his grace ordinarily flows, and the general course of his dispensations.

Again, it is to be remembered that these promises are conditional. God has never promised to make no distinction between faithful and unfaithful parents, between those who bring up their offspring in the nurture of the Lord, and those who utterly neglect their religious training. The condition, which, from the nature of the case, is implied in this promise, is in many cases expressly stated. His promise is to those who keep his covenant, and to those who remember his commandments, to do them. It is involved in the very nature of a covenant, that it should have conditions. And although in one important sense, the conditions of the covenant of grace have been performed by Christ, still its promises are suspended on conditions to be performed by or in his people. And this is expressly declared to be the case with regard to the promise

of the divine blessing to the children of believers. They must keep his covenant. They must train up their children for God. They must use the means which he has appointed for their conversion and sanctification, or the promise does not apply to them. Then again, there is a condition to be performed by the children themselves. God promises to be their God, but they must consent to be his people. He promises them his Spirit, but they must seek and cherish his influence. If they renounce the covenant, and refuse to have God for their God, and to walk in the way of his commandments, then the promise no longer pertains to them.

It will naturally be objected, that if this is so, the promise amounts to nothing. If after all, it is not the children of believers, as such, and consequently all such children, who are to be saved; if the promise to them is general, as a class, and not to each individual; if it is conditioned on the fidelity of parents and of the children themselves, its whole value is gone. What have they more than others? What advantage have the children of the covenant? or what profit is there in baptism? It is precisely thus the Jews reasoned against the apostle. When he proved that it was not the Jews, as Jews, and simply because Jews, who were to be the heirs of salvation, and that circumcision could profit them nothing unless they kept the law, they immediately asked: What advantage then hath the Jew, and what profit is there of circumcision? Much every way, answered the apostle—chiefly because unto them were committed the oracles of God. To them belonged the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service, and the promises: theirs were the fathers, and of them, as concerning the flesh, Christ came. Salvation was of the Jews. All the religion that was in the world was found among them. It was therefore a great advantage to be found among that favoured people, even although from the want of faithfulness, on the part both of parents and children, so many of them perished. In like manner it is a great blessing to be born within the covenant, to be the children of believers—to them belong the adoption and the promises, they are the channel in which the Spirit flows, and from among them the vast majority of the heirs of salvation are taken, notwithstanding the multitudes who perish through their own fault or the fault of their parents.

It is, therefore, a scriptural truth, that the children of believers are the children of God, as being within his covenant with their parents; he promises to them his Spirit; he has established a connection between faithful parental training and the salvation of children, as he has between seed-time and harvest, diligence and riches, education and knowledge. In no one case is absolute certainty secured or the sovereignty of God excluded. But in all, the divinely appointed connexion between means and end is obvious.

That this connexion is not more apparent, in the case of parents and children, is due, in a great measure, to the sad deficiency in parental fidelity. If we look over the Christian world, how few nominally Christian parents even pretend to bring up their children for God. In a great majority of cases the attainment of some worldly object, is avowedly made the end of education; and all the influences to which a child is



exposed are designed and adapted to make him a man of the world. And even within the pale of evangelical churches, it must be confessed, there is great neglect as to this duty. Where is the parent whose children have turned aside from God, whose heart will not rather reproach him, than charge God with forgetting his promise? Our very want of faith in the promise is one great reason of our failure. We have forgotten the covenant. We have forgotten that our children belong to God; that he has promised to be their God, if we are faithful to our trust. We do not say that all the children of the most faithful parent will certainly be saved, any more than we would say that every diligent man will become rich; but the Scriptures do say that the children of believers are the subjects of the divine promise, as clearly as they say the hand of the diligent maketh rich.

This doctrine is clearly implied in the circumcision and baptism of children. Why is the sign and seal of the covenant attached to them, if they are not within the covenant? What are the promises of that covenant but that God will be their God, that he will forgive their sins, give them his Spirit, renew their hearts, and cause them to live? These promises are therefore made to them, and are sealed to them in their baptism, just as much as they are to their parents. This has been the uniform doctrine of the Christian church. It is avowed in all confessions, and involved in the usages of all communions.

In the Appendix to the Geneva Catechism, in the form for the administration of Baptism, it is said: *Quamobrem etsi fidelium liberi sint ex Adami corrupta stirpe ac genere, eos ad se nihilominus admittit, propter foedus videlicet cum eorum parentibus initum, eosque pro liberis suis habet ac numerat; ob eamque causam jam inde ab initio nascentis ecclesiae voluit infantibus circumcisionis notam imprimi, qua quidem nota jam eadem omnia significabat ac demonstrabat, quae hodie in Baptismo designatur.* . . . Minime dubium est, quin liberi nostri haeredes sint ejus vitae ac salutis, quam nobis est pollicitus; qua de causa eos sanctificari Paulus affirmat, jam inde ab utero matris, quo ab Ethnicorum et e vera religione abhorrentium hominum liberis discernantur.

Belgic Confession Act. 34. Nos eos (infantes) eadem ratione baptizandos et signo foederis absignandos esse credimus, qua olim in Israele parvuli circumcidebantur, nimirum propter easdem promissiones infantibus nostris factas. Et revera Christus non minus sanguinem suum effudit, ut fidelium infantes, quam ut adultos ablueret.

Heidelberg Catechism: Ought young children to be baptized? Yes, because they, as well as adults, are embraced in the covenant and church of God. And because to them the deliverance from sin through the blood of Christ, and the Holy Ghost, are no less promised than to adults; they should therefore be united by baptism, the sign of the covenant, to the church, and distinguished from the children of unbelievers, as under the Old Testament was done by circumcision, in the place of which baptism is appointed.\*

Helvetic Confession, II. 20. Damnamus Anabaptistas, qui negant

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\* This may not agree verbatim with the common English version of this Catechism. It is taken from the German, the only copy we have at hand.

baptisandos esse infantulos recens natos a fidelibus. Nam juxta doctrinam evangelicam, horum est regnum Dei, et sunt in foedere Dei, cur itaque non daretur eis signum foederis Dei? cur non per sanctum Baptisma initiarentur, qui sunt peculium et in ecclesia Dei?

These are only a specimen of the numerous recognitions by the Reformed churches, of the great truth, that the infants of believers are included in that covenant in which God promises grace and salvation. To them these promises are made. There is an intimate and divinely established connexion between the faith of parents and the salvation of their children; such a connexion as authorizes them to plead God's promises, and to expect with confidence, that through his blessing on their faithful efforts, their children will grow up the children of God. This is the truth, and the great truth, which Dr. Bushnell asserts. This doctrine it is his principal object to establish. It is this that gives his book its chief value. This and its consequences render his Discourses so appropriate to the present state of the church; for there is perhaps no one doctrine to which it is more important in our day to call the attention of the people of God.

A second truth prominently presented by our author is, that parental nurture, or Christian training, is the great means for the salvation of the children of the church. We of course recognize the native depravity of children, the absolute necessity of their regeneration by the Holy Spirit, the inefficiency of all means of grace without the blessing of God. But what we think is plainly taught in Scripture, what is reasonable in itself, and confirmed by the experience of the church, is, that early, assiduous, and faithful religious culture of the young, especially by believing parents, is the great means of their salvation. A child is born in a Christian family; its parents recognize it as belonging to God, and included in his covenant. In full faith that the promise extends to their children as well as to themselves, they dedicate their child to him in baptism. From its earliest infancy it is the object of tender solicitude, and the subject of many believing prayers. The spirit which reigns around it is the spirit, not of the world, but of true religion. The truth concerning God and Christ, the way of salvation and of duty, is inculcated from the beginning, and as fast as it can be comprehended. The child is sedulously guarded, as far as possible, from all corrupting influences, and subjected to those which tend to lead him to God. He is constantly taught that he stands in a peculiar relation to God, as being included in his covenant and baptized in his name; that he has, in virtue of that relation, a right to claim God as his Father, Christ as his Saviour, and the Holy Ghost as his Sanctifier; and assured that God will recognize that claim and receive him as his child, if he is faithful to his baptismal vows. The child, thus trained, grows up in the fear of God; his earliest experiences are more or less religious; he keeps aloof from open sins; strives to keep his conscience clear in the sight of God, and to make the divine will the guide of his conduct. When he comes to maturity, the nature of the covenant of grace is fully explained to him, he intelligently and deliberately assents to it, publicly confesses himself to be a worshipper and follower of Christ, and acts consistently with his engagements. This is no fancy sketch. Such an experience is not uncommon in actual life.

It is obvious that in such cases it must be difficult both for the person himself and for those around him, to fix on the precise period when he passed from death unto life. And even in cases where there is more of conflict, where the influence of early instruction has met with greater opposition, and where the change is more sudden and observable, the result, under God, is to be attributed to this parental training.

What we contend for then, is, that this is the appointed, the natural, the normal and ordinary means by which the children of believers are made truly the children of God. And consequently this is the means which should be principally relied upon, and employed, and that the saving conversion of our children should in this way be looked for and expected. It certainly has the sanction of God. He has appointed and commanded precisely this early, assiduous, and faithful training of the young. These words, saith the Lord, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart: and thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. As this method of religious training has the sanction of a divine command, so it has also the benefit of his special promise. Success in the use of this means is the very thing promised to parents in the covenant into which they are commanded to introduce their children. God, in saying that he will be their God, give them his Spirit, and renew their hearts, and in connecting this promise with the command to bring them up for him, does thereby engage to render such training effectual. Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it, is moreover the express assurance of his word. There is also a natural adaptation in all means of God's appointment, to the end they are intended to accomplish. There is an appropriate connexion between sowing and reaping, between diligence and prosperity, truth and holiness, religious training and the religious life of children. If the occasional and promiscuous hearing of the word as preached, is blessed to their conviction and conversion, why should not the early, personal, appropriate application of the same truth, aided by all the influence of natural affection, and the atmosphere of a pious home, be expected to be still more effective? How sensibly is a child's disposition and character moulded, in other respects, by parental example and teaching. How much greater, humanly speaking, is the advantage which a parent possesses than any preacher can have, in his constant intercourse with his child, in his hold on its confidence and love, and in the susceptibility to good impressions which belongs to the early period of life. Surely contact with the world, the influence of evil passions long indulged, of opposition to the truth, to the dictates of conscience, and the strivings of the Spirit, must harden the heart, and increase the difficulties of a sound conversion. In no part of his Discourses nor in his Argument in their defence, is Dr. Bushnell so true or eloquent as in what he says of the natural power of parental influence, even before the development of reason in the child.

"Many persons," he says, "seem never to have brought their minds down close enough to an infant child to understand that any thing of consequence is going on with it, until after it has come to language and become a subject thus of *instruction*. As if a child were to learn a language before it is capable of learning any thing ! Whereas there is a whole era, so to speak, before language, which may be called the era of *impressions* ; and these impressions are the seminal principles, in some sense, of the activity that runs to language, and also of the whole future character. I strongly suspect that more is done, in the age previous to language, to effect the character of children, whether by parents, or, when they are waiting in indolent security, by nurses and attendants, than in all the instruction and discipline of their minority afterwards ; for, in this first age, the age of impressions, there goes out in the whole manner of the parent—the look, the voice, the handling—an expression of feeling, and that feeling expressed streams directly into the soul, and reproduces itself there, as by a law of contagion. What man of adult age, who is at all observant of himself, has failed to notice the power that lies in a simple *presence*, even to him ? To this power the infant is passive as the wax to the seal. When, therefore, we consider how small a speck, falling into the nucleus of a crystal, may disturb its form ; or how the smallest mote of foreign matter, present in the quickening egg, will suffice to produce a deformity ; considering, also, on the other hand, what nice conditions of repose, in one case, and what accurately modulated supplies of heat, in the other, are necessary to a perfect product ; then only do we begin to imagine what work is going on in the soul of a child during the age of impressions. Suppose, now, that all preachers of Christ could have their hearers, for whole months, in their own will, after the same manner, so as to move them by a look, a motion, a smile, a frown, and act their own sentiments and emotions over in them ; and then, for whole years, had them in authority to command, direct, tell them whither to go, what to learn, what to do, regulate their hours, their books, their pleasures, and their company, and call them to prayer over their knees every night and morning—who that can rightly conceive such an organic acting of one being in many, will deem it extravagant, or think it a dishonour to the grace of God, to say that a power like this may well be expected to fashion all who come under it to newness of life ?

"Now, what I have endeavoured in my tract, and what I here endeavour, is, to waken in our churches a sense of this power, and of the momentous responsibilities that accrue under it. I wish to produce an impression that God has not held us responsible for the effect only of what we do, or teach, or for acts of control and government, but quite as much for the effect of our *being what we are* ; that there is a plastic age in the house, receiving its type, not from our words but from our *spirit*—one whose character is shaping in the moulds of our own."

If on this subject we appeal to experience, we shall find that religion has flourished in all ages and in all parts of the church, just in the proportion in which attention has been given to the religious training of the young. God prepared the world for the gospel by a long course of discipline. The law was a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ. The Jews



were scattered over the Roman empire to educate a people for the Lord. Every synagogue was a preparatory school for the church; and it was from among those trained in these schools that the early converts to the gospel were gathered. In the early church, the instruction of the young was made a principal part of parental and ministerial duty. When religion began to decline, and men were taught that baptism wrought the change which God had appointed Christian nurture to effect, then religious education was neglected, and ritualism supplanted piety. When the gospel was revived, Christian nurture revived with it. Catechisms for the young were among the earliest and most effective of the productions of the Reformers. True religion, from that day to this, has kept pace, risen or declined, just as the training of the young has been attended to or neglected. Scotland is the most religious nation in Europe, because her children are the best instructed. When our missionaries go to the eastern churches or to the heathen, they find preaching to adults like talking to a brazen wall. They begin with the young. They take God's method, and train up a generation to his praise. If we look over our own country, we are taught the same lesson. Religion, what there is of it, is the inconstant and destructive fire of fanaticism, wherever children grow up out of the church, and ignorant of God. With him, indeed, nothing is impossible; and therefore adult heathen, or ignorant and superstitious nominal Christians, are not beyond the reach of his power, and are often made the subjects of his grace—just as the thief was converted on the cross. But a death-bed is not the best place for repentance, nor are ignorant and hardened sinners the most hopeful subjects of conversion.

The truth here asserted has always been recognized in the church. The wisest and best men have known and taught, that the ordinary and normal method of bringing the children of believers to the saving obedience of the truth, was Christian training. To this, therefore, all evangelical churches bind believing parents, by solemn vows, calling upon them to pray with and for their children, to set before them a godly example, and to teach them his word. Why is all this done, if it is not God's appointed means for their salvation? "I doubt not to affirm," says Baxter, "that a godly education is God's first and ordinary appointed means for the begetting of actual faith and other graces in the children of believers. . . . And the preaching of the word, by public ministers, is not the first ordinary means of grace to any but those that were graceless till they come to hear such preaching—that is, to those on whom the first appointed means hath been neglected or proved vain." *Christian Directory*, vol. ii. c. 6, 4. "Every Christian family," says Edwards, "ought to be, as it were, a little church, consecrated to Christ, and wholly influenced and governed by his rules. And family education and order are some of the chief means of grace. If these fail, all other means are likely to prove ineffectual." Vol. i. 99.\* This principle characteristically governed the conduct of our Presbyterian ancestors, both in England and Scotland. They were accustomed to insist much on the relation of their children to the church and the covenant of God,

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\* Both these quotations are borrowed from Dr. Bushnell's *Argument*, pp. 10 and 15.



to bring them up under the conviction that they belonged peculiarly to him, were under peculiar obligations, and had a special interest in his promises. They frequently reminded them of this peculiar relation, and called upon them to renew their baptismal vows. The excellent Philip Henry drew up for his children the following baptismal covenant: "I take God to be my chiefest good and highest end. I take God the Son to be my prince and saviour. I take the Holy Ghost to be my sanctifier, teacher, guide, and comforter. I take the word of God to be my rule in all my actions; and the people of God to be my people in all conditions. I do likewise devote and dedicate unto the Lord my whole self, all I am, all I have, and all I can do. And this I do deliberately, sincerely, freely, and for ever." "This," says his biographer, "he taught his children, and they each of them solemnly repeated it every Lord's day, in the evening, after they were catechized, he putting his amen to it, and sometimes adding, 'So say, and so do, and you are made for ever.' " Many parents may not be prepared to go as far as Philip Henry, or approve of calling upon children to make such professions, but we have gone to the opposite extreme. So much has this covenanting spirit died out—so little is the relation of our children to God, and their interest in his promises regarded or recognized—that we have heard of men who strenuously objected to children being taught the Lord's prayer, for fear they should think God was really their father! This shows to what an extent a false theory can pervert not only the Scriptures, but even our strongest natural impulses and affections.

There is indeed great danger of this training, and especially this covenanting with God, degenerating into mere formality and hypocrisy. Parents and children may come to think that religion consists entirely in knowledge and orthodoxy; that they are safe because baptized and included in the church. This tendency was exhibited among the Jews, who thought themselves the true children of God, and heirs of the promise, simply because they were the children of Abraham. It has been exemplified in all ages of the church, and is still seen in many denominations of Christians, even the strictest and most orthodox. Children may be baptized, taught the catechism, and thoroughly instructed, and carefully restrained, and thus grow up well-informed and well-behaved, and yet be destitute of all true religion; and what is still worse, deny there is any religion beyond an orthodox faith and moral conduct. This is a great evil. It is not, however, to be avoided by going to the opposite extreme, denying all peculiarity of relation between the children of believers, and the God of their fathers, or undervaluing the importance of Christian nurture. There is no security from any evil, but the grace of God, and the real life of religion in the church. Men are constantly passing from one extreme to another. Neglecting entirely the covenant, or making external, formal assent to it, all that is necessary. Our safety consists in adhering to the word of God, believing what he has said, doing what he has commanded, and at the same time looking constantly for the vivifying presence and power of his Spirit. Our children, if properly instructed, will not be ignorant of the difference between obedient and disobedient children of the covenant. They will be aware that, if insincere in their professions or unfaithful to their engagements,

they are only the more guilty, and exposed to severer condemnation. Dr. Bushnell says, that what he endeavoured in his Tract, and tried to accomplish in his defence of it, is to awaken in our churches, a sense of the power of this early religious training, and of the momentous responsibilities arising under it. This is a high aim. It is a great and good work, and we heartily wish that his book may not fail of its object, so far as this is concerned.

We do not anticipate any dissent from the views hitherto advanced. All Christian parents who dedicate their children to God in baptism, believe them to be included in the covenant, and they do not hesitate to admit the obligation and importance of early religious education and nurture. But the question is, are not these truths practically neglected? Does not a theory of religion extensively prevail, which leads believing parents to expect their children to grow up very much like other children, unconverted, out of the church, out of covenant with God, and to rely far less on the peculiar promise of God to them, and to his blessing on their religious culture, than on other means, for their salvation? We cannot doubt that this is the case, and that it is the source of incalculable evil. Whether this state of things is to be corrected by rejecting what is wrong in our theory, and letting that regulate our practice; or, whether we are to regulate our practice according to the Scriptures, and trust to that to correct our theory, it may not be very important to determine. One thing, however, is certain, that, if we act on the principles and rules laid down in Scripture respecting Christian nurture, we must modify, in some measure, our theory of religion, or at least of the way in which it is to be promoted. We believe that all true Christians, of every name and church, agree substantially in what it is to be a Christian, or wherein Christianity, subjectively considered, really consists. It is the recognition and reception of the Lord Jesus Christ as he is presented in the Gospel, and the consequent conformity of our hearts to his image, and the devotion of our lives to his service. It is to apprehend his glory as the only begotten of the Father, as God manifest in the flesh, for our salvation. It is the sincere recognition of him, as the proper object of worship, and the only ground of confidence before God for justification and holiness. It is making him the supreme object of affection, and submitting to him as to our rightful and absolute sovereign. Any man who does this is a Christian, and no man is a Christian, who does not do this, whatever else he may do or be. This, of course, implies a great deal. It implies regeneration by the Holy Spirit, by which the soul is raised from the death of sin, and is made partaker of a new principle of spiritual life. It implies a deep conviction of sin, leading to the renunciation of confidence in our own righteousness and strength; we must be emptied of ourselves in order to be filled with Christ. It implies such apprehensions of the excellence and value of the things of God, as determines our whole inward and outward life, making it, on the one hand, a life of communion with God; and on the other, of active devotion to his service. Now there are two classes of truths clearly revealed in Scripture concerning the production and promotion of true religion, as thus understood. The one is that it is supernatural in its origin, due to no power or device of man, to

no resource of nature, but to the mighty power of God, which wrought in Christ, when it raised him from the dead ; by which power of the Holy Ghost, we are raised from spiritual death, and so united to Christ as to become partakers of his life ; and that this life, thus divine or supernatural in its origin, is maintained and promoted, not by any mere rational process of moral culture, but by the constant indwelling of the Spirit of Christ, so that it is not we that live, but Christ liveth in us. Religion, therefore, or Christianity subjectively considered, is not something natural, it is not nature elevated and refined, it is something new and above nature ; it is what the Bible declares it to be, the life of God in the soul. And therefore, as our Saviour teaches us, incomprehensible and mysterious, though not the less real and certain. In intimate connexion and perfect consistency with these truths, there is another class, not less clearly taught in the word of God. This divine, supernatural influence, to which all true religion is to be referred, always acts in a way congruous to the nature of the soul, doing it no violence, neither destroying nor creating faculties, but imparting and maintaining life by contact or communion with the source of all life. It is moreover exerted in the use of appropriate means, of means adapted to the end they are intended to accomplish. It operates in connexion with the countless influences by which human character is formed, especially with the truth. It works with and by the truth, so that we are said to be begotten by the truth, and to be sanctified by the truth. There is still another consideration to be taken into view. Human character is determined by a great variety of causes, some within and others beyond the control of the individual. Every man receives at his birth human nature with its hereditary corruption, but that nature as modified by national, family, and individual peculiarities. Its development is determined partly by his circumstances, partly by the energy of his own will, partly by the divine influence of which he may be the subject. Now it is possible that our theory of religion may not embrace all these facts ; or if it professes to embrace them all, it may give undue prominence to one and neglect the others. Because religion is supernatural in its origin and support, we may neglect the instrumentalities through which the work is carried on ; or because these means are essential and appropriate, we may think the divine influence out of view, or merge it into the power of nature, making grace nothing but nature inhabited by divine energy. Or because our own voluntary agency is so important an element in determining our character and destiny, we may neglect every thing else, and attributing sovereign power to the will, assert that a man is and may become what he pleases by a mere volition. Character is thus made a mere matter of choice, and all influences, which operate either prior to the will or independently of it, are discarded.

We think it can hardly be doubted that many of the popular views of religion are one-sided and defective. On the one hand there are many who, influenced by the conviction of the supernatural character of religion, greatly neglect to avail themselves of the instrumentalities which God has appointed for its promotion. Others, again, resolve it all into a mere process of nature, or attribute every thing to the power of the will. The former class lose confidence in the effect of religious

training, and seem to take it for granted that children must, or at least, in all ordinary cases, will grow up unconverted. They look upon conversion as something that can only be effected in a sudden and sensible manner; a work necessarily distinct to the consciousness of its subject and apparent to those around him. This conviction modifies their expectations, their conduct, their language and their prayers. It affects to a serious degree both parents and children, and as it arises from false, or at least imperfect views of the nature of religion, it of course tends to produce and perpetuate them. We see evidence of this mistake all around us, in every part of the country and in every denomination of Christians. We see it in the disproportionate reliance placed on the proclamation of the gospel from the pulpit, as almost the only means of conversion; and in the disposition to look upon revivals as the only hope of the church. If these seasons of special visitation are few, or not remarkable in extent or power, religion is always represented as declining, the Spirit is said to have forsaken us, and all our efforts are directed to secure a return of these extraordinary manifestations of his presence.

We shall not, it is hoped, be suspected of denying or of undervaluing the importance either of the public preaching of the gospel, or of revivals of religion. The former is a divine appointment, which the experience of all ages has proved to be one of the most efficient means for the conversion of sinners and edification of saints. But it is not the only means of divine appointment; and as it regards the children of believers, it is not the first, nor the ordinary means of their salvation, and therefore should not be so regarded, to the neglect or undervaluing of religious parental training. Besides, public preaching is effective, as already remarked, in all ordinary cases, just in proportion to the degree in which this early training has been enjoyed. As to revivals of religion, we mean by the term what is generally meant by it, and therefore it is not necessary to define it. We avow our full belief that the Spirit of God does at times accompany the means of grace with extraordinary power, so that many unrenewed men are brought to the saving knowledge of the truth, and a high degree of spiritual life is induced among the people of God. We believe also that such seasons have been among the most signal blessings of God to his church, from the day of Pentecost to our own times. We believe moreover that we are largely indebted for the religious life which we now enjoy, to the great revivals which attended the preaching of Edwards, Whitefield, and the Tennents; and at a later period, of Davies, Smith, and others in Virginia. What, however, we no less believe, and feel constrained in conscience to say, is, that a great and hurtful error has taken fast hold on the mind of the church on this subject. Many seem to regard these extraordinary seasons as the only means of promoting religion. So that if these fail, every thing fails. Others again, if they do not regard them as the only means for that end, still look upon them as the greatest and the best. They seem to regard this alternation of decline and revival as the normal condition of the church; as that which God intended, and which we must look for; that the cause of Christ is to advance, not by a growth analogous to the progress of spiritual life in the individual believer, but by sudden and vio-



lent paroxysms of exertion. We do not believe this, because it is out of analogy with all God's dealings with men. Life in no form is thus fitful. It is not in accordance with the constitution which God has given us. Excitation beyond a given standard, is unavoidably followed by a corresponding depression. This depression in religion, is sinful, and therefore any thing which by the constitution of our nature necessarily leads to it, is not a normal and proper condition. It may be highly useful, or even necessary, just as violent remedies are often the only means of saving life. But such remedies are not the ordinary and proper means of sustaining and promoting health. While, therefore, we believe that when the church has sunk into a low state, God does in mercy visit it, with these extraordinary seasons of excitement, we do not believe that it is his will that we should rely upon them as the ordinary and most desirable means for the promotion of his kingdom. This conviction is confirmed by the experience of the church. These revivals are in a great measure, if we may so speak, an idiosyncrasy of our country. They are called *American* revivals. There is nothing American, however, in true religion. It is the same in its nature, and in its means of progress in all parts of the world. Every one who has paid any attention to the subject, has observed how much religious experience, or the form in which religion manifests itself, is determined by sectarian and national peculiarities. Moravian, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian religion, has each its peculiar characteristics. So has American, Scotch, and German religion. It is very easy to mistake what is thus sectional, arising from the peculiar opinions or circumstances of a church or people, for what is essential. Such peculiarities are due, in almost every instance to something aside from the truth, as given in the word of God, and consequently is so far spurious. The very fact, therefore, that these revivals are *American*, that they are in a great measure peculiar to the form of religion in this country, that the Spirit of God, who dwells in all portions of his church, and who manifests himself everywhere in the same way, does not ordinarily carry on his work, elsewhere, by this means, should convince us that this is neither the common nor the best mode in which the cause of religion is to be advanced.

No one can fail to remark that this too exclusive dependence on revivals tends to produce a false or unscriptural form of religion. It makes excitement essential to the people, and leads them to think that piety consists in strong exercises of feelings, the nature of which it is difficult to determine. The ordinary means of grace become insipid or distasteful, and a state of things is easily induced, in which even professors of religion become utterly remiss as to all social religious duties of an ordinary character. We have been told of parts of the church, where the services of the sanctuary are generally neglected, but where the mere notice of a protracted meeting will at once fill the house with hearers, who will come just as long as those meetings last, and then fall back into their habitual apathy and neglect. How serious also is the lesson read to us, by the history of revivals in this country, of their tendency to multiply false conversions and spurious religious experiences. It is surely not a healthful state of the church, when nothing is done and nothing hoped for but in seasons when every thing is thrown



out of its natural state, and when the enemy has every advantage to pervert and corrupt the souls of men. Perhaps, however, the most deplorable result of the mistake we are now considering is, the neglect which it necessarily induces of the divinely appointed means of careful Christian nurture. With many excellent ministers, men who have the interests of their people deeply at heart, it is so much a habit to rely on revivals as the means of their conversion, that all other means are lost sight of. If religion is at low ebb in their congregations, they preach about a revival. They pray for it themselves, and exhort others to do so also. The attention of pastor and people is directed to that one object. If they fail, they are chafed. The pastor gets discouraged; is disposed to blame his people, and the people to blame the pastor. And all the while, the great means of good may be entirely neglected. Family training of children, and pastoral instruction of the young, are almost entirely lost sight of. We have long felt and often expressed the conviction that this is one of the most serious evils in the present state of our churches. It is not confined to any one denomination. It is a state of things, which has been gradually induced, and is widely extended. It is therefore one of the great merits of Dr. Bushnell's book, in our estimation, that it directs attention to this very point, and brings prominently forward the defects of our religious views and habits, and points out the appropriate remedy, viz., family religion and Christian nurture.

There is a third feature of this little tract which gives it great interest and importance in our view. Dr. Bushnell cannot sustain his view of the intimate connexion between the religion of parents and that of their children, without advancing doctrines, which we regard as of great value, and which, according to his testimony and other sources of evidence, have been very much lost sight of, especially in New England. The philosophy, which teaches that happiness is the great end of creation; that all sin and virtue consists in voluntary acts; that moral character is not transmissible, but must be determined by the agent himself; that every man has power to determine and to change at will his own character, or to make himself a new heart; has, as every one knows, extensively prevailed in this country. The obvious tendency and unavoidable effect of this philosophy has been to lower all the scriptural doctrines concerning sin, holiness, regeneration, and the divine life. It represents every man as standing by himself, and of course denies any such union with Adam as involves the derivation of a corrupt nature from him. Divine influence, and the indwelling of the Spirit, dwindles down to little more than moral suasion. Union with Christ, as the source of righteousness and life, is left out of view. His work is regarded as scarcely more than a device to render the pardon of sin expedient, and to open the way to deal with men according to their conduct. Attention is turned from him as the ground of acceptance and source of strength, and every thing made to depend on ourselves. The great question is, not what he is and what he has done, but what is our state and what have we done? Religion is obviously something very different, according to this view of the gospel, from what it is according to the evangelical scheme of doctrine. The pillars of this false and superficial system are overturned in Dr. Bushnell's book. He has discovered that

"goodness (holy virtue), or the production of goodness, is the supreme end of God." p. 34. "That virtue must be the product of separate and absolutely independent choice, is pure assumption." p. 31. He, on the contrary, asserts that "virtue is rather a state of being than an act or series of acts." p. 31. What mighty strides are here! "So glued," says he in his *Argument*, p. 39, "is our mental habit to the impression that religious character is wholly the result of choice in the individual, or if it be generated by a divine *ictus*, preceded, of absolute necessity, by convictions and struggles, which are possible only in the reflective age, that we cannot really conceive, when it is stated, the possibility that a child should be prepared for God, by causes prior to his own will." "There was a truth," he says, *Discourses*, p. 42, "an important truth, underlying the old doctrine of federal headship and original or imputed sin, though strangely misconceived, which we seem, in our one-sided speculations, to have quite lost sight of." Very true. But by whom has this important truth been more misconceived, misrepresented and derided, than by Dr. Bushnell and his collaborators in New England? "How can we hope," he asks, "to set ourselves in harmony with the Scriptures, in regard to family nurture, or household baptism, or any other subject, while our theories include (exclude?) or overlook precisely that which is the basis of all their teachings and appointments?" A question those must answer, who can. It is precisely this one-sided view of the nature and relation of man, this overlooking his real union with Adam, and consequent participation of his nature and condemnation, that old-school men have been perpetually objecting to the speculations of New England. And we therefore rejoice to see any indication that the truth on this subject has begun to dawn on minds hitherto unconscious of its existence.

If, as Dr. Bushnell teaches, character may be derived from parents; if that character may be formed, prior to the will of the child; if the child is passive during this forming process, the period of its effectual calling, and emerges into his individuality, "as one that is regenerated, quickened into spiritual life"\* (*Argument*, p. 32); then, of course, we shall hear no more of regeneration, as necessarily the act of the subject of it, the decision of his own will; and then, too, the doctrine of the plenary ability of the sinner to change his heart, must be given up. This latter doctrine is, indeed, expressly repudiated. "The mind," says Dr. Bushnell, "has ideals revealed in itself that are even celestial, and it is the strongest of all proofs of its depravity, that, when it would struggle up towards its own ideals, it cannot reach them, cannot, apart from God, even lift itself towards them." p. 26. How true, and yet how old is this! Again; "What do theologians understand by a fall, and a bondage under the laws of evil, but evil, once entering a soul, becomes its master; so that it cannot deliver itself; therefore, that a rescue must come, a redemption must be undertaken by a power transcending nature?" p. 37. Here, then, we have the avowal of most important truths, truths which sound Presbyterians have ever held dear. Hap-

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\* This, we intend, of course, as an argument *ad hominem*; we do not hold to regeneration by parental influence as an organic power.

piness is not the chief good ; virtue does not consist entirely in acts, but is a state of being ; men are not isolated individuals, each forming his own character by the energy of his will ; moral character is transmissible—may be derived passively, on the one hand, by birth, from Adam, and, on the other, by regeneration. When sin enters the soul, it is a bondage from which it cannot deliver itself, redemption must come from God. These are comprehensive truths. Dr. Bushnell seems surprised at finding himself in the company into which such avowals introduce him. He endeavours to renounce such fellowship, and to avenge himself, by unwonted sneers at those to whose doctrines he is conscious of an approximation. This can be easily borne. He sees, as yet, men as trees walking. Whether he will come forward into clearer light, or go back into thicker darkness, we cannot predict. There is much in his book which makes us fear the latter alternative. We hope and pray for the brighter issue.

We have brought forward the two great points in which we agree with our author, the fact of the intimate religious connexion between parents and children, and the primary importance of Christian nurture, as the means of building up the church. On these points we have dwelt disproportionately long, and left less space and time for the consideration of the scarcely less important parts of the subject.

The fact being admitted that there is a divinely constituted connexion between the religion of parents and that of their children, the question arises, How is this fact to be accounted for ? There are three modes of answering this question. The one is that which we have endeavoured to present, which refers the connexion to the promise of God, and his blessing on faithful parental training. The second resolves it into a law of nature, accounting for the connexion in question in the same way, or on the same principles, which determine the transmission of other forms of character from parent to children. The third is the ritual, or church system, which supposes it is by the rites and ministrations of the church, that this connexion is effected.

We understand Dr. Bushnell to take the second of these grounds, and to maintain that there is no difference between that and the first. Some, he says, “ take the exterior view, regarding the result as resting on a positive institution of God. I have produced the interior view, that of inherent connexion and causation. But every theologian, who has gone beyond his alphabet, will see, at a glance, that both views are only different forms of one and the same truth, having each its own peculiar uses and advantages.” Argument, p. 18. Before stating our view of Dr. Bushnell’s system, and our objections to it, it is proper to make two remarks. The first is, that it is very difficult to understand what a writer means, who employs a new terminology. It requires no little time to fix the usage of language, and the reader is very liable to attach to new terms some different shade of thought from that which the writer intended. Besides, it is a very small portion of his own thoughts that an author can spread out upon a written page ; there is a fullness within which remains undisclosed, and which nothing short of frequent conference or communication can adequately reveal. There is therefore a great difference between what a book teaches, and what the author him-

self may hold. The book teaches what in fact it conveys to the majority of candid and competent readers; though they may not gather from it precisely what the writer meant to communicate. In saying therefore that, to our apprehension, Dr. Bushnell's book gives a naturalistic account of conversion, or the effect of religious training, we do not mean to assert that he meant to give such an account. The second remark is, that he distinctly declares himself to be a supernaturalist. "I meant to interpose," he says, "all the safeguards necessary to save myself from proper naturalism, and I supposed I had done it. I really think so now. The very first sentence of my tract is a declaration of supernaturalism." p. 36. Again: "So far from holding the possibility of restoration for men within the terms of mere nature, whether, as regards the individual acting for himself, or the parent acting for his child, the incarnation of the Son of God himself is not, as I believe, more truly supernatural than any agency must be which regenerates a soul." p. 34. Notwithstanding these explicit declarations, it is very possible that he teaches what others mean by naturalism, and that what he calls supernaturalism, is something very different from what is commonly understood by that term. There is on page 14 of the Discourses, a passage which we think is the key to his whole doctrine. "What more appropriate to the doctrine of spiritual influence itself, than to believe that, as the Spirit of Jehovah fills all the worlds of matter, and holds a presence of power and government in all objects, so all souls, of all ages and capacities, have a moral presence of Divine Love in them, and a nurture of the Spirit appropriate to their wants?" The Spirit of Jehovah is here recognized as every where present in nature, influencing and governing its operations. On p. 35 of the Argument, he speaks of "a supernatural grace which inhabits the organic laws of nature, and works its results in conformity with them;" and on p. 32, of "organic power as inhabited by Christ and the Spirit of God;" and on p. 28, of "natural laws inhabited by supernatural agencies." This, as we understand these expressions in their connexion, is nothing more than Theism. Dr. Bushnell rejects the mechanical theory of the universe. He is not a naturalist in the sense of the French School, which attributes all effects to the unconscious power of nature; nor in the sense of those who hold that God is entirely external to the world, as a mechanist to a machine. He holds that his Spirit is every where present and operative in nature, guiding and giving power to mere natural laws. And on this ground he claims to be a supernaturalist. And so he is, so far as this goes. But this is not supernaturalism in the ordinary sense of the term. There is here no distinction between God's providential agency and the operations of his grace. He is, according to this doctrine, in no other and in no higher sense the author of regeneration, than of a cultivated intellect, or of a majestic tree. The intelligence and skill manifested in fashioning a flower, or forming an eye, is not in organic laws, but in those laws as inhabited, to use Dr. B.'s language, by God and his Spirit. The result is due to the supernatural element in the power which determines the effect. Now if conversion, if the regeneration and sanctification of the soul, is only in this sense a supernatural work, then it is as much a natural process, as much the result of organic laws, as any other process of nature whatever.



This is naturalism, not as distinguished from Theism, but as distinguished from supernaturalism, in the religious sense of the word. The very thing designed by that term is, that conversion and other spiritual changes are effected, not merely by a power above any thing belonging to nature as separated from God, but by a power other and higher than that which operates in nature. A man may be a theist, he may believe that the world is not a lifeless machine, but every where pervaded by the presence and power of God, and yet if he admits no higher or more direct interference of a divine influence in the minds and hearts of men, than this providential agency, then he is no supernaturalist. God, according to this view of the subject, is as much the author of depravity as of holiness; for to his providential agency, to his "presence of power and government," all second causes owe their efficiency. Men are not born, their bodies are not fashioned, nor their souls created, without the exercise of his power. The organic laws by which a corrupt nature is transmitted from Adam, or corrupt habits fostered by parents in their children, or by society in its members, or by one man in another man, are inhabited by divine energy. If this, therefore, is all the supernaturalism of which Dr. Bushnell has to boast, he is not one inch further advanced than the lowest Rationalists. "Pelagianism," says Hase, "found its completion in ordinary Rationalism, which regarded grace as the natural method of providential operation." \* And Wegscheider, the most phlegmatic of Rationalists, says: "Operationes gratiae supernaturales recte monuerunt neque accuratius esse definitas, nec discrete promissas in libris sacris, neque omnino esse necessarias, quum, quae ad animum emendandum valeant, omnia legibus naturae a Deo optime efficiantur, nec denique ita conspicuas, ut cognosci certa ratione possint. Accedit, quod libertatem et studium hominum impediunt, mysticorum somnia foveant et Deum ipsum auctorem arguunt peccatorum ab hominibus non emandatis commissorum. Omnis igitur de gratia disputatio ad doctrinam de providentia Dei rectius refertur." Institutiones, § 152. A passage remarkably coincident in spirit, though much more decorous in form, with one in Dr. Bushnell's Argument, p. 35. "If I had handled my subject wholly under the first form, or under the type of the covenant as a positive institution, I presume I should have found a much readier assent, and that for the very reason that I had thrown my grounds of expectation for Christian nurture the other side of the fixed stars, whereby the parent himself is delivered from all connexion with the results, and from all responsibility concerning them. He will reverently acknowledge that he has imparted a mould of depravity, but the laws of connexion between him and his child are operative, he thinks, only for this bad purpose. If any good come to the child, it must come straight down from the island occupied by Jehovah, to the child as an individual, and does not in its coming take the organic laws of parental character on its way to regenerate and sanctify them as its vehicle. As regards a remedy for individualism, little is gained, even if the doctrine that children ought to be trained up in the way they should go is believ-

\* Pelagianismus vollendete sich im gewöhnlichen Rationalismus, dem die Gnade als die naturgemässe Wirkungsart der Vorsehung erschien. Dogmatik. p. 304.



ed ; for there is no effectual or sufficient remedy, till the laws of grace are seen to be perfectly coincident with the organic laws of depravity. Therefore it was necessary to keep to the naturalistic form." This we regard as a pretty distinct avowal that the author admits no divine influence other than that which "inhabits" organic laws. There is no other or higher efficiency in the effects of grace, than in propagation of depravity. If the parent is the mould or vehicle through which a depraved nature flows to his child, by a process just as natural, the believing parent is the vehicle of spiritual life to his offspring.

The account given in his Discourses of the rationale of this connexion between parent and child, confirms our impression that it is regarded as merely natural. "If we narrowly examine," he says, "the relation of parent and child, we shall not fail to discover something like a law of organic connexion, as regards character, subsisting between them. Such a connexion as makes it easy to believe, and natural to expect, that the faith of the one will be propagated to the other. Perhaps I should rather say, such a connexion as induces the conviction that the character of the one is actually included in that of the other, as a seed is formed in its capsule ; and being there matured, by a nutriment derived from the stem is gradually separated from it. It is a singular fact, that many believe substantially the same thing, in regard to evil character, but have no thought of any possibility in regard to good. . . . The child after birth, is still within the matrix of parental life, and will be more or less for many years. And the parental life will be flowing into him all that time, just as naturally, and by a law as truly organic as when the sap of a trunk flows into a limb. . . . We have much to say in common with the Baptists, about the beginning of moral agency, and we seem to fancy there is some definite moment when a child becomes a moral agent, passing out of the condition where he is a moral nullity, and where no moral agency touches his being. Whereas he is rather to be regarded, at the first, as lying within the moral agency of the parent, and passing out by degrees through a course of mixed agency, to a proper independency and self-possession. The supposition that he becomes, at some certain moment, a complete moral agent, which a moment before he was not, is clumsy and has no agreement with observation. The separation is gradual. He is never, at any moment after birth, to be regarded as perfectly beyond the sphere of good and bad exercises, for the parent exercises himself in the child, playing his emotions, and sentiments, and working a character in him, by virtue of an organic power. And this is the very idea of Christian education, that it begins with nurture or cultivation. And the intention is that the Christian life and spirit of the parents shall flow into the mind of the child, and blend with his incipient and half-formed exercises, and that they shall thus beget their own good within him, their thoughts, opinions, faith, and love, which are to become a little more, and yet a little more of his own separate exercise, but still the same in character." Discourses, pp. 26-31.

This the author admits is, at least as to its form, a naturalistic account of conversion. And to our apprehension it is so in substance, as well as form. "As the Spirit of Jehovah fills all the worlds of matter,

and holds a presence of power and government in all objects, so all souls, of all ages and capacities, have a moral presence of Divine Love in them, and a nurture of the Spirit appropriate to their wants," and it is this natural influence of mind on mind, this power which dwells in all souls, according to their character and capacities, that moulds the character of the child, infuses, little by little, spiritual life into it, and causes it to emerge into its individual existence, a regenerated being. Here all is law, organic natural law, as much so, to use his own illustration, as in the transmission of the life of the parent plant to the seed. To be sure, the life is not in the plant, the solar heat is necessary to the vitality of the plant, and to its transmission to the seed. The effect is therefore not to be referred to the laws of vegetation as independent of solar influence, but the solar influence is operative through those laws. In like manner the spiritual life of the parent does not exist independently of the Spirit of God, nor can it be transmitted to the child without his influence; but it is nevertheless transmitted in the way of nature, and as the result of organic laws. This, as before remarked, is mere Theism, as distinguished from the Deistic or Atheistic theory of nature. There is nothing supernatural in this process, nothing out of analogy with nature, nothing which transcends the ordinary efficiency of natural causes, as the vehicles of divine power. There is all the difference between this theory of conversion, and supernaturalism, that there is between the ordinary growth of the human body and Christ's healing the sick, opening the eyes of the blind, or raising the dead. Both are due to the power of God, but the one to that power acting in the way of nature, and the other to the same power acting above nature. And a man who should explain all the miracles of Christ as the result of organic laws, might as well claim to be a supernaturalist, because, he believes God operates in nature, as Dr. Bushnell. The whole question is, whether the effect is due to a power that works in nature, or above nature. The German infidel who refers Christ's miracles of healing to animal magnetism, regards magnetism as a form of divine power, but he is none the less an unbeliever in the supernatural power of Christ, on that account.

That Dr. Bushnell's book admits no other or higher influence in regeneration than that power of the Spirit which is present in all worlds, is still plainer, if possible, from his defence against the charge of naturalism. It goes no further than a denial of a reference of spiritual life, to organic laws considered apart from a divine influence dwelling in them, and operating by them. "It is the privilege of the Christian, not that he is doomed to give birth to a tainted life, and cease, but that by the grace of God dwelling in him and the child, fashioning his own character as an organic mould for the child, and the child to a plastic conformity with the mould provided, he may set forth the child into life as a seed after him—one that is prepared unto a godly life by causes prior to his own will; that is, by causes metaphysically organic. Thus every thing previous to the will falls into one and the same category. No matter whether it come through vascular connexion, or parental handling or control, it comes to the child, I said, 'just as naturally and by a law as truly organic,' (i. e. just as truly from without his own will,)

‘as when the sap of a trunk flows into a limb.’ At some time, sooner or later, but only by a gradual transition, he comes into his own will, which, theologically speaking, is the time of his birth as a moral subject of God’s government; and if he takes up life as a corrupted subject, so he may and ought to take it up as a renewed subject—that is, grow up a Christian.” Argument, p. 32. In answer to a reviewer in the German Weekly Messenger, he says: “It was my misfortune that all the language of supernaturalism, I might wish to employ, was already occupied by that super-supernaturalism which he has described, and the fantastic impressions connected with the same. In order, therefore, to bring the Spirit and redemption from their isolation, and set them in contact with the organic laws of nature, I was obliged to lean, decidedly as the truth would suffer, to naturalistic language, and to set my whole subject in a naturalistic attitude. . . . If I take my position by the covenant of Abraham, and hang my doctrine of nurture on that, as a positive institution, or, what is the same, on its promises; if I then contemplate God as coming by his Spirit, from a point of isolation above, in answer to prayer, or without, to work in the heart of the child regeneration by a divine stroke or *ictus*, apart from all connexion of cause and consequent, the change called regeneration, and thus to fulfil the promise; I realize indeed a form of unquestionable supernaturalism, in the mind of those who accept my doctrine, but it is likely to be as far as possible from the reviewer’s idea, of ‘the supernatural in human natural form.’ For all the words I have used will have settled into a form proper only to religious individualism. Now just as the reality of the rainbow is in the world’s laws prior to the covenant with Noah, so there is in the organic laws of the race, a reality or ground answering to the covenant with Abraham: only, in the latter case, the reality is a supernatural grace which inhabits the organic laws of nature and works its results in conformity with them.” Arg. p. 35.

The idea we get from all this is, that as there is at one period a vascular connexion between the parent and the child, in virtue of which the life of the one is the life of the other, moulding it into its own image as a human being, so after birth there is a metaphysically organic connexion, in virtue of which, just as naturally the spiritual life of the parent becomes that of the child, so that, when it comes into its own will, it begins or may begin its course a regenerated human being. As the former of these two processes is a natural one, so is the latter; and as the vascular connexion is the vehicle of a divine efficiency, so is the metaphysical connexion, but in both cases that efficiency operates through organic laws. Or, as the rainbow is a product of natural laws, so it is a result of those laws that children should participate in the character and moral life of their parents; and as there would have been a rainbow whether God had ever promised it or not, so children would be like their parents, whether God had ever made a covenant to that effect or not. In both cases there is a natural “connexion of cause and consequent.” Now it is precisely this connexion, in the case of regeneration, that supernaturalism denies. Any result brought about in the natural concatenation of cause and consequent, is a natural effect. Any result brought about by an influence out of that connexion, is a supernatural effect.

The controversy with the infidel, is, whether the works of Christ were brought about in the natural series of cause and consequent; and the controversy with the Rationalist or Pelagian, is, whether regeneration is a natural sequence, or not; whether its proximate antecedent, its true cause, is nature or grace; some organic law, or the mighty power of God. These two views are as far apart as the poles. They cannot be brought together, by saying, God is in nature, as well as in grace, for the two modes of his operation is all the difference. The whole question is, whether God operates in any other way, than through nature. The naturalist says, no, and the supernaturalist says, yes.

We are confirmed in our impression that we do not misinterpret Dr. Bushnell, by the ridicule which he heaps on the idea of any immediate interference of the Spirit of God. This he speaks of as God's coming from a state of isolation above, from beyond the fixed stars, from an island where he dwells. This he stigmatizes as the *iclic* theory. "Hanging," as he says Edward does in his account of regeneration, "every thing thus on miracle, or a pure *ictus Dei*, separate from all instrumental connexions of truth, feeling, dependence, motive, choice, there was manifestly nothing left, but to wait for the concussion. It was waiting, in fact, as for the arrival of God, in some vision or trance, and since there was no intelligible duty to be done, as means to the end, the disturbed soul was quite sure to fall to conjuration to obtain the desired miracle; cutting itself with the knives of conviction, tearing itself in loud outcries, and leaping round the altar, and calling on the god to come down and kindle the fire." Argument, p. 14. There is surely no mistaking such a passage as this. To us it sounds profane. It is ridiculing the doctrine that God operates on the soul, otherwise than through the laws of nature. He therefore disclaims all belief in instantaneous conversion,\* he appears to have no faith in what he calls an explosive religion, which comes suddenly with convictions and struggles. The whole tenor of his book is in favour of the idea, that all true religion is gradual, habitual, acquired as habits are formed. Every thing must be like a natural process, nothing out of the regular sequence of cause and effect. If Dr. Bushnell really denied what is commonly understood by experimental religion, if he had no faith in conversion by supernatural influence, and meant to place himself on the Rationalistic side of all these controversies, he could hardly have more effectually accomplished his object, than by setting, as he has done, his "whole subject in a naturalistic attitude." Surely, it ought not to be a matter of doubt on which side of such questions such a man stands.

The true character of the theory of religion, taught in this department of his book, is further apparent from two additional considerations. In the first place, the author not unfrequently speaks "of generalizing the doctrines of grace and depravity, so as to bring them into the same

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\* "Take the doctrine, (which I frankly say I do not hold,) that regeneration is accomplished by an instant and physical act of God, to which act truth and all endeavours in the subject have no other relation, as means to ends, than the ram's horns had to the fall of Jericho. Yet that instant, isolated act of Omnipotence may fall on the heart of infancy, as well as of adult years, and God may give us reason to expect it." Argument, p. 33.



organic laws." Argument, p. 33. He teaches that "the laws of grace" are "perfectly coincident with the organic laws of depravity." P. 36. Now, as Dr. Bushnell does not hold that depravity is propagated by any supernatural agency of God, we do not see how he can claim that grace is thus communicated, the laws which regulate both being identical. We take these passages to mean that it is by a process of nature that depravity is communicated from parents to children, as this is the result of organic laws, so, by a like process, spiritual life is communicated from the parent to the child. The result is brought about in both cases by parental character and treatment, as an organic power.

The second consideration is, that he avows it as one of his objects, to present the most comprehensive form of truth possible, so as to include the most discordant views. He says, "I had a secret hope beforehand of carrying the assent of Unitarians." "In drawing up my view of depravity as connected with organic character, and also in speaking of what I supposed to be their theory of education, I did seek to present the truth in such a way that all their objections might be obviated." p. 27. He therefore exults in their approbation, and hopes they may approve every sentiment he may hereafter publish. He advocates towards them a very different course from that which has been hitherto adopted. He urges that great truths should be presented in such a shape as to secure their acceptance. Now it seems to us that all this argues, either such an elevation that all differences of doctrine are lost sight of—as mountains and valleys seem one great plain to the aeronaut—or a great indifference to the truth. He must either suppose that the Orthodox and Unitarians are like children, disputing about words, when they really agree, had they only sense enough to know it; or that the points of difference are of so little importance, they may be dropped in a statement of the truth common to both. Either of these assumptions is not a little violent. It is not likely that Pelagians and Augustinians in all ages have held the same doctrine, without knowing it, waiting until some philosophical mind should arise to frame a statement satisfactory to both parties. Nor is it probable that the difference between them, if real, is now for the first time to be shown to be of no account. Dr. Bushnell has done nothing. He has not advanced an inch beyond Pelagius. The latter was willing to call nature grace; and the former calls nature supernatural, and wishes Unitarians and Orthodox to consider that a solution of the whole matter. Unitarians are agreed, but the Orthodox demur. And well they may, for supernatural nature is but nature still; and if salvation comes through nature, Christ is dead in vain, and we are yet in our sins. Such compromises are nothing more nor less than ill-disguised surrender of the truth. And the truth is the life of the world.

Dr. Bushnell, after quoting from various writers, passages teaching, as he has taught, the intimate religious connexion between parents and children, and the paramount importance of Christian nurture, turns on the Massachusetts Committee, and speaking of his opponents, says: "These censors of orthodoxy have raised an outcry, they have stirred up a fright, and driven you to the very extreme measure of silencing a book, in which it turns out they have been stirring up their heroism



against Baxter and the first fathers of New-England, against Hopkins, West, Dwight, and I know not how many others, to say nothing of the ancient church itself, as understood by the most competent critics. . . . And now what opinion will you have, what opinion will all sensible men have, two years hence, of this dismal scene of fatuity, which in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, has so infected the nerves of orthodox Massachusetts as even to stop the press of her Sabbath School Society?" But how comes it, that while Unitarians agree with Dr. Bushnell, they do not agree with Baxter, Hopkins, West, or Dwight? Have they all along been mistaken as to what the Orthodox taught, until Dr. Bushnell presented the subject in its true light? The fact is, Dr. Bushnell is under a great mistake. The complaint against his book is not for what he has in common with Baxter and Dwight—it is not his teaching that the piety of the parent lays a scriptural foundation for expecting the children to be pious, nor that Christian nurture is the great means of their conversion—but it is for the explanation he has undertaken to give of these facts. It is because he has not rested them upon the covenant and promise of God, but resolved the whole matter into organic laws, explaining away both depravity and grace, and presented the "whole subject in a naturalistic attitude." It is this that renders his book so attractive to Unitarians, and so alarming, with all its excellencies, to the Orthodox.

Our understanding of Dr. Bushnell's theory of Christian nurture is, then, this: Men do not exist as isolated individuals, each having his life entirely within himself, and forming his character by his own will. There is a common life of the race, of the nation, of the church, of the family, of which each individual partakes, and which reveals itself in each, under a peculiar form, determined partly by himself and partly by the circumstances in which he is placed. As the child derives its animal life from its parents, with all its peculiarities, so also he derives his moral and spiritual life from the same source. The organic connexion does not cease at birth, but is continued until the child becomes an intelligent, conscious, self-determining agent. Its forming period is prior to that event, during which it is in a great measure the passive subject of impressions from the parent, whose inward, spiritual life, of what sort it is, passes over or is continued in the child. Such is the condition in which men are born into this world, and such the power of the life of the parent, that natural pravity may be overcome by Christian nurture, and a real regeneration effected by parental character and treatment, as an organic power.

Every one sees there is a great deal of truth in this, and that most important duties and responsibilities must grow out of that truth. But, at the same time, it is both defective and erroneous, as a full statement of the case. It rests on a false assumption of the state of human nature, and of the power of Christian nurture. It assumes that men are not by nature the children of wrath, that they are not involved in spiritual death, and consequently, that they do not need to be quickened by that mighty power which wrought in Christ, when it raised him from the dead. The forming influence of parental character and life is fully adequate to his regeneration: education can correct what there is of natural

corruption. In answer to the objection that this is the old Pelagian, Rationalistic theory of human nature and conversion, it is said, the Spirit of Jehovah fills all worlds, and every thing is due to his presence and power. This, however, is only saying that second causes owe their efficiency to God; a truth which few naturalists, and even few infidels, deny. This, therefore, may be admitted, and yet all supernatural influence in the regeneration of men denied.

It can hardly be questioned, that the Bible makes a broad distinction between that agency of God by which the ordinary operations of nature are carried on, and the agency of his Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of men. The same distinction has always been made in the church. In all controversies concerning grace, the question has been, whether, apart from the influence of natural causes, considered as the ordinary modes of the Divine efficiency, there is any special and effectual agency of the Spirit in the regeneration of men. Dr. Bushnell may choose to overlook this distinction, and claim to be a supernaturalist, because he believes God is in nature, but he remains on the precise ground occupied by those who are wont to call themselves Rationalists.

We have already adverted to the difference which may exist between what a book teaches and what its author believes. This book, to our apprehension, teaches a naturalistic doctrine concerning conversion. The author asserts that he holds to the supernatural doctrine on that subject. He is of course entitled to the benefit of that declaration. All we can say is, that he seems to use the terms in a different sense from that in which they are commonly employed, and that there is enough of a rationalistic cast about it to account for all the disapprobation it has excited, and to justify the course of the Massachusetts Committee. For although it contains much important truth, powerfully presented, and although it inculcates principles, considering the source whence they come, of no little significance and value, yet a book which in its apparent sense denies every thing supernatural in religion, could hardly be expected to circulate with the approbation of an Orthodox Society.

Having presented what we consider the true ground of the admitted connexion between believing parents and their children, and considered Dr. Bushnell's views on the subject, it was our purpose to call attention to the church or ritual doctrine. This, however, we can barely state. The church doctrine admits original sin, and the insufficiency of nature, or of any power operating in nature, for the regeneration of men. This power is found in the church. As all men partake of the life of Adam, by their natural birth, so they are made partakers of the life of Christ, by their spiritual birth. He by his incarnation has introduced a new principle of life, which continues in the church, which is his body. And as baptism makes us members of the church, and therefore members of the body of Christ, it thus makes us partakers of his life. Just as a twig engrafted into a tree partakes of its life, so a child engrafted by baptism into the church partakes of the life of Christ. It is this life thus supernaturally communicated, which is to be developed by Christian nurture, and not any thing in the soul which it has by nature. This doctrine is presented in various forms, more or less gross or philosophical, according

to the character and training of its advocates. It is, however, every where essentially the same, whether propounded at Rome, Oxford, or Berlin. The German philosophical form of the doctrine bids fair to be the popular one in this country, and is advanced with the contemptuous confidence which characterizes the school whence it emanates. Every thing which is not ritual and magical is pronounced rationalistic. Nothing is regarded as spiritual but grace communicated by external acts and contacts. The true doctrine of Protestants which makes faith necessary to the efficacy of the sacraments, is denounced as Puritan, which is rapidly becoming a term of reproach. This doctrine rests on a false view of the church. The external body of professors is not the body of Christ, which consists only of believers. Transferring to the former the attributes and prerogatives which belong to the latter, is the radical error of Romanism, the source at once of its corruption and power. It rests also on a false view of the sacraments, attributing to them an efficacy independent of faith in the recipient. It assumes a false theory of religion. Instead of the free, unimpeded access of the soul to Christ, we are referred to the external church as the only medium of approach. Instead of the life of God in the soul, by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, it is the human nature of Christ, the second Adam, of which we must partake. The whole doctrine is nothing but a form of the physical theory of religion. It is a new anthropology palmed upon men, as the gospel. We are constantly reminded of the remark of Julius Müller, that all attempts to spiritualize nature, end in materializing spirit. A remark which finds a striking illustration in the new philosophy, in its dealings with religion. Its most spiritual theories serve only to reduce the principle of divine life to the same category with animal life, something transmissible from parent to child, or from priest to people. There is great reason to fear that religion, under such teaching, will either sink into the formal ritualism of Rome, or be evaporated into the mystic Rationalism of Germany. Schleiermacher, whose views are so zealously reproduced, and between which and his own Dr. Bushnell seems often at a loss to choose, taught that Christ introduced a new life-principle into the world. Human nature, corrupted in Adam, was restored to perfection in him. That life still continues in the church, just as the life of Adam continues in the race. Christianity is the perfection of nature, as Christ was the perfection of manhood. It is not with the historical, personal Christ that we have communion, any more than it is with Adam, as an individual man, with whom we have to do. Both are reduced to a mere power or principle. Christ, as the Son of God, is lost. So also in his system the Holy Ghost is not a divine person, but the "common-spirit," or common sentiment of the church. The Holy Spirit has no existence out of the church, and in it is but a principle. In this way all the precious truths of the Bible are subordinated into unsubstantial philosophical vagaries, and every man pronounced a Rationalist, or what is thought to be the same thing, a Puritan, who does not adopt them.

Though we have placed the title of Dr. Tyler's Letter to Dr. Bushnell at the head of this article, the course of our remarks has not led us into a particular consideration of it. This is not to be referred to any

want of respect. The subject unfolded itself to us in the manner in which we have presented it, and we should have found it inconvenient to turn aside to consider the peculiar form in which Dr. Tyler has exhibited substantially the same objections to Dr. Bushnell's book. Dr. T., however, seems to make less of the promise of God to parents than we do, and to have less reliance on Christian nurture as a means of conversion. We are deeply impressed with the conviction that as to both of these points there is much too low a doctrine now generally prevailing. And it is because Dr. B. urges the fact of the connexion between parents and children, with so much power, that we feel so great an interest in his book. His philosophy of that fact we hope may soon find its way to the place where so much philosophy has already gone.

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COMPRISING

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH, CATALOGUES OF THE PASTORS, OFFICERS AND  
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THE STANDING RULES OF THE CHURCH, RULES  
FOR CHURCH MEETINGS, ETC.

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HOMER :  
JOS. R. DIXON, PRINTER.  
1856.



## HISTORICAL SKETCH.

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THE settlement of the town of Homer was commenced A. D. 1791. In 1794 or '95, a number of families arrived from Brimfield, Mass., and Farmington, Conn., who, with those who soon followed, constituted the germ of the future church. The town was visited at an early period by several missionaries; amongst whom were Rev. Messrs. LINDSLEY, LOGAN, BUSHNELL, and WILLISTON.\* The first Congregational or Presbyterian minister who preached in the town was Rev. ASA HILLYER, D. D., of New Jersey.† While passing through the town he found a collection of the people engaged in raising a frame on the East Hill; and there, at their request, under the broad shade of a noble beech, he proclaimed to them the word of life.

The earliest meetings for social worship seem to have been held at the base of the West Hill, on the farms now owned by Capt. RUFUS BOIES and Mr. PARIS BARBER—in the summer in a log barn belonging to JOHN BAKER, and in the winter in the house of DANIEL KNAPP. In the fall of 1798, a Grist Mill was built by ASA WHITE, on the site of the Mill now owned by Messrs. BOWEN & GOODELL. Here the people were accustomed to meet while it was in process of completion, and it is supposed a Rev. Mr. JEROME preached, probably more than one Sabbath. When it became too cold to gather here, the congregation resorted to the nearest dwellings. Dr. WILLISTON's journal, now among the archives of the Connecticut Missionary Society at Hartford, shows that he preached in Homer on the 16th of Nov. of this year, and the Sabbath following.

\*Some of those were commissioned, it is supposed, by the Connecticut Missionary Society, and some by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. Possibly some of them by other bodies.

†Long settled at Orange. The old Presbytery of Jersey was accustomed to send out its ministers for brief periods as missionaries into this region and "the Genessee country" beyond, supplying their pulpits during their absence. It was doubtless during one of these missionary tours that Dr. Hillyer first preached in Homer.

About this time the inhabitants put up a building which was to serve the double purpose of a place of worship and a school house. It stood on what is now the Village Green, near the north-eastern corner. It was divided internally by an immense swing partition, which was hooked up to the ceiling during the Sabbath and let down the rest of the week. It was first used for public worship on the 1st of Dec. 1799 ; the Rev. Mr. LINDSLEY officiated on the occasion and preached from 1 Kings viii, 38. Dr. WILLISTON says in his journal, dated Dec. 15th of this year, " Preached again at Homer at the new meeting house. This is almost the only building in all this western country which has been erected with a principal reference to accommodate the worship of God. In this, a secondary object is to accommodate a school." This venerable house was removed after the erection of the new church, and now forms an appendage to the residence of Mr. ANDREW BURR, in the lower part of the village. Would that it might be long preserved as a sacred memento of the past.

An old diary, still extant, shows that a Rev. Mr. JACKSON, of Orange County, preached in Homer October 6th, 1799.

The present church edifice was erected A. D. 1805, and although not in conformity with the rules of taste, and not commensurate to the present ability and demands of the congregation, it is a noble monument of the public spirit and self-sacrifice of those by whom it was built. It is 72 feet in length, by 50 in breadth, and will seat from 800 to 900 persons. Since its erection, both its external and internal aspects have been somewhat changed. Originally a tower which served as the vestibule, projected in front of the main building ; but the body of the church was subsequently brought forward so as almost to enclose the tower, and what remained of it was extended laterally so that the front of the edifice was made to present its present appearance. The belfry, or the part above the roof, remains nearly as it was at the beginning, that having been but little affected by the change. The pulpit was originally at the west end, and the pews were square. It is said that the first pulpit, a quaint contrivance resting on a single pillar, is now in use in a small church in the vicinity. The church was repaired and altered in 1822. A story is told somewhat illustrative of the progress of the temperance reform since that day. The workmen engaged in the repairs made a rule that the first person who entered the pulpit should furnish drink for all present ;



this happened to be the pastor, and it was considered no violation of ministerial dignity or propriety that he complied with the law, and thus released himself from their hands. The present organ was put up at a cost of about \$700 in 1846 ; and the present bell, weighing 1601 lbs., was hung in 1853.

The Conference Room was erected in 1843.

The Village Green, containing six acres, was donated to the society for public uses previously to the erection of the church.

The spot earliest used as a burial ground is said to have been north-west of the village, in the rear of the brick building nearest the stone factory. It is probable, however, that but few interments were made in this place. The oldest general burial ground was on what is now the Village Green, at its north-west corner, extending eastward to what is now the east line of the public buildings, and inclosing the site of the Academy. When this edifice was erected in 1824, the remains were removed to the present cemetery, then first established, but since several times enlarged.

The Society was organized, previously to the formation of the church, on the 10th of Sept. 1799. It was originally composed of persons of various religious opinions, united in the common conviction that the establishment of regular religious ordinances was indispensable to the welfare of the community. It was duly incorporated on the 25th of Nov. of the same year, under the appellation of "THE FIRST RELIGIOUS SOCIETY IN THE TOWN OF HOMER." The first trustees were CALEB KEEP, JOHN BALLARD, and SOLOMON HUBBARD.

The church, the first which was formed in the town of Homer, was organized by the Rev. HUGH WALLIS of Solon, assisted by the Rev. Mr. JONES, on the 12th of Oct., A. D. 1801. It consisted originally of the fourteen individuals who are named first in the accompanying catalogue of church members. The following extract from the journal of Dr. WILLISTON, will show the immediate influence in its formation. Speaking of the people of Homer, he says under date of Nov. 16th, 1798, "During the winter and summer there has been considerable of an awakening ; the happy fruits of which now appear. *They are about to form into a church state.* On Tuesday we met to confer on the subject ; after a sermon 26 candidates appeared who wished to be formed into a church. After some preliminaries were stated, the matter was postponed to some future opportunity. These 26 are not all who profess religion in

this place." A church was not to be established, however, till after an interval of three years. Various obstacles were in the way, as the language which follows will show. Dr. WILLISTON says, Jan. 2d, 1799, "Friday we had a conference to see about building up a church at Homer. \* \* \* The people do not seem to be of one heart and one soul." He says on the 11th, "We had another conference about building up a church. We seemed to be getting wider apart in our views. I advised them to put it off for the present." The diary to which reference has already been made, says under date of Dec. 10th of this year, "A day appointed for church meeting. \* \* \* But, alas, sorrow attends. One was for Congregationalism, one for Presbyterianism, one for examination, another against it." But on the 14th, Dr. WILLISTON says that at a conference then held, "A number appeared well agreed."

It seems that this sainted man on going eastward some time after this date, left in the hands of individuals, probably at their request, a concise confession of faith, and a church covenant, which he commended to their adoption whenever a church should be formed. But those whose hearts were in the formation of a church were in great perplexity on account of the differences to which reference has just been made. This was brought to a happy termination in the following manner. A venerated female,\* to whose diary the preceding references have been made, said one morning to her husband as the household were gathered around the family board, "I have lain awake all night long in prayer for light as to our duty respecting the formation of a church. God has answered; and this is my plan. Do you go to all who are willing to unite in forming a Congregational Calvinistic church, and procure their names; and let all who will join us as they please." This was done. The paper circulated, it is supposed, was that drafted as stated above, by Dr. WILLISTON, and the one signed also by the original members at the organization of the church. Those who had been so long in perplexity were astonished at the simplicity and directness of the plan. Its success was complete and immediate; and the little band of believers sent off in great joy to Mr. WALLIS, probably the most accessible ordained clergyman of their own faith, to come at once and unite them in the visible bonds of a church of the Lord Jesus.

The original confession of faith and church covenant are not in express words those now in use by the church. But the sub-

\*Mrs. Dorothy Hoar.

stance of both is identical. Changes of phraseology have been made from time to time, for the sake chiefly, it is probable, of greater minuteness and specificalness.

The Standing Committee was first appointed A. D. 1821.

From the organization of the church to the present time, (Nov. 1856,) a period of 55 years, there have been added to its communion by profession of their faith, and by certificate from other churches, 1797 members; the names of 76 of whom do not appear in the list following, they having been excluded from the church. At the present moment the church consists of 500 members. It is an interesting fact that since the organization of the church it has failed to hold public religious services on only two Sabbaths. It is also worthy of mention that it has never received foreign aid in the support of its pastor.

The congregation consists at the present time of a little less than 200 families, and the average attendance on the Sabbath is about 500.

In 1825 a Presbyterian church was formed in Cortlandville, with which the most of the members of the church and congregation in that part of the old town of Homer, connected themselves.

The first preacher who ministered regularly to the church or society, was the Rev. ABIAL JONES. He had been a Physician, and was accustomed, when emergencies demanded, to practice the healing art amongst those to whom he ministered the truth. He was preaching for the society at the time of the organization of the church, and probably was not an ordained clergyman, or the church would not have sent for Mr. WALLIS to take the main part in its organization. Mr. JONES is spoken of in the earliest records of the church as "a candidate preacher." He was engaged till January, 1802.

The first pastor was the Rev. NATHAN B. DARROW. The terms of his settlement are somewhat curious. He was to receive a salary of \$300 a year; one half of which was to be paid in cash, and one half in wheat; and it was to be increased annually \$10 till it should amount to \$400. The ordination of Mr. DARROW seems to have been an occasion of great rejoicing amongst the people of God throughout the adjoining region. He was the first Presbyterian or Congregational minister ordained on "the Military Tract," composing what are now the counties of Onondaga, Cayuga, Seneca and Cortland, and the greater part of Tompkins county,

with smaller parts of Oswego and Wayne. His ordination was by a council, composed of Congregational, Reformed Dutch, and Presbyterian ministers ; the sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. HIGGINS, from Acts xxiv, 25.

The second pastor, the Rev. ELNATHAN WALKER, is the only one who has died while sustaining this relation to the church. During his ministry a revival occurred under extraordinary circumstances. A council was called by his opponents to secure his dismission. The council, not finding itself competent to act officially, betook itself to exhortation and prayer. This was God's way of working the most blessed result. All hearts were affected, and the chief opposer of Mr. WALKER pressed his way through the crowd and falling at his feet exclaimed, "Forgive me ! I have often prayed *about* you, but not *for* you !" The whole community was shaken by the work of grace which followed. Mr WALKER lies buried in the village cemetery. The place of his remains is marked by a small marble obelisk ; on one side of which is the following inscription :

### THIS MONUMENT

IS ERECTED BY AN AFFECTIONATE PEOPLE, AS

THE LAST

TESTIMONY OF RESPECT TO THEIR

BELOVED PASTOR.

It is believed that all the pastors who succeeded Mr. WALKER are still living.

A list of the pastors and deacons will be found preceding the list of church members.

In 1804 was formed "The Middle Association on the Military Tract and its vicinity ;" with which the church connected itself. In 1808 this Association united with the Synod of Albany. That Synod in 1810 formed its western portion into three Presbyteries ; and that portion to which Homer belonged, fell to the Presbytery of Onondaga. This Presbytery was subsequently so divided as to bring the church into the Presbytery of Cortland ; with which it now stands connected, retaining its distinctive Congregationalism, but sending delegates to the Presbytery, making to it regular reports, and enjoying the fellowship of its churches.

Great attention appears to have been paid in the early history of the church to the religious nurture of its baptized children ; and the church and parents seem to have been exceedingly scrupulous in seeing that all the children of believers were presented for the seal of the Covenant at the tenderest age. Catechetical instruction was imparted by the pastor and committees, as well as by parents, throughout the congregation very early. At an early day the Assembly's Catechism was taught in the common schools. Sabbath schools were organized in connection with the church about the year 1819. At the present moment the Sabbath school held at the church has two departments with about 250 members ; the average attendance is about 150.\* In addition to this, Sabbath schools are maintained, during the warm months, in part or wholly by members of the church, throughout the various districts of the parish. The Assembly's Shorter Catechism has been largely taught from the beginning, and is now carefully committed to memory by every child of sufficient years throughout the school. From this fact much may be hoped with regard to the permanent doctrinal purity of the church. The Monthly Concert of the Sabbath school, the responsibility of sustaining which rests largely on the pupils, is found a great auxiliary to its prosperity.

As far as can be ascertained, sixteen of those who have been members of this church, have become ministers of the gospel ; and six, missionaries to the heathen. Three of the missionaries have been males, and three females.

In the progress of its history the church has been blessed with not infrequent revivals. As has been said, its foundations were laid in such an outpouring of the spirit of God. Dr. WILLISTON says in 1798, "This town (Homer) is remarkable for religion for a new country." The minutes of the General Assembly for 1814, speak of Homer, in connection with another church in the vicinity, as "Eminently favored with these effusions of mercy." Indeed, God has seemed never entirely to leave it, so that it may almost be said that the history of this church is a history of revivals.

Special works of grace have occurred in the years 1806, '7, '12, '13, '16, '20, '26, '30, '31, '32, '33, '38, '43, and '55. The most marked of these was that of 1812-13 ; as the fruits of which 104 individuals united with the church at a single communion, and 188 in the course of the year 1813.

These are the crowning mercies of God to any people. While



the bosom of the family is to be made the place of the earliest and most select religious influences, and we are diligently to "hold forth the word of life" from the pulpit, in the Sabbath school, and by the personal efforts of all the children of God, with the expectation that at all times God will use his truth and his ordinances to the conversion of souls, we are nevertheless to pray for and to rejoice in the special outpourings of the Holy Ghost; the Pentecostal seasons of the church; when there is peculiar joy in the presence of the angels of God over sinners brought to repentance, and the reapers of the earthly harvest receive a manifold reward.

This church has surely a goodly inheritance in her history. God grant that she may be mindful of this, and that it may be but the earnest of yet greater mercies through long years to come, through the riches of His grace, in Jesus Christ our Lord.

ERRATA AND CORRECTION.—In the first line of the first note on page 3 in some copies for "those," read *these*. On page 7, second line from the bottom for "composing," read *comprising*. On page 8 the monument over the remains of the Rev. Mr. Walker is incorrectly spoken of through inadvertency, as an "Obelisk."

# SUMS CONTRIBUTED TO BENEVOLENT OBJECTS

FOR 21 YEARS PRECEDING A. D. 1857.

YEAR.	Home Mis- sions.	Foreign Missions.	Bible Society.	Tract So- ciety.	Education for Ministry.	Bethel So- ciety.	Seamen's Friend So- ciety.	Anti-Papal Cause.	Church Erection.	Sunday School. &c.	At com- munications for Poor, &c.	TOTAL.
1836	\$ 73 28	\$ 193 59	\$ 122 43	\$ 100 00	\$ 146 12	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$ 84 34	\$ 700 44
1837	73 88	275 00	122 43	74 57	46 40						81 75	674 03
1838	90 88	365 63	158 00	36 00	38 00						69 54	760 05
1839	125 00	342 00	128 19	82 25	104 00						94 30	925 74
1840	161 03	322 68	121 16	120 00	154 32						89 72	1038 31
1841	140 36	370 00	136 32	88 97	77 03						80 10	925 78
1842	145 13	239 09	140 00	42 50	253 50						72 90	1025 28
1843	228 74	272 00	138 24	114 81	88 65			19 62			69 23	902 67
1844	200 00	222 15	119 52	104 27	23 67						74 86	755 10
1845	212 60	211 11	115 30	192 85	68 81					86 84	63 24	861 98
1846	257 74	255 00	158 06	115 00	45 00					76 77	62 53	1000 10
1847	228 75	228 00	116 71	180 12	95 19	29 20				158 17	64 46	1100 60
1848	249 00	355 09	118 62	192 01				35 75		137 40	70 07	1148 94
1849	286 54	391 26	155 00	195 00	78 46	83 00	63 63	67 80		104 61	79 35	1414 13
1850	250 00	250 00	207 75	165 00	50 46	45 75				86 00	75 19	1138 15
1851	284 00	243 00	164 54	173 00	44 41				100 00	93 14	74 37	1176 46
1852	275 41	234 11	204 43	234 12	70 00	60 00				40 23	73 25	1191 55
1853	270 00	250 38	159 10	128 35	31 00		57 00	38 53	50 00	70 31	83 26	1114 93
1854	148 63	83 25	197 51	110 00	72 34			46 07		56 43	80 03	764 26
1855	158 20	299 59	145 00	127 01	40 00	46 00		35 00	69 25	103 32	97 90	1121 18
1856	142 25	135 00*		130 00	307 93	*		26 68	75 00	118 05	139 95	1074 86*

\*The collections for 1856 are yet incomplete, and the annual contributions to the Bible and Bethel Societies are yet to be taken up.

Installed at Ellington, N. H. Jan 3, 58  
 Dec 26, 1864.

## PASTORS.

NATHAN B. DARROW,	INSTALLED 1803,	DISMISSED 1808.
ELNATHAN WALKER,	" 1809.	DIED 1820.
JOHN KEEP,	" 1821.	DISMISSED 1833.
DENNIS PLATT,	" 1834.	" 1842.
THOS. K. FESSENDEN,	" 1843.	" 1853.
J. ADDISON PRIEST,	" 1855.	

During the year 1854, the pulpit was supplied by Rev. THOMAS LOUNSBURY, D. D.

## DEACONS.

ELIPHALET RICE,	.....	CHOSEN 1803.	DIED 1819.
PETER HITCHCOCK,	.....	" 1804.	" 1828.
NOAH HITCHCOCK,	.....	" 1811.	" 1856.
JACOB HOAR,	.....	" 1811.	" 1820.
NATHAN STONE,	.....	" 1821.	" 1851.
JESSE IVES,	.....	" 1821.	
DANIEL MILLER,	.....	" 1821.	DIED 1845.
S. B. WOOLWORTH,	.....	" 1842.*	
SIMEON S. BRADFORD,	.....	" 1842.†	
CHESTER CHAMBERLAIN,	.....	" 1847.†	
AMOS RICE,	.....	" 1847.	
SAMUEL SUMNER,	.....	" 1849.	
LOAMMI KINNEY,	.....	" 1852.	
MANLY HOBART,	.....	" 1855.	

\*Removed to Albany.

†Removed to the West.

‡Excused from serving.

Called Dec 11  
 1842  
 Installed  
 Jan 4  
 Dismissed Dec 20 1853

Jan

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## CATALOGUE OF MEMBERS.

EXPLANATIONS.—p., united with the church by profession of faith; l., united by letter; (it has not been possible, however, to affix these marks till a comparatively recent date;) \*, deceased; d., dismissed; w. w., watch withdrawn, see 14th rule of the Standing rules of the church; w., widow; married women have the first names of their husbands included in theirs.

The names of those who have been excommunicated are omitted.

### 1801.

ELIPHALET RICE,.....	*	John Bement,.....	d
Mrs. MARY (Eliphalet) RICE,.	*	Mrs. Betsey (John) Bement,.	d
SAMUEL HOAR,.....	*	James King,.....	d
Mrs. DOROTHY (Sam'l) HOAR,.	*	Mrs. Clara (Asa) Andrews,.	d
TIMOTHY TREAT,.....	*	Mrs. Dotia (Rev. N.B.) Darrow,.	d
Mrs. BEULAH (Tim.) TREAT,.	*	Francis Strong,.....	d
DARIUS KINNEY,.....	*	Jacob Hoar,.....	*
Mrs. LYDIA (Darius) KINNEY,†	*	Mrs. Phebe (Nathan) Tyler,.	d
PETER HITCHCOCK,.....	*		
JOHN BALLARD,.....	*	1804.	
THOMAS L. BISHOP,.....	d	Mrs. Susannah (Bj'n.) Knight, *	
JOHN BAKER,.....	*	Mrs. Amanda (James) King,.	d
DANIEL MINER,.....	*	Mrs. Anna (Levi) Bowen,....	*
AMOS TODD,.....	*		

### 1802.

KEZIA BALLARD,.....	*	Asa Kendall,.....	d
Mrs. Ruth (Peter) Hitchcock,.	*	Mrs. Sally (Asa) Kendall,....	d
Mrs. Ruby (T. L.) Bishop,.	*	Mrs. Charlotte (Noah) Car-	
Mrs. Cyrene (Jacob) Hoar,.	*	penter,.....	*
Flavilla Hoar,.....	*	James Norton,.....	d
		Mrs. Mary (James) Norton,.	d
		Mrs. Hephzibah (Moses) But-	
		terfield,.....	*

### 1803.

SAMUEL CRAVATH, sen.,.....	*	Mrs. Eunice (Admatha) Blod-	
Daniel Hoar,.....	*	gett,.....	d
Mrs. Lois (Daniel) Hoar,....	*	Abigail Clark,.....	d
Eber Stone,.....	d	Mrs. Sarah Hall, w.,.....	*
Mrs. Betsey (Eber) Stone,...	d	Ira Kinney,.....	*
Aaron Knapp,.....	d	Anner Clark,.....	w w
Phebe Cravath,.....	*		
Mrs. Desire (Enos) Stimson,.	*	1806.	
		Jesse Searle,.....	*

† The last survivor of the original 14; died in 1845, in the 75th year of her age.

Mrs. Naomi (Jesse) Searle,...	d	Artemas Houghton,.....	d
Zelek Walter, .....	*	Mrs. Louisa (Seth) Keep,....	*
Benjamin Picket, .....		Mrs. Lydia Dean, w.,.....	d
Mrs. Electa (Elam) Ramrill,.	d		
Mrs. Nabby (Hooker) Ballard, d		1808.	
Mrs. Polly (Gideon) Curtiss,.	*	Ephraim P. Sumner,.....	*
Joseph Sweet, .....	*	Mrs. Alethea (E. P.) Sumner,	*
Noah Hitchcock,.....	*	Abel Kinney,.....	*
Mrs. Percy (Zenas) Lilly,....	*	Louisa Taylor,.....	*
Samuel B. Hitchcock, .....	*	Mrs. Mercy Gillett, w., .....	*
Mrs. Susanna (John) Baker,.	d	Elizabeth Wheelock,.....	d
Benjamin Knight, .....	*	Lydia Butterfield,.....	*
Mrs. Eunice (Chas.) Alvord,.	*	Mrs. Huldah (Zebulon) Keen, d	
Ozias Strong,.....	*	Simeon Lucas,.....	d
Mrs. Susanna (Ozias) Strong, d		Ruth Spencer,.....	*
Mrs. Polly Dowd, .....	*		
Mrs. Polly (J. N.) Cushman,.	*	1809.	
Mrs. Parthena (Josh.) Ballard, d		Zerah Hull, .....	d
Gad Hitchcock,.....	d	Polly Arnold, .....	d
Mrs. Lydia (Gad) Hitchcock, d			
Mrs. Polly (Seth) Shaw, ....	*	1810.	
Mrs. Elizabeth (Eli) Church,.	d	Mrs. Helena (John) Devoc,..	d
Rachel Hoar,....	*	Nancy Walter, .....	*
John House, .....	d	Ann Price,.....	d
Mrs. Joanna (John) House,..	d	Mrs. Patty (Ben'n) Clough,.	*
		Mrs. Lydia (Chauncey) Lewis,	*
1807.		Elizabeth Price, .....	*
Ira Kinney, Jr.,.....	*	John Huntington, .....	*
William Melville,.....	d	Mrs. Eleanor (J'n)Huntington, d	
Mrs. Charlotte (Wm.) Melville,	*		
Chester Hobart,.....	d	1811.	
Eliza Halford, .....	d	Mrs. Esther (Josh.) Atwater, d	
John Stone,.....	d	Ezra Atwater,.....	d
Mrs. Lydia (John) Stone,....	d	Lacy Hotchkiss,.....	d
Dinah Strong,.....	d	Hannah Russell,.....	*
Stephen Dexter,.....	*	Nathaniel Hale,.....	d
Mrs. Lydia (Stephen) Dexter, d		Seth Pierce,.....	*
Mrs. Chloe (Jos.) Chamberlain, *		Jesse Newell, .....	*
Elijah Pierce, .....	*	Mrs. Sarah (Jesse) Newell,.	*
Mrs. Martha (Elijah) Pierce,.	*	Ephraim Brown,.....	*
Mrs. Anna (Asa) Austin,....	*	Betsy Sanders,.....	*
Mrs. Phebe Root,.....	d	Mrs. Patty (David) Merriek,.	*
Mrs. Rachel (Eben.) Alvord,.	*	James Coe, .....	d
Samuel Cravath, Jr.,.....	*	Mrs. Anna (James) Coe,....	d
Mrs. Mary (Samuel) Cravath,.	*	Miriam Kinney, .....	*
Theodore Dowd,.....	*	Mrs. Rachel (Wm.) Hibbard,	*
Mrs. Hannah (Theo.) Dowd,.	*	Mrs. Mary (Dr. L. S.) Owen,.	*
Jabez N. Cushman,.....	*	Mrs. Catherine Cady,.....	*
Levi Bowen,.....	*		



Mrs. Elizabeth (Heman) Stebbins, .....	d	Seth Keep, .....	
Mrs. Polly Lee, .....	d	Noah Carpenter, .....	*
Fanny Hotchkiss, .....	d	Chester Chamberlain, .....	
Sally Ballard, .....	*	Anna Kinney, .....	*
		Laurena Todd, .....	d
1812.		Mrs. Sally (Titus) Stebbins, ..	*
Mrs. Lucina (Joseph) Keep, ..	d	Lucia Rice, .....	d
Samuel Northway, .....	d	Alice Brown, .....	*
Mrs. Elizabeth (Sam'l) Northway, .....	d	Mary Strong, .....	d
		Betsey B. Laisdale, .....	d
		Sally Strong, .....	d
		Polly Stone, .....	d
1813.		Sophia Kinney, .....	ww
Moses Kinney, .....	d	Mrs. Susanna (Rufus) Bishop, d	
Mrs. Polly (Moses) Kinney, ..	d	Mrs. Susanna (Zelek) Walter, d	
James D. Chandler, .....	*	Mrs. Mercy (Noah) Hitchcock, *	
Mrs. Alethea (J. D.) Chandler, d		Mrs. Aurelia (Rev. E.) Walker, *	
Prosper Cravath, .....	d	Mrs. Peggy (Chester) Hobart, d	
Mrs. Miriam (Pros'r) Cravath, d		Mrs. Eunice (Simeon) Lucas, .	d
Joseph Hobart, .....	*	Mrs. Matilda (Jede'h) Barber, *	
Mrs. Anna (Joseph) Hobart, ..		Ira Brown, .....	
Gideon Hobart, .....		Backus Kinney, .....	d
Mrs. Electa (Gideon) Hobart, ..		Calvin Hobart, .....	d
Iddo Blashfield, .....	d	Obed Cravath, .....	d
Mrs. Jenny (Iddo) Blashfield, *		Lewis B. Parsons, .....	d
Lyman Holt, .....	d	Lorin Kinney, .....	*
Mrs. Mary (Lyman) Holt, .....	d	Martin Hobart, .....	d
Nathan Stone, .....	*	William Price, .....	d
Mrs. Polly (Nathan) Stone, ..	*	Orin H. Mathews, .....	d
Josiah Cushman, .....	d	Allen Rice, .....	*
Mrs. Ellice (Jos'i'h) Cushman, d		Robert Fletcher, .....	d
Ezekiel Wadsworth, .....	*	John Betty, .....	*
Mrs. Zade (Ezek'l) Wadsworth, *		Phebe Walker, .....	d
Janna Northway, .....	d	Parna Hall, .....	
Mrs. Betsey (Janna) Northway, d		Lucy Hobart, .....	d
David Hitchcock, .....	d	Susanna Sampson, .....	*
Mrs. Samantha (D.) Hitchcock, d		Celinda Henry, .....	*
Roswell Brown, .....	*	Vina Kinney, .....	*
Mrs. Lucy (Roswell) Brown, ..		Electa Blodgett, .....	d
John Churchill, .....	d	Anna Cravath, .....	d
Mrs. Mary (John) Churchill, .	d	Nancy Bowen, .....	d
Luther Nichols, .....	d	Hannah Cushman, .....	d
Mrs. Charissa (Luth'r) Nichols, d		Hannah Strong, .....	*
Mrs. Hannah (Jas.) McNeal, .	*	Roxana Todd, .....	d
Mrs. Lois Blashfield, w., .....	*	Polly Todd, .....	d
Mrs. Molly Powers, w., .....	d	Philura D. Kendall, .....	d
Mrs. Matilda Nuttin, w., .....	*	Electa Rumrill, .....	
Reuben Wadsworth, .....	*	Sarah Comstock, .....	d
William Hibbard, .....	*	Irena Triscott, .....	d
		Rufus Boies, .....	

Mrs. Nancy (Rufus) Boies,...	*	Gershom Gillett,.....	d
Thomas Collins,.....	d	Polly Munn,.....	d
Mrs. Hannah (Thos.) Collins, d		Horace Hitchcock,.....	*
Mrs. Sally (Sylvester) Miles,...	*	Esther Norton,.....	*
Samuel Clark,.....	*	Silence Hitchcock,.....	*
Susanna Morgan,.....	d	Caleb Keep,.....	*
Harriet Herring,.....	d	Mrs. Mercy (Caleb) Keep,...	d
Mrs. Polly (Enos) Stimson,...	*	Ezra Corwin,.....	d
William Lucas,.....	d	Mrs. Hannah (Ezra) Corwin,...	d
Mrs. Sarah (Wm.) Lucas,....	d	Benjamin Cleveland,.....	d
John Bishop,.....	*	Mrs. Lucretia (B'n) Cleveland, *	
Mrs. Alfreda (John) Bishop,...	*	Mrs. Lucy (Reuben) Washburn, *	
Adin Webb,.....	d	Abigail Andrews,.....	d
Mrs. Deborah (Adin) Webb,...	d	Billy Ingersoll,.....	d
James Andrews,.....	d	Mrs. Cora (Billy) Ingersoll,...	d
Mrs. Betsey (Jas.) Andrews,...	d	Ira Rose,.....	d
Hezekiah Roberts,.....	d	Mrs. Julia (Ira) Rose,.....	d
Mrs. Harriet (Hez.) Roberts,...	d	Jacob Neff,.....	d
Jesse Ives,.....		Samuel Hobart, Jr.,.....	d
Mrs. Polly (Jesse) Ives,....		Theodore Norton,.....	d
Jeremy Hull,.....	*	Philip Arnold,.....	d
Mrs. Lois (Jeremy) Hull,....	*	Gershom Lacy,.....	d
Pliny Polly,.....	*	Harvey Wright,.....	d
Mrs. Elvira (Pliny) Polly,....	d	Lent Dowd,.....	*
Harrison Bishop,.....	d	Mrs. Philinda (Ira) Atwater,...	d
Mrs. Margaret (Har.) Bishop,...	d	Mrs. Sally Sampson,.....	d
Ebenezer Pardy,.....	d	Mrs. Abigail (Wm.) Coburn,...	*
Mrs. Thankful (Eben.) Pardy,...	d	Mrs. Stella (Friend) Sanford,...	d
David Hull,.....	*	Azuba Kentfield,.....	d
Mrs. Charlotte (David) Hull,...	d	Betsey Dowd,.....	*
Joshua Ballard,.....	d	Joshua Atwater,.....	*
Joseph Phelps,.....	d	Mrs. Jemima Kentfield,.....	*
Ira Atwater,.....	d	Mrs. Chloe (Sprague) Keen,...	d
Nathan Tyler,.....	d	Mamre Bishop,.....	*
Samuel Stone,.....	d	Mary Abbott,.....	*
Silas Dewey,.....	d	Sally Rice,.....	*
Michael Walter,.....	*	Ebenezer Rogers,.....	*
Rufus Bishop,.....	d	Mrs. Betsey (Eb'n) Rogers,...	d
Joseph Keep,.....	*	Mrs. Wm. R. Bennett,.....	d
Esther Knapp,.....	*	Hannah Knapp,.....	d
Louisa Merrick,†,.....	d	Isaiah Cushman,.....	*
Susanna Sperry,.....	*	Eli Hitchcock,.....	*
Mrs. Polly (John) Ballard,...	*		
Mrs. Patty (T.) Ross,.....	*		
Mrs. Martha (Elijah) Pierce,...	*		
Mrs. Salina (Jacob) Pratt,...	d		
Mrs. Freclove (Abel) Kinney,...	*		
Rachel Perkins,.....	*		

1814.

Mrs. Margaret Marther,..... d  
Polly Turner,..... \*  
Asenath Bishop,†,..... d

† Reunited with the church in 1836, and died in 1856, in the 98th year of her age.

† Missionary to the Cattaraugus Indians.

Archibald Dixon,.....	d	Mrs. Zebediah Coburn,.....	*
Nicholas Van Schaick,.....	*	Talmadge Hall,.....	
Mrs. Rebecca[N.] VanSchaick,	*	Ambrose Williams,.....	*
Ezra Lathrop,.....	d	Mrs. Keturah (Ambrose) Wil-	
Mrs. Ezra Lathrop,.....	d	liams,.....	*
Reuben Van Schaick,.....	*	Hezekiah Herrick,.....	d
Jeremy Hitchcock,.....	d	Gabriel W. Stewart,.....	*
Mrs. Lettice (J.) Hitchcock,..	d	Abel Northrop,.....	d

## 1815.

Abigail Haskins,.....	*	Al'en Kinney,.....	
William Miller,.....	d	Asa G. Atwater,.....	d
Mrs. Timothy Treat,.....	d	Mary Hurlbert,.....	*
Abigail Parsons,.....	d	Joanna Cushman,.....	d
John B. Hall,.....	*	Mrs. Azuba (S. B.) Hitchcock,	
Mrs. Hannah (J. B.) Hall,...	*	Aphia Brown,.....	d
		Cynthia Hurlbert,.....	*
		Desire Wing,.....	d
		Joanna Wing,.....	d
		Minerva Northrop,.....	d
		Laura Treat,.....	d

## 1816.

Samuel McNeal,.....	*	Almira Martindale,.....	d
Betsey Preston,.....	d	David Wing,.....	d
Zelotus Hannum,.....	d	Mrs. Desire (David) Wing,...	d
Mary Miles,.....	d	Rufus Beach,.....	d
Asahel Lyman,.....	d	Mrs. Rufus Beach,.....	*
Mrs. Dolly (Asahel) Lyman,..	d	Widow Miller,.....	*
Perses Powers,.....	d	Mrs. Hackley,.....	d
Benjamin Cory,.....	*	Betsey Jones,.....	*
Mrs. Sarah (Benj.) Cory,...	*		

## 1817.

Silas Lincoln,.....	d	Oliver Cushman,.....	d
Mrs. Polly (Silas) Lincoln,...	d	Mrs. Nancy (Ja's) Vanderlyn,	*
Isaac Chaffe,.....	d	Wilson Andrews,.....	d
Mrs. Rachel (G. W.) Sneedan,	d	Mrs. Keziah (W.) Andrews,...	d
Deborah Northrop,.....	d	Jonathan Chaffe,.....	d
Anna Maria Brown,.....	d	Aaron Cleveland,.....	
Lydia Ford,.....	d	Mrs. Almira (A.) Cleveland,...	*
Mrs. Rachel (Hezekiah) Her-	d	George W. Sneedan,.....	d
rick,.....	d	Lorenzo Carpenter,.....	*
Polly Chaffe,.....	d	John Cotton Smith,.....	d
Mary Bowen,.....	d	Benoni Hannum,.....	d
George W. Goble,.....	d	Augustus Cæsar Moore,.....	d
Mrs. G. W. Goble,.....	*	Benjamin B. Drake,.....	d
Archelaus Brown,.....	d	Ashley Hutchinson,.....	d
Orin Brown,.....	d	Reuben Hollister,.....	d
Mrs. Diedamia (Moses) But-	d	Brainerd Cleveland,.....	d
terfield,.....	d	Peter Hitchcock,.....	d
Abigail Rice,.....	d	Mrs. Pharasina (Lem'l) Bates,	*
Frances Jewett,.....	d	Polly Shearer,.....	*
Hannah Williams,.....		Polly Kinney,.....	*
Polly Hurlbert,.....	*		
Zebediah Coburn,.....	*		

Polly Niles Smith,.....	d	Hetty Lewis,.....	d
Erethusa Wing,.....	d	Mrs. Beach,.....	d
Lydia Kinney,.....	d	Nancy Alvord,.....	d
Samantha Dean,.....	d	Susanna Brown,.....	*
Hannah Tyler,.....	d	Mrs. Anna (G. W.) Stewart,..	
Tamar Rowland,.....	d	Mrs. Sophia (Eli) Church,..	d
Clarissa Hall,.....	d	Mrs. Alba Abbott,.....	*
Charity Lacy,.....	d	John Lothridge,.....	d
Dolly Boies,.....	d	Mrs. Nancy (J.) Lothridge,..	d
Lucy Bement,.....	d	Sarah Ford,.....	d
Laura Morgan,.....	d		
Mary Chaffe,.....	d		
Minerva Bates,.....		1818.	
Samantha Olcott,.....	d	Nathan Morgan,.....	d
Anna Herring,.....	d	Mrs. Ruth (Nathan) Morgan, d	
Clarissa Powers,.....	*	Cyrus Clapp,.....	d
Nabby Wing,.....	d	Mrs. Sally (Cyrus) Clapp,....	d
Sally Cleveland,.....	d	Phebe Morgan,.....	d
Dorcas Shaw,.....	*	Margery Field,.....	d
William Sears,.....	d	Lydia Warren,.....	d
Polly Goodell,.....	*	Olive Selkrigg,.....	d
Fanny Cushman,.....	d	Eli Dowd,.....	*
Rebecca Hobart,.....	d	Laura Frisbie,.....	d
Ann E. Owen,.....	d	Melissa Frisbie,.....	*
Margaret Glazier,.....	d	Mrs. Orra (Ira) Brown,.....	
Sally Elder,.....	d		
Esther Gilbert Toppin,.....	d	1819.	
Lydia Cleveland,.....	d	Thomas L. Bishop,.....	d
Sally Vanderlyn,.....	*	Mrs. Ruby (T. L) Bishop,....	d
Nancy Rice,.....	*	Rachel Phelps,.....	d
Betsey Rice,.....	d	Elizabeth Norcott,.....	d
Eli Hubbard,.....	*	Seth Hannum,.....	d
Sally Lucas,.....	d	Amy Howe,.....	d
William Lucas, jr.,.....	d	Chauncey Root,.....	*
George Powers,.....	d		
Jared Abbott,.....	*	1820.	
Gideon Ford,.....	d	Jeremy H. Picket,.....	d
Abel Frink Kinney,.....	*	Zernan Bennett,.....	d
Sarah Hobart,.....	*	Mrs. Hilpah (Wm.) Kingsbury,	
Deborah Sampson,.....		Angeline Bennett,.....	d
Phebe Gaylord,.....	d	Miranda Budlong,.....	d
Mrs. Polly (Dr.) Goodyear,..	d	Clarissa Fleming,.....	*
William B. Richards,.....	*	Miranda May,.....	d
Polly Miles,.....	d	Belinda Cady,.....	d
Eliza Hobart,.....		Cynthia Brant,.....	d
Anna Hannum, w.,.....	d	Sarah Brant,.....	d
Mrs. Pauline (Martin) Hobart	d	Mrs. Ruth (Andrew) Dickson, d	
Martha Hall,.....	d	Almira Clapp,....	d
Susanna Picket,.....	*	Harvey Fairbanks,.....	
Olive Matthews,.....	d		

Mrs. Lois (H.) Fairbanks,...		1821.	
Jonathan Tisdale,.....	*	Malinda Drake,.....	d
Mrs. Phebe (Jon'n) Tisdale,...	d	Elizabeth L. Brown,.....	d
Charles Alvord,.....	*	Mrs. Anna (Timothy) Roberts, d	
Laura Chaffe,.....	d	Sarah Dewey,.....	d
Mial Salisbury,.....		Mrs. Charity (Allen) Kinney,.	
John Munn Hobart,.....	d	Polly Bowen,.....	*
David Devoe,.....	d	Widow McNeal,.....	d
George M. Matthews,.....	d		
Eli Hobart,.....	d	1822.	
Almira Morgan,.....	*	Mrs. Christopher Crandall... *	
Lucy Devoe,.....	*	Mrs. Thomas McKnight,....	d
Maria Robinson,.....	d	Mrs. Nancy (David) Coxe,...	
Betsey Atwater,...	d	Anna Johnson,.....	d
Eliza Devoe,.....	d	Dolly Allen,.....	d
Maria Devoe,.....	d	Mrs. Charlotte (Enos)Stimson, *	
Emily Atwater,.....	d	Homri Loss,†.....	d
Horace Wadsworth,.....	*	Mrs. Lydia (Rev. J.) Keep,..	d
Betsey Whitney,.....	d	Susanna Haskell,.....	d
Benjamin Cory,.....	d	Oliver W. Bonney,.....	d
Philip Jones,.....	d	Mrs. Oliver W. Bonney,.....	d
Moses Clapp,...	*	Mrs. Huldah (Rowland) Lacy, d	
Cyrus Clapp,.....	d	Ashbel Storrs,.....	d
Lovisa Wadsworth,.....	*	Joseph G. Downer,.....	d
Sally Ballard,.....	*		
Melinda Picket,.....	d	1823.	
Helen Kaner,.....	d	Hannah Vanderpool,.....	d
Elisha Johnson,.....	d	Nathaniel Jones,.....	d
Anna Hitchcock,.....	d	Tabitha Bates,.....	d
Harriet Kendell,.....	d	Sally Mason,.....	d
Peter Blashfield,.....	d	Nathaniel Beach,.....	
Daniel Miller,.....	*	Mrs. Polly (Nath'l) Beach,...	
Herma Johnson,.....	d	Geda Woodruff,.....	d
Oliver W. Bonney,.....	d	Mrs. Geda Woodruff,.....	d
Mrs. Laura (O. W.) Bonney, d		Frederick Ensign,.....	d
Harvey Norton,.....	d	Benjamin Pierce, .....	d
Erie Picket,.....	d	Polly Hicks,.....	d
Mary Sprague,.....	d	Ward Woodward, sen.....	*
Achsah Dewey,.....	d	Mrs. Elizabeth (Ward) Wood-	
Samuel Wadsworth,.....	d	ward,.....	*
Mrs. Miranda (Al.) Kendell, ..	*	Ward Woodward,.....	
James Phillips,.....	d	Mrs. Hannah (W.) Woodward,	
Mrs. Sally (James) Phillips, ..	d	Susanna Day,.....	*
David Whitney,.....	d	Nancy Day,.....	*
Thomas Whitney,.....	d	Barnabas Robinson,.....	d
David H. Warren,.....	d	Mrs. Barnabas Robinson,....	d
Polly Andrews,.....	d	Dea. Charles Chamberlain,...	*
Miriam Buchanan,.....	*		
Mrs. Fanny (Dr.) Riggs,.....			

† Ordained to the Ministry.



Mrs. Roxana (Dea. Charles) Chamberlain, .....	*	Mrs. Dulcena (Isaac) Fisk,...	d
Mrs. Benjamin Pierce, .....	d	Mrs. Susan Wilson, <i>w</i> , .....	d
John Miller, .....	d	Mrs. Almira Barney, <i>w</i> , .....	d
		Mrs. Susan (El'zer) Kingsbury,	

## 1824.

John C. Frisby, .....	d	Mrs. Ezra Babcock, .....	d
Rufus Barnard, .....	d	Marinda Wright, .....	d
Mrs. Rufus Barnard, .....	d	Elizabeth Woodward, .....	d
Susanna Barnard, .....	d	Mary Edmonds, .....	w w
Mrs. Zera Hull, .....	d	Susa Johnson, .....	d
Mrs. Caydugan, .....	d	Milton A. Kinney, .....	d
Mrs. Nathan Abbott, .....	*	Samuel Knight, .....	d
Mrs. Sarah Parsons, .....	d	Mrs. Bildad Hotchkiss, .....	d
Asher Graves, .....	d	Darius Webb, .....	*
Mrs. Asher Graves, .....	d	Reuben Norcutt, .....	d
Rufus Graves, .....	d	Asa Hobert, .....	d
Mrs. Graves, .....	d	Mrs. Anna (Asa) Hobert, ...	*
Amasa P. Clark, .....	d	Mrs. Phebe (Hiram) Dowd, ..	d
Hannah Knox, .....	d	Sally Hubbard, .....	
Chloe Tracy, .....	d	Marcia S. Bradford, .....	*
Aaron Smith, .....	d	Lois Hitchcock, .....	
Mrs. Aaron Smith, .....	d	Amos Hobert, .....	d
Jonah Rogers, .....	d	George W. Hotchkiss, .....	d
Mrs. Jonah Rogers, .....	d	Abel Hitchcock, .....	
Mrs. Mary Stewart, .....	d	Mrs. Franklin Sherrill, .....	d
		Mrs. John Yale, .....	d
		Mrs. Jeremy Van Eps, .....	d
		James Stebbins, .....	

## 1825.

Mrs. Hannah Alvord, <i>w</i> , .....	*	Amos Hall, .....	d
Mrs. Taylor, .....	d	Louisa Hitchcock, .....	d
Mrs. Lucy (John) Sherman, ..	*	Polly Lucas, .....	d
Permilie Billings, .....		Ormand Chamberlain, .....	d
Sarah Caydugan, .....	d	Mrs. Zebina Horton, .....	d
Seymour Thompson, †, .....	d	Maria Herring, .....	d
Melona D. Moulton, .....	d	Ira Bowen, .....	
Mrs. Joseph Bates, .....	*	Eliza Horton, .....	d
Garit Van Frank, .....	d	Noah Hitchcock, jr., .....	
Mrs. G. Van Frank, .....	d	Mrs. Bishop, .....	
Mrs. Mercy Bradford, .....	*	Mrs. Maria (Eli) Lord, .....	
Lucia Miles, .....	d	Sally Carpenter, .....	
Widow Perkins, .....	d	Lois Carpenter, .....	d
Mary Knight, .....	d	Catherine Ives, .....	*
		Louisa Ives, .....	
		Mary Ives, .....	

## 1826.

Mrs. Lucy (L. B.) Canfield, ..	*	Sarah Lord, .....	d
Mercy Walter, ..	d	Diantha Hitchcock, .....	d
Isaac Fisk, .....	d	Lydia Bowen, .....	d
		Sarah Sharp, .....	
		Catherine Morse, .....	d

† Ordained to the Ministry.

Emeline Hobart,.....	d	Mrs. Margaret (C.) Webb,...	
Aurelia Lacy,.....	d	S. Needam Wood,.....	*
John Yale,.....	d	Lydia Ann Woodward,.....	d

## 1827.

Mrs. Eunice (Ja's) Stebbins,...	*	Mary Phillips,.....	d
Mrs. Sally (Chester) Chamberlain,.....		Mrs. William C. Phillips,....	d
Mrs. Laura Nath'l Jones,...	d	Samuel Sumner,.....	
Franklin Miller,.....		Isaac Woodward,.....	
Mrs. Wesmore,.....	d	Ami Pickett,.....	
Alvira Goodyear,.....	d	Joel Hull,.....	
Zebina Horton,.....	d	Harriet Pickett,.....	*
John Owen Colten,.....	d	Mary Field,.....	
Mrs. Polly (Erastus) Goodell,		Sophronia Hobart,.....	*
Mrs. Lucy (N. jr.) Hitchcock,		Mrs. Charlotte (Ja's) White, *	
Mrs. Philinda (Ira) Atwater, ..	d	Sanford Parsons,.....	d
Mrs. Harriet (M. A.) Kinney, ..	d		
Mrs. Augusta (Peleg) Arnold,			
Mrs. Harriet (Dea.) Miller,...	*		
Ruby Hobart,.....	d		

## 1831.

		Martha D. Miller,.....	d
		Mary Hitchcock,.....	d
		Sophia Sumner,.....	*
		Abigail Coburn,.....	d
		David Pratt,.....	
		Mrs. Electa (David) Pratt,...	
Cato M. Woods,.....	d	Laura Alexander,.....	*
Lydia Hotchkiss,.....	d	Lydia Atwater,.....	d
Mrs. Tirza (Jacob) Sanders, ..		Mrs. Maria (Hardin) Slocomb, ..	d
Dea. Nelson,.....	d	John T. Keep,†.....	d
Mrs. Dea. Nelson,.....	d	Emeline Carpenter,.....	d
Joseph Clapp,.....	*	Charles Kingsbury,.....	d
Mrs. Joseph Clapp,.....	*	Mrs. Permelia (C.) Kingsbury, ..	d
Joseph L. Clapp,.....	d	Winthrop Chandler,.....	d
Mrs. Joseph L. Clapp,.....	d	Phillip Putnam,.....	d
Artemas Moffatt,.....	d	Mrs. Phillip Putnam,.....	d
Mrs. Artemas Moffatt,.....	d	Mrs. Rhoda (Samuel) Hobart, ..	d
Mrs. Mary Moffatt,.....	*	Mrs. Susan (N. R.) Smith,...	

## 1829.

Mrs. Electa Stewart,.....	d	Mrs. Phebe (Zebinah) Williams, ..	
Sophia Stewart,.....	d	Mrs. Center,.....	d
Mrs. Amanda (E. C.) Reed, ..		Esther Keep,.....	d
Gynthia Bishop,.....	d	Elvira Keep,.....	d
		Almira Welman,.....	d
		Lydia Knight,.....	d
		Lucretia Hobart,.....	d

## 1830.

Elizabeth Scudder,.....		Caroline Chamberlain,.....	d
Mary Berry,.....	*	Augusta Ballard,.....	d
Mrs. George Berry,.....	d	Amelia Chamberlain,.....	d
		Helen Chamberlain,.....	d
		Mary Smith,.....	d

† Ordained to the Ministry.



Mrs. Betsey (L. D.) Newton, .	Salina Storey, . . . . . *
Mrs. Theodocia (Samuel) Wal-	Mrs. Eliza (Mosely) Clark, . .
lace, . . . . . *	John VanFrank, . . . . . d
Mrs. Polly (Wm.) Blashfield, .	Mr. Harriet (John) VanFrank, d
Mrs. Olive (Thos.) Williams, .	Orin Stimson, . . . . . *
Mrs. Jane (Aug.) Hitchcock, *	Mrs. Rachel (Orin) Stimson, . *
Aurelia Hitchcock, . . . . . d	John Devoe, . . . . . *
Hannah Hall, . . . . .	Sarah Dady, . . . . . d
Uretta Hobart, . . . . . *	T. C. Wheeler, . . . . . d
Olive Field, . . . . . *	Mrs. T. C. Wheeler, . . . . . d
Maria Williams, . . . . .	Louisa Miles, . . . . . d
Jane Ives, . . . . . *	Mrs. Eliza (Abraham) Wood-
Mary Plumb, . . . . . d	ward, . . . . . d
Pe melia Sumner, . . . . .	Eri Lewis, . . . . . *
Nancy Washburn, . . . . . d	Mrs. Eri Lewis, . . . . .
Mary Washburn, . . . . . d	Mrs. Buel Kinney, . . . . . d
Ruth Salisbury, . . . . . d	
Harriet Hobart, . . . . . d	1833.
Adaline Hobart, . . . . . d	Hiram Merrill, . . . . .
Louisa Beebe, . . . . . *	Mrs. Prudence (Hiram) Merrill,
Olivia Knight, . . . . . *	Rachel Trowbridge, . . . . . d
Mary E. Perkins, . . . . .	Timothy Keep, . . . . .
Eliza Kinney, . . . . . d	Loren Keep, . . . . . d
Roxy A. Matthews, . . . . . *	Truman West, . . . . . d
Roena Abbott, . . . . . d	Benjamin Hubbard, . . . . . d
Fidelia Lacy, . . . . .	James White, . . . . .
Fidelia Keep, . . . . .	Charles Washburn, . . . . . d
Naomi Hobart, . . . . . d	Jason S. Beach, . . . . . d
Clarissa W. Canfield, . . . . . d	Mrs. Nancy (Ransford) Bates, *
Sophia Nelson, . . . . . d	Mrs. Mary Marvin, w., . . . . . d
Eunice Cook, . . . . .	Harriet Miles, . . . . .
Benjamin Perkins, . . . . . d	Emily Putnam, . . . . . d
John Pratt, . . . . . d	Elijah S. Kinney, . . . . . d
Thomas G. Alvord, . . . . . *	Mrs. Penina (James) White, .
Wm. Blashfield, 2d, . . . . . d	Stephen Hubbard, . . . . . d
George Salisbury, . . . . . d	Mrs. Stephen Hubbard, . . . . . d
David Corey, . . . . .	Julia Hubbard, . . . . . d
Mrs. Permelia (David) Corey, .	Orin Williams, . . . . . d
Abigail Moulton, . . . . . d	Sophronia Brown, . . . . .
Eunice Hibbard, . . . . . *	Mary Brown, . . . . . d
Almeda Porter, . . . . . *	Lucy Bishop, . . . . . d
Clarissa Judd, . . . . . d	Mrs. Truman West, . . . . . d
Noah Dady, . . . . .	Mrs. Nathan Owen, . . . . . d
Mrs. Sally (Noah) Dady, . . .	Wooden Hull, . . . . . *
Emily Dady, . . . . . d	Joseph Stebbins, . . . . .
Orin Cravath, . . . . . d	Stephen Amaler, . . . . . d
Daniel Brown, . . . . . *	Daniel Hubbard, . . . . . d
Mrs. Daniel Brown, . . . . . *	George Hobart, . . . . . d
John VanSchaick, . . . . . d	Lewis Price, . . . . . w w
John F. Hammond, . . . . . d	

Michael Hull,.....	d	Lavina Coburn,.....	d
Joshu Atwater,.....	d	Samantha Williams,.....	*
James Hull, 2d,.....	d	Lovisa Field,.....	*
Jason Hull,.....	*	Mrs. Lucy (Marcus) Welch,...	*
Spencer Bailey,.....	d	Maria Bishop,.....	*
Zadoch Beach,.....	*	Maria Price,.....	d
Lucian Polly,.....	d	Marsha Field,.....	d
Loomis Hull,.....	d	Mrs. David Churchill,.....	d
Erasmus Atwater,.....	d	William L. Bradford,.....	
Orin Hobart,.....	d	Alpheus Woodward,.....	
Charles Hobart,.....	d	Calvin Cobb,.....	
Amory Hitchcock,.....	d	James Houghton,.....	d
Bennett Field,.....	d	Mrs. Harvey Miller,.....	d
Marcus Welch,.....		Mrs. Lovinia (William) Trow-	
Ephraim Buck,.....	d	bridge,.....	d
William W. Coburn,.....	d	Betsey Ann Cowles,....	d
Harrison Price,.....	d	Mrs. Oliver Arnold,.....	d
Lucy Hubbard,.....	d	Mrs. Esther Atwater,.....	*
Mrs. Benj. Perkins,.....	d	Mrs. J. Buchanan,.....	w w
Emily Hobart,.....		Elvira Walker,.....	w w
Caroline Bowen,.....		Margaret Blashfield,.....	d
Melissa Stone,.....	d	Mabel Field,.....	d
Mrs. Polly Bowen, w.,.....	*	Mrs. Lydia Cowles, w.,.....	d
Rhoda Hobart,.....	d	Luther P. Cowles,.....	d
Francis Hubbard,.....	d	Harvey Miller,.....	w w
Flavia Ann Hobart,.....	d	James Hull,.....	
Penninah Coburn,.....	w w	Lucy E. Brown,.....	d
Eveline Tisdale,.....	d	Lucilla Sumner,.....	d
Marilla Devoe,.....	*	Esther Turner,.....	d
Ann Hobart,.....		Helen Williams,.....	d
Asenath Hobart,.....		Mrs. Louisa (Martin) Alvord,	
Lucy Keep,.....	d	Jane Stewart,.....	d
Mrs. Isham, w.,.....	d	Mrs. Lovinia (Orestes) Allen,...	d
Angeline Hammond,.....	w w	Mrs. Dorcus Moulton, w.,....	*
Emily Price,.....	w w	Edward C. Reed,.....	
Araminta Hobart,.....	d	Desire S. Hitchcock,.....	d
Laura M. Avery,.....		Charlotte N. Hitchcock,....	*
Lovina Stewart,.....	d	Laura Washburn,.....	d
Louisa Fairbanks,.....	*	Melvina Bowen,....	d
Caroline Hobart,.....	d	Mary Emeline Bradford,...	d
Celinda Hobart,.....		Helen Sabina Bradford,....	*
Mrs. Isaac Cox,.....	d	Lucinda Knapp,.....	w w
Lucina Hull,.....	w w	Jenette Hotchkiss,.....	d
Sarah Pickett,.....		Samantha Russell,.....	d
Mary Horton,.....	d	Mrs. E. Loring,.....	d
Mary Stebbins,.....	d	Miss Loring,.....	d
Harriet Cowles,.....	d	Eliza Crossy,.....	*
Almira Fleming,.....	d		
Rachel Hobart,.....	d		
Oril Polly,.....	*		

1834.

Hinckley Walker, l. .... d



Mrs. Sally (Hink'y) Walker, l.	d	Mrs. Betsey (Sam.) Sherman, p	d
Mrs. Mary Ann (Dr. G. W.)		Louisa Merrick, l.	*
Bradford,† l.		Lucius Gaylord, l.	d
Lucius Stimson, l.	d	Mrs. Polly (Lucius) Gaylord, l	d
Mrs. Catherine (L.) Stimson, l.	d	Angeline Gaylord, l.	d
Mrs. Sarah (Enos) Stimson, l.	d	Sarah Ann Gaylord, l.	d
Jacob M. Shermerhorn, l.	d	Mary Jane Gaylord, l.	d
Mrs. Louisa (J. M.) Schermer-		Mrs. Sarah (James) Coe, l.	d
horn, l.	d	Morris Barto,† p.	d
Achsah Clapp, l.	d	Lavinia Chamberlain, p.	
Mrs. Caroline (Rev. D.) Platt, l	d	Mrs. Elizabeth (Jos'h) Stone, l	d
Mrs. Avery Kinney, p.	*	Maria L. Owen, p.	d
Ashbel Patterson, l.	d	Ebenezer Munger, l.	
Mrs. Eliza S. (Dr. A.) Patter-		Mrs. Cynthia (Ebenezer) Mun-	
son, l.	d	ger, l.	
Edmund G. Morgan, l.		Cynthia Munger, l.	d
Alexander Welton, p.	d	Alvin Lathrop, l.	d
Mrs. Naomi Farr, p.		Mrs. Caroline E (A.) Lathrop, l	d

## 1835.

Cornelius W. Gillam, p.	d	Catharine Hovey, l.	d
Mrs. Rebecca (Joel) Hull, p.		Harriet N. Hovey, l.	d
Dudley Purley, p.	d	Fanny W. Hovey, l.	d
Mrs. Dudley Purley, p.	d	Mrs. Mary P. (Abr.) White, l	*
Clarissa H. Williams, p.	d	Mrs. Catharine (D. D. R.) Orms-	
Laura Chaffee, p.	w w	by, l.	
Joseph Tarleton, p.	d	Mrs. Abigail Maxwell, l.	
Benjamin Goodell, p.		Louisa Platt, l.	*
Mrs. Ruth (And'w) Dickson, p	d	Mrs. Rosanna Brown, w, l.	*
Elias Root, l.		David Cushman, l.	d
Mrs. Electa (Elias) Root, l.		Mrs. Julia M. (D.) Cushman, l	d
Jerusha Cowles, p.	d	Mrs. S. Pratt, l.	d
Mrs. Rosanna (Albert) Rice, l		Mrs. Mary Woolworth, w, l.	*
Amelia Pratt, p.		Louisa C. Woolworth, l.	*
Ezra G. Johnson, l.	d	Mrs. Mary M. Mills, w, l.	d
Lovisa Frasier, p.	*	Mrs. Lucretia Service, l.	d
Abigail Carrington, p.	*	James Ormes, l.	d
Mrs. Betsey (Matthias) Cook,		Mrs. Rhoda S. (Ja's) Ormes, l.	d
w., p.	*	Eunice Miller Starr, l.	*
Albert P. Tuttle, l.	d		
George D. Pratt, l.	d		
Joseph Newell, p.	d		
Lydia S. Loring, p.			

## 1837.

Samuel Spaulding, l.	d	Oren Tongue, l.	d
Mrs. Hannah (Samuel) Spaul-		Mrs. Amy (Oren) Tongue, l.	d
ding, l.	d	Levi Tongue, l.	w w
		Elijah M. Crampton, l.	
		Mrs. Loretta (Amos) Rice,...	
		Hannah T. Whitecomb, § l.	d

† United in 1824; accidentally omitted from the list under that year.

‡ Ordained to the Ministry.

§ Missionary to the Tuscarora Indians.

Silence Buel, l. ....	d	J. Austin Stebbins, p. ....	d
Mrs. Melinda Simons, l. ....	d	Byron Sherman, p. ....	d
Joseph F. Walker, l. ....	d	William Walden, p. ....	w w
Mrs. Harriet (J.) Walker, l. ....	d	George W. Bowen, p. ....	d
Calvin Snow, l. ....		Sumner C. Webb, p. ....	d
Mrs. Priscilla (Calvin) Snow, l. ....	*	Edward P. Reed, p. ....	d
Mary Knight, l. ....	d	Coleman Hitchcock, p. ....	d
Thomas Hathaway, l. ....	d	Erastus Goodell, jr., p. ....	
Mrs. H. E. Woodward, l. ....	d	Rhoda Benedict, p. ....	d
Luke Whitcomb, p. ....	d	Sarah A. Carpenter, p. ....	*
James Harris, l. ....	*	Louisa Carpenter, p. ....	
Mrs. Eunice (Ja's) Harris, l. ....	*	Mary Eliza Goodell, p. ....	
Mrs. Adeline (Geo.) Cook, l. ....		Elizabeth Merrill, p. ....	
Mrs. Betsey (Oren) Cravath, p. ....	d	Emily Moger, p. ....	d
Hannah Chamberlain, p. ....	d	Sophia Woodward, p. ....	*
		Caroline Boies, p. ....	
1838.		Mrs. Sarah A. (Hor) Pierce, p. ....	d
Mrs. Persis (Calvin) Slocomb, p. ....	d	Sarah E. Reed, p. ....	d
Zelia Chamberlain, p. ....	d	Louisa W. Mills, p. ....	d
Mary Clark, l. ....		Mary B. Mills, p. ....	*
Peleg R. Kinney, † l. ....	d	Mary A. Blashfield, p. ....	
Peter Walrad, l. ....		Alfreda Blashfield, p. ....	
Mrs. Catharine (P.) Walrad, l. ....	*	Mrs. Grinnell, p. ....	d
Mrs. Elizabeth H. (G.) Stone, l. ....	d	Maria Grinnell, p. ....	d
Josiah S. Hitchcock, p. ....	d	Permelia Grinnell, p. ....	d
Milo Carpenter, p. ....	d	Dorcas Coye, p. ....	d
Sarah Buck, p. ....	d	Caroline Coye, p. ....	
Nancy Webb, p. ....	d	Huldah Hitchcock, p. ....	d
Elizabeth Steele, l. ....		Mrs. Harriet Burt, p. ....	
Mrs. Elizabeth (Tho's) Earle, l. ....		Elvenah Williams, p. ....	
Mrs. Elizabeth (W.) Jewett, l. ....	d	Mariana Reed, p. ....	d
Henry Sessions, p. ....		Mary Bowen, p. ....	
Mrs. Catharine (H.) Sessions, p. ....		Frances S. Smith, p. ....	*
Ulysses Heberd, p. ....		Mrs. Nancy (T. G.) Alvord, p. ....	*
Noyes Merrill, p. ....	w w	Lydia Washburn, p. ....	d
Catharine Walrad, p. ....		Esther Bangs, l. ....	*
Harvey Stewart, l. ....	*	Sarah Bangs, l. ....	d
Paris Barber, p. ....		Hannah Bangs, l. ....	d
Elvenah Barber, p. ....	d	Mary Devoe, p. ....	*
Mrs. Jane (Amos) Hobart, p. ....		Maria Goodell, p. ....	d
Marcus Gillan, l. ....	d	Austis Daholl, l. ....	w w
Amos Rice, p. ....		Adin Hobart, p. ....	d
Erastus Goodell, p. ....		Sophia Williams, p. ....	d
Zebina Williams, p. ....		Mary Ann Kerr, † l. ....	d
Elisha Harris, p. ....	d	Samuel Mulford, p. ....	d
George Smith, p. ....	d	Edwin J. Dunning, p. ....	d
Benjamin G. Kinney, p. ....	d	Asa Keep, l. ....	d
Nathaniel W. Eastman, p. ....	d	Mary Almera Merrill, p. ....	*
		Ann Merrill, p. ....	d

† Ordained to the Ministry.



Mrs. Eliza C. (E. M.) Rollo, l d	Mary Walter,..... *
Philo Gillett, l..... d	Cynthia J. Walter, p..... *
Mrs. Almira (Philo) Gillett, l. d	Nancy L. Bonney, p..... d
Abigail Hall, p.....	Martha Ann Harris, † p..... d
Oscar W. Kendall, p.....	Samuel N. Kinney, p..... d
Mary L. Kendall, p..... d	Vincent Welch, p.....
Mrs. Eunice H. Earl, w, l..... *	Flavilla J. Hobart, p..... d
Mrs. Orilla Mattoon, w, l..... d	Mrs. Elizabeth (W.) Brown, p
Mary Stephens, l..... *	Harriet K. Hitchcock, p..... d
Melissa Garlick, l.....	Henry S. Alvord, p.....
Hammel Thompson, p.....	William Miller, p..... d
Mrs. Experience (H.) Thompson, p.....	William B. Beach, p..... d
James Austin Stebbins, l..... d	Blair B. Rice, p.....
James H. Jerome, p..... d	Louisa A. Kingsbury, p..... d
Catharine Coleman, l..... d	Caroline Hull, p..... *
Jane Bradford, l..... d	Mary L. Fairbanks, p..... d
Mrs. Minerva (S. P.) Brockway, l.....	Amanda Hull, p.....
	Sophia M. Cobb, p..... d
	Harriet A. Welch, p.....
	Mary J. Lewis, p.....
	Eliza Ann Lord, p.....
	Harriet McNeil, p..... d
	Henry Walker, p..... d
	Jane Harris, p.....
	Mrs. Amanda (Wm.) Ives, l..
	Ira S. Atwater, l.....
	Alana Tompkins, l.....
	Samuel T. Jeffery, l.....
	Elliott Reed, p..... d
	Mary M. Story, p.....
	Edward F. Pratt, p..... d
	William Welch, p.....
	William W. Foster, p..... *
	Elizabeth Cook, p..... d

## 1843.

Mrs. C. (Joshua 2d) Ballard, l	
Julia Cleaveland, l..... d	
Thomas Cleaveland, l..... d	
Sylvester Alvord, p.....	
Avery Kinney, p..... *	
Albert Rice, p.....	
Noah C. Dady, p.....	
Susan M. Dady, p..... d	
Catherine Almira Dady, p... d	
Caroline Webb, p..... d	
William Walter, p.....	
Mrs. Almira (W.) Walter, p..	
Lydia Hotchkiss, p.....	
Sarah A. Ives, p.....	
Legrand Lacey, p..... *	
Adin Cleaveland, p..... d	
William H. Smith, p..... *	
Mary Eliza Brown, p.....	
Charlotte M. Brown, p..... *	
Harriet L. Brown, p.....	
Sarah A. W. Brown, p.....	
Ursula Brown, p.....	
Thomas Newton Brown, p...	
Hiram B. Sprague, p.....	
Horace Odell, p..... d	
William Brown, p.....	
Almeron Cleaveland, p.....	
	1844.
	Maria Cushman, l..... d
	Laura M. Ives, l.....
	Mrs. Nancy C. (Rev. T. K.) Fessenden, l..... d
	William B. Dada, † p..... d
	Julia Corey, p..... d
	Anna M. Cone, p..... d
	Jane Cone, p..... d
	Zechariah Smith, p..... d
	Mrs. Melissa (Z.) Smith, p... d
	Rufus B. Hubbard, p..... d
	Mary Ann Hitchcock, p.....

† Missionary to the Nestorians.

† Ordained to the Ministry.

Sarah M. Arnold, p.....	Laura M. Washburn, l..... d
Mary C. Arnold, p.....	Mary Washburn, l..... d
Mrs. Philura C. (F'd'k) Ives, p d	Harriet N. Chapin, l..... d
Mrs. Nancy C. (S.T.) Jeffery, p	Mary A. Chapin, l..... d
Oren Kendall, p..... d	Sanford B. Kinney, p..... d
Mrs. Czarina (Oliver) Arnold, l	Mary H. Brockway, p.....
Edward F. Thomas, l..... d	Nancy Harris, p..... d
Mary C. Fessenden, l..... d	Emily O. Brown, p..... d
Charles Taylor, l..... d	Lucy A. Hitchcock, p..... d
Mrs. Anna (Charles) Taylor, l d	William E. Hitchcock, p....
Elizabeth F. Taylor, l..... d	Albertus Webb, p.....
Harriet S. Taylor, l..... d	Alfred Lund, l..... d
Mary D. Taylor, l..... d	Mrs. Mary (Alfred) Lund, l.. d
Margaret J. Taylor, l..... d	Horace Hobart, p..... d
Polly Spencer, l..... d	Emeline Beach, p.....
Persis Spencer, l..... d	Jacob M. Schermerhorn, l....
Mary Spencer, l..... d	Mrs. Louisa (J. M.) Schermer-
Christopher Spencer, l..... d	horn, l.....
	Matilda B. Schermerhorn, p..

## 1845.

Henry Z. Williams, p..... d

## 1846.

Wm. R. Browne, l.....  
 Mary Inman, l.....  
 Mrs. Martha Keyes, w., l..... \*  
 William Laird, l..... d  
 Mrs. William Laird, l..... d  
 Mrs. Susan (Coleman) Hitch-  
 cock, p..... d  
 Elizabeth A. Stewart, p.....  
 Mary A. Porter, p..... d  
 Mrs. Margaret Thompson, p..  
 Mrs. Jenette Galbraith, p....  
 Mrs. Roxana (Dr. C.) Green, l  
 Mrs. Amanda J. (G.) Thomp-  
 son, l.....  
 Benjamin S. Carpenter, l.....

## 1847.

Lawrence McCully, p..... d  
 Charles McCully, p..... d  
 R. G. Reynolds, l..... d  
 Elizabeth Reynolds, l..... d  
 Harriet Lord, l.....  
 Almeda Todd, p..... \*  
 Mrs. Fanny (C) Hitchcock, w, l  
 Percyette Hitchcock, p.....

## 1848.

Augusta M. Pratt, p.....  
 Mrs. Naomi (Dr. J.) Searl, p. d  
 Catherine E. Schermerhorn, p  
 Charlotte Sherman, p.....  
 Mrs. Cynthia M. (G) Smith, w, l  
 Mrs. Emeline (J.) Sherman, l.  
 Francis B. Carpenter, p..... d  
 Mrs. Hannah C. (Erasmus)  
 Bowen, l.....  
 Rosina Carpenter, p..... d  
 Maria Carpenter, p..... d  
 Sarah A. Pratt, p. .... \*  
 Harriet E. Earle, p.....  
 Nancy A. Woodward, p.....  
 Mary M. Harris, p.....  
 Annie E. Walter, p..... \*  
 Electa Ham, l..... d  
 Rev. Thomas K. Fessenden, l d  
 Samuel Jessup, p..... d  
 Calvin C. Woolworth, p..... d  
 Mrs. Susan (Coleman) Hitch-  
 cock, p..... d

## 1849.

Mrs. Jane Ann (E. C.) Al-  
 drich, l.....  
 Emeline S. Graham, l..... d



Henry Babcock, p.....	d	Editha M. Babcock, p.....	d
William Merrill, p.....	*	Angeline J. Brockway, p....	
Frances A. Merrill, p... ..	*	Samuel E. Stebbins, p.....	d
Duran D. Hobart, p.....		Oril Smith, p.....	d
Levi N. Tongue, p.....	d	Sarah R. Smith, p.....	*
Mrs. Lucy (Rev. A.) Clark, l.	d	Huldah K. Storey, p.....	
Mary Clark, l.....	d		
Elizabeth Fletcher, p.....	*		
Lucy Maria Welch, p.....	*		
Harriet Miller, p.....	d		
Caroline Stebbins, p.....			
William Gates Warriner, p...			
Pliny Whitcomb, p.....			
Sophia M. Woolworth, p....	d		
Harriet Walrad, p.....			
Daniel E. Whittemore, l.....			
Margaret Lewis, p.....	*		
Charles E. Root, p.....	d		

## 1850.

Anson C. Brooks, p.....	d	Harvey Leet, l.....	d
Mrs. Mary A. (Sam.) Plumb, l		Mrs. Jane (Paris) Barber, l..	
Sabrina Gault, l.....		Augusta H. Prentiss, p.....	d
Helen Palmer, l.....	d	Sarah A. Bowen, p.....	
Franklin S. Woodward, p....	d	Caroline H. Miller, p.....	
Ward T. Earle, p.....		James M. Woolworth, p....	d
Albertus N. Woodward, p...		George Hull, p.....	
Arville Brown, p.....		Mrs. Phebe (G. C.) Babcock, p	
Mary C. Smith, p.....		Caroline E. Williams, p.....	
Phebe Herring, p.....		Joseph Leach, l.....	d
Harriet S. Kinney, p.....		Mrs. Laura (Joseph) Leach, l.	d
Phila A. Earle, p.....		Abraham Woodward, l.....	
Eliza White, p.....		Mrs. Margaret (A.) Wood-	
George G. White, p.....		ward, l.....	
Collins White, p.....		Mrs. Eliza (Schuyler) Crofoot, l	
Philo Walrad, p.....		Archibald Wadsworth, p....	
Sarah S. Blashfield, p.....		Francis F. Fox, p.....	
Henry Wilson Blashfield, p..		Caroline S. Miles, p.....	
Hannah A. Woodward, p....		Cornelia Cook, p.....	
Mary Carpenter, p.....		Harriet M. Kingsbury, p.....	
Benjamin Burchard, p.....	d	Mrs. Eliza D. (Rev. E.) Per-	
Mrs. Lucy (O. H.) Perry, p..		kins, l.....	d
Dewitt Carpenter, p.....	d	Mrs. Lucy Ann (B. W.) Payne, l	
Henrietta Carpenter, p.....		Lucy Richardson, l.....	d
Dolly Ann Bowen, p.....		Mary Richardson, l.....	d
Coleman Hitchcock, p.....	d	Robert Stephenson, l.....	
Alanson Hobart, p.....		Edward Dady, p.....	
Benjamin C. Dowd, p.....	d		
Mrs. Frances R. Prentiss, l...	d		

## 1852.

E. W. Keyes, l.....	
Mrs. Mary G. (Cha's G.) Law-	
rence, l.....	
Caroline A. Barker, l.....	
Mrs. Mary B. Moulton, l....	d
Mrs. Sarah B. (W.) Barber, p.	
Susan A. Williams, p.....	d
Mrs. Hannah S. (D.) Hobart, p	
J. Dwight Hull, p.....	
Henry D. Northrup, p.....	d
Viola Kinney, p.....	d
Rosanna Taggart, p.....	d

A. F. Winegar, l.....  
 Mrs. Persis (A. F.) Winegar, l  
 Isaac Hawley, l.....  
 Mrs. Persis (Isaac) Hawley, l  
 Chester Hawley, l..... d  
 Peter W. Emmons, l.....  
 Mrs. Sally Lawton, l.....  
 Eben T. Osborn, p.....  
 William W. Carpenter, p....  
 Stephen W. Clark, l.....  
 Mrs. Irene (S. W.) Clark, l...  
 Eliza A. Winegar, l.....  
 Rosina Carpenter, l.....

## 1853.

Anna J. Hawley, l.....  
 Mrs. Jane Trowbridge, w., l..  
 Mrs. Lucy (L. L.) Merrill, p..  
 Clarissa L. Kelsey, p.....  
 Permelia Hitchcock, p..... d  
 Eveline P. Hawley, p.....  
 William H. Webb, p.....  
 Wm. Albertus Bean, p.....  
 Henry J. Lasher, p..... d  
 E. Porter Hyde, p..... d  
 Joseph R. Dixon, l.....  
 Mrs. Eliza A. (J. R.) Dixon, l  
 H. C. Squires, p..... d

## 1854.

Mrs. Elizabeth (Josiah) Stone, l  
 Adam Petrie, p.....  
 Mrs. Lucinda (A.) Petrie, p..  
 Azro F. Harris, p.....  
 Amelia A. Williams, p.....  
 Charlotte Gray, l.....  
 Mrs. Polly Gaylord, w., l....  
 Mrs. Olive (Truman) Rindge, l  
 Emily Plumb, p.....  
 Mrs. M. A. F. (Enos) Stimson, l  
 Caroline L. Stimson, p.....  
 Arabella Stimson, p.....  
 Mary Louisa Barber, p.....  
 Mary Louisa Holbrook, p....  
 Francis Austin, p.....

## 1855.

John Brown, p..... d  
 Lucinda B. Rice, p.....

Rachel L. Hibbard, p.....  
 Delia Plumb, p.....  
 Clarissa M. Winegar, p.....  
 Anna M. Schermerhorn, p...  
 Mary E. Clark, p.....  
 Lucius Stimson, l.....  
 Mrs. Julia (L.) Stimson, p...  
 Harriet A. Smith, p.....  
 Mercy R. Webb, p.....  
 Mrs. Eliza (Ludwick) VanAn-  
 den, l.....  
 Mrs. Clara (H. A.) Hitch-  
 cock, w., p.....  
 Mrs. Agnes Livingston, p....  
 Mrs. Almira (Lorenzo) Ben-  
 nett, p.....  
 Mrs. Catharine (G. J. J.) Bar-  
 ber, p.....  
 Mrs. Lois Ann (Philo) Wal-  
 rad, p.....  
 Augustus Ballard, p.....  
 Mrs. Betsey M. (A.) Ballard, p  
 Vernon T. Stone, p.....  
 Mrs. Emily A. (V. T.) Stone, p  
 Mrs. Isabella Brunschweiler, p  
 Mrs. Prudence (Chauncey)  
 Keep, w., p.....  
 Edwin Miles, 2d, l.....  
 Mrs. Harriet W. (Edwin 2d)  
 Miles, p.....  
 Elizabeth Rice, p.....  
 Georgiana B. Rice, p.....  
 Jane L. Boies, p.....  
 Sylphia L. Barber, p.....  
 Helen F. Ives, p.....  
 Mary E. Bolles, p.....  
 Charlotte A. White, p.....  
 Almira Earle, p.....  
 Sarah B. Clark, p.....  
 Emma J. Brockway, p.....  
 Ellen C. Reed, p.....  
 Mary E. Barber, p.....  
 Caroline L. Welch, p.....  
 Mary E. Carpenter, p.....  
 George Cook, p.....  
 Bradford A. Carpenter, p....  
 Mrs. Vialia (Bradford A.) Car-  
 penter, p.....  
 Andrew B. Kingsbury, p....  
 George W. Wilson, p.....

Jedediah Barber, 2d, p.....  
 Edwin H. Welch, p.....  
 Elijah Adams, p.....  
 Calvin Walrad, p.....  
 Louis L. Merrill, p.....  
 Charles S. Richardson, p.....  
 William T. Hickok, p.....  
 J. H. Munger, p.....  
 Caleb Cleaveland, p..... \*  
 Lyman Hubbard, p.....  
 Curtis Webb, p.....  
 Josiah Stone, p.....  
 Barney W. Payne, p.....  
 Abel W. Shelton, p.....  
 Slocum Wright, p.....  
 Eugene M. Kendall, p.....  
 Lyman H. Heberd, p.....  
 Charles B. Miller, p.....  
 David Hardy, l.....  
 J. Orville Barber, l.....  
 Mrs. Susan (V.) Welch, l....  
 Mrs. Maria Wilson, w., l....  
 Mrs. Harriet (Ira) Green, l...  
 Samuel Plumb, p.....  
 Alpheus Hobart, p.....  
 Harlan P. Hull, p.....  
 Mrs. Lucretia A. (Alanson)  
   Hobart, p.....  
 Mrs. Sarah (M.) Owen, p.....  
 Emma Hull, p.....  
 F. H. Page, l.....  
 Mrs. Eliza Priest, w., l.....  
 Mrs. Frances W. (Rev. J. A.)  
   Priest, l.....  
 Mrs. Lydia A. Britton, l....  
 Mrs. Mary (Augustus) Kings-  
   bury, l.....  
 Chauncey W. Bierce, p.....  
 Mrs. Harriet L. (C. W.) Bierce, p.....  
 David F. Edwards, p.....  
 Henry A. Kendall, l.....

1856.

James H. Jagger, l.....  
 Mrs. Lydia E. (J. H.) Jagger, l  
 Mrs. Emily W. (Edward) Mil-  
   ler, w., l.....  
 Levi Rood, l.....  
 Mrs. Augusta (Levi) Rood, l.  
 Eunice Rood, l.....  
 Mrs. Phebe Tisdale, w., l....  
 Mrs. Damaris (Philo) Robin-  
   son, l..... \*  
 Mrs. Elizabeth B. (Lemuel M.)  
   Robinson, l.....  
 Emma T. Allen, p.....  
 Mrs. Charlotte (Dr. Josiah)  
   Patterson, p.....  
 Henry Dwight Patterson, p... d  
 Albert W. Wright, p.....  
 Mrs. Lydia (Jonathan) Bal-  
   lard, w., l..... \*  
 Mrs. Elizabeth (Wm. L.) Mor-  
   gan, l.....  
 Mrs. Deborah (And.) Bowen, l  
 Mrs. Eunice Thomas, w., l....  
 Oswald Nicholson, l.....  
 Mrs. Amelia (O.) Nicholson, l.  
 Orestes Allen, l.....  
 Mrs. Lavinia (O.) Allen, l....  
 Orlando Lund, l.....  
 Mrs. Helen L. (O.) Lund, l...  
 Caroline H. Brown, p.....  
 Mary A. Beach, p.....  
 Frederick W. Bellinger, l....  
 Mrs. Esther (F. W.) Bellinger, l  
 Mrs. Parthena Brown, w., l..  
 Jason Yurann, p.....  
 Cuthbert Fisher, l.....  
 Mrs. Celia M. (C.) Fisher, l...  
 Mrs. Maria A. (J. H.) Munger, l  
 Daniel W. Carpenter, p.....  
 Charles C. Brightman, l....

## MEMBERS ADMITTED EACH YEAR.

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Previous to the settlement of a Pastor,	{	1801,	14.
		1802,	5.

		1803,	16.
		1804,	3.
During the Pastorate of Rev. N. B. Darrow,	{	1805,	11.
		1806,	27.
		1807,	26.
		1808,	10.

		1809,	2.
		1810,	8.
		1811,	21.
		1812,	3.
		1813,	188.
During the Pastorate of Rev. E. Walker,	{	1814,	11.
		1815,	6.
		1816,	57.
		1817,	89.
		1818,	13.
		1819,	7.
		1820,	68.

		1821,	8.
		1822,	13.
		1823,	23.
		1824,	20.
		1825,	14.
		1826,	56.
During the Pastorate of Rev. J. Keep,	{	1827,	17.
		1828,	12.
		1829,	4.
		1830,	20.
		1831,	92.
		1832,	97.
		1833,	140.

During the Pastorate of Rev. D. Platt,	{	1834,	15.
		1835,	22.
		1836,	39.
		1837,	21.
		1838,	82.
		1839,	18.
		1840,	36.
		1841,	13.
	{	1842,	40.

During the Pastorate of Rev. T. K. Fessenden,	{	1843,	64.
		1844,	28.
		1845,	2.
		1846,	14.
		1847,	26.
		1848,	21.
		1849,	20.
		1850,	35.
		1851,	28.
		1852,	25.
	{	1853,	13.

1854, 15.

Pastorate of Rev. J. A. Priest,	{	1855,	82.
	{	1856,	34.



## ALPABETICAL LIST.

EXPLANATION.—The figure following the name indicates the page on which the name may be found on the preceding Catalogue, where details are more fully given.

### A.

Abbott, Roena.....	23	Arnold, Polly .....	14
Abbott, Jared.....	18	Arnold, Philip.....	16
Abbott, Mrs. Alba.....	18	Arnold, Mrs. Oliver.....	24
Abbott, Mrs. Nathan.....	20	Arnold, Mrs. Augusta.....	21
Abbott, Mary.....	16	Arnold, Sarah M.....	29
Adams, Elijah.....	32	Arnold, Mary C.....	29
Aikin, Charles.....	22	Arnold, Mrs. Czarina (Oliver)	29
Alexander, Laura.....	21	Atwater, Mrs. Esther (Josh.)	14
Alexander, Daniel.....	27	Atwater, Ezra.....	14
Aldrich, Mrs. Jane Ann....	29	Atwater, Ira.....	28
Allen, Emma T.....	32	Atwater, Mrs. Philinda....	16
Allen, Orestes.....	22	Atwater, Joshua.....	16
Allen, Mrs. Lovina (Orestes)	24	Atwater, Asa G.....	17
Allen, Dolly.....	19	Atwater, Betsey.....	19
Alvord, Mrs. Melissa.....		Atwater, Emily.....	19
Alvord, Sylvester.....	23	Atwater, Lydia.....	21
Alvord, Henry S.....	28	Atwater, Nancy.....	22
Alvord, Mrs. Eunice.....	14	Atwater, Erasmus.....	24
Alvord, Mrs. Rachel.....	14	Atwater, Mary.....	27
Alvord, Nancy.....	18	Atwater, Mrs. Philinda....	21
Alvord, Charles.....	19	Atwater, Ira S.....	16
Alvord, Mrs. Hannah.....	20	Austin, Mrs. Anna.....	14
Alvord, Thomas G.....	23	Austin, Francis.....	31
Alvord, Lucy V.....	27	Avery, Laura M.....	24
Alvord, Mrs. Nancy (T. G.).	26		
Alvord, Mrs. Louisa (Martin)	24		
Ambler, Stephen.....	23		
Andrews, Mrs. Clara.....	13		
Andrews, James.....	16		
Andrews, Mrs. Betsey.....	16		
Andrews, Abigail.....	16		
Andrews, Wilson.....	17		
Andrews, Mrs. Keziah.....	17		
Andrews, Polly.....	19		

### B.

Babcock, Mrs. Phebe (G. C.)	30
Babcock, Mrs. Ezra.....	20
Babcock, Henry.....	30
Babcock, Editha M.....	30
Bailey, Spencer.....	24
Baker, John.....	13
Baker, Mrs. Susanna.....	14
Ballard, John.....	13
Ballard, Kezia.....	13

Ballard, Mrs. Nabby.....	14	Beach, Nathaniel.....	19
Ballard, Mrs. Parthenia....	14	Beach, Mrs. Polly.....	19
Ballard, Mrs. Lydia D. (Jonathan).....	32	Beach, Elizabeth.....	27
Ballard, Mrs. Sally.....	19	Beach, Mary A.....	32
Ballard, Joshua.....	16	Bean, Mrs. Ann.....	27
Ballard, Sally.....	15	Bean, William A.....	31
Ballard, Augusta.....	21	Beebe, Lucy.....	22
Ballard, Mrs. Polly.....	16	Beebe, Louisa.....	23
Ballard, Mrs. Christiana (Joshua, 2d).....	28	Bellinger, Frederick W.....	32
Ballard, Augustus.....	31	Bellinger, Mrs. Esther (F.W.)	32
Ballard, Mrs. Betsey M. (Augustus).....	31	Bement, Mrs. Betsey.....	13
Bangs, Esther.....	26	Bement, John.....	13
Bangs, Sarah.....	26	Bement, Lucy.....	18
Bangs, Hannah.....	26	Benedict, Rhoda.....	26
Barber, Paris.....	26	Bennett, Zernan.....	18
Barber, Mrs. Mary E. (Paris)	27	Bennett, Mrs.....	16
Barber, Mrs. Jane (Paris)..	30	Bennet, Angeline.....	18
Barber, Elvena.....	26	Bennett, Mrs. Almira (Lorenzo).....	31
Barber, Mrs. Sarah B. (W.)	30	Berry, Mary.....	21
Barber, Mary Louisa.....	31	Berry, Mrs. George.....	21
Barber, Mrs. Catharine (G. J.).....	31	Berry, Betsey.....	22
Barber, Louisa.....	22	Betty, John.....	15
Barber, Mrs. Matilda.....	15	Bishop, Mrs. Eliza.....	20
Barber, Sylphia L.....	31	Bishop, Cynthia.....	21
Barber, Mary E.....	31	Bishop, Cyrus.....	22
Barber, Jedediah 2d.....	31	Bishop, Lucy.....	23
Barber, J. Orville.....	31	Bishop, Maria.....	24
Barker, Caroline A.....	30	Bishop, Rufus.....	16
Barnard, Rufus.....	20	Bishop, Mamra.....	16
Barnard, Mrs. Rufus.....	20	Bishop, Asenath.....	16
Barnard, Susanna.....	20	Bishop, Thomas L.....	13
Barney, Mrs. Almira.....	20	Bishop, Mrs. Ruby (T. L.)..	13
Barto, Morris.....	25	Bishop, Mrs. Susanna.....	15
Bates, Mrs. Pharasina (Lemuel).....	17	Bishop, John.....	16
Bates, Tabitha.....	19	Bishop, Mrs. Alfreda.....	16
Bates, Mrs. Joseph.....	20	Bishop, Harrison.....	16
Bates, Minerva.....	18	Bishop, Mrs. Margaret.....	16
Bates, Mrs. Nancy (Ransford)	23	Bierce, Chauncey W.....	32
Beach, Rufus.....	17	Bierce, Mrs. Harriet L. (C.W.)	32
Beach, Mrs.....	17	Billings, Permelia.....	20
Beach, Mrs.....	18	Blashfield, Iddo.....	15
Beach, Zadoc P.....	24	Blashfield, Mrs. Jenny.....	15
Beach, William B.....	28	Blashfield, Mrs. Lois.....	15
Beach, Jason S.....	23	Blashfield, Peter.....	19
Beach, Emeline.....	29	Blashfield, Margaret.....	24
		Blashfield, William 2d.....	23
		Blashfield, William.....	22
		Blashfield, Mrs. Polly (Wm.)	23
		Blashfield, Mary A.....	26

Blashfield, Alfreda.....	26	Brockway, Angeline J.....	30
Blashfield, Sarah S.....	30	Brockway, Emma J.....	31
Blashfield, Henry W.....	30	Brockway, Mary H.....	29
Blodgett, Electa.....	15	Brockway, Mrs. Minerva (S.P.)	28
Blodgett, Mrs. Eunice.....	13	Brooks, Anson C.....	30
Boies, Dolly.....	18	Brown, Archilaus.....	17
Boies, Jane L.....	31	Brown, Oren.....	17
Boies, Rufus.....	15	Brown, Alpha.....	17
Boies, Mrs. Nancy.....	16	Brown, Susanna.....	18
Boies, Israel.....	22	Brown, Elizabeth L.....	19
Boies, Samantha.....	22	Brown, Ephraim.....	14
Boies, Caroline.....	26	Brown, Roswell.....	15
Bonney, Nancy L.....	28	Brown, Alice.....	15
Bonney, Oliver W.....	19	Brown, Lucy E.....	24
Bonney, Mrs. Laura (O. W.)	19	Brown, Rosanna.....	25
Bonney, Oliver W.....	19	Brown, Emily O.....	29
Bonney, Mrs. O. W.....	19	Brown, John.....	31
Bolles, Mary E.....	31	Brown, Ursula.....	28
Bowen, Mrs. Polly.....	24	Brown, William.....	28
Bowen, Melvina.....	24	Brown, Daniel.....	23
Bowen, George W.....	26	Brown, Mrs. Daniel.....	23
Bowen, Lydia.....	20	Brown, Mary.....	23
Bowen, Mary L.....	17	Brown, Anna M.....	17
Bowen, Polly.....	19	Brown, Mrs.....	18
Bowen, Mrs. Anna.....	13	Brown, Mrs. Parthena.....	32
Bowen, Levi.....	14	Brown, Caroline H.....	32
Bowen, Nancy.....	15	Brown, Mary Eliza.....	28
Bowen, Mrs. Hannah C.....	29	Brown, Charlotte M.....	28
Bowen, Dolly Ann.....	30	Brown, Harriet L.....	28
Bowen, Sarah A.....	30	Brown, Sarah A. W.....	28
Bowen, Mary.....	26	Brown, Thomas Newton,...	28
Bowen, Ira.....	20	Browne, Wm. R.....	29
Bowen, Caroline.....	24	Brown, Mrs. Elizabeth (Wm.)	28
Bowen, Mrs. Deborah (Aud.)	32	Brown, Arville.....	30
Bradford, Jane.....	28	Brown, Mrs. Lucy (Roswell)	15
Bradford, Mary Emeline....	24	Brown, Ira.....	15
Bradford, Helen Sabina.....	24	Brown, Mrs. Orra (Ira)....	18
Bradford, Mrs. Mary.....	20	Brown, Sophronia.....	23
Bradford, Marcia S.....	20	Brunschweiler, Mrs. Isabella.	31
Bradford, William H.....	22	Buchanan, James.....	22
Bradford, Simeon S.....	22	Buchanan, Mrs. James.....	24
Bradford, Thomas T.....	22	Buchanan, Miriam.....	19
Bradford, Levi.....	22	Buck, Sarah.....	26
Bradford, Geo. W.....	22	Buck, Ephraim.....	24
Bradford, Mrs. Mary Ann..	25	Budlong, Miranda.....	18
Bradford, Wm. L.....	24	Buell, Silence.....	26
Brant, Cynthia.....	18	Burchard, Benjamin.....	30
Brant, Sarah.....	18	Barnett, Roxana.....	22
Brightman, Charles C.....	32	Burt, Harriet.....	26
Britton, Mrs. Lydia A.....	32	Butterfield, Lydia.....	14

Butterfield, Diedamia .....	17	Chamberlain, Helen.....	21
Butterfield, Mrs. Hephizibah.	13	Chamberlain, George W....	22
<b>C</b>			
Cady, Mrs. Catharine.....	14	Chamberlain, Hannah .....	26
Cady, Belinda .....	18	Chamberlain, Zelia .....	26
Canfield, Clarissa W. ....	23	Chamberlain, Chester.....	15
Canfield, Mrs. Lucy.....	20	Chamberlain, Mrs. Sally....	21
Carpenter, Isabella .....	22	Chamberlain, Alfred L.....	22
Carpenter, Lois .....	20	Chamberlain, Lavinia.....	25
Carpenter, Emeline.....	21	Chandler, James D.....	15
Carpenter, Milo.....	26	Chandler, Mrs. Alethea.....	15
Carpenter, Sarah A.....	26	Chandler, Winthrop.....	21
Carpenter, Francis B.....	29	Chapin, Harriet N.....	29
Carpenter, Rosina.....	29	Chapin, Mary A.....	29
Carpenter, Maria.....	29	Chapel, Tirza.....	27
Carpenter, Dewitt.. .....	30	Churchill, John.....	15
Carpenter, Sally .....	20	Churchill, Mrs. Ma. y.....	15
Carpenter, Asaph H. ....	27	Churchill, Mrs. David.....	24
Carpenter, Mrs. Eliza (A. II.)	27	Church, Mrs. Elizabeth.....	14
Carpenter, Helen M.....	27	Church, Mrs. Sophia.....	18
Carpenter, Benjamin S.....	29	Clapp, Mrs. Joseph L. ....	21
Carpenter, Mary .....	30	Clapp, Joseph L.....	21
Carpenter, Henrietta .....	30	Clapp, Mrs. Joseph.....	21
Carpenter, William W.....	31	Clapp, Alender O.....	22
Carpenter, Mary E.....	31	Clapp, Achsah.....	25
Carpenter, Bradford A.....	31	Clapp, Cyrus.....	18
Carpenter, Mrs. Vialia (B. A.)	31	Clapp, Mrs. Sally .....	18
Carpenter, Rosina.....	31	Clapp, Almira .....	18
Carpenter, Noah.....	15	Clapp, Joseph.....	21
Carpenter, Louisa.....	26	Clapp, Moses.....	19
Carpenter, Daniel M. ....	32	Clark, Mrs. Parthenia.....	
Carpenter, Mrs. Charlotte..	13	Clark, Mrs. Lucy (Rev. A.)..	30
Carpenter, Lorenzo.....	17	Clark, Mary.....	26
Carrington, Abigail .....	25	Clark, Abigail.....	13
Carrington, Sophia.....	27	Clark, Anna.....	13
Caydugan, Mrs.....	20	Clark, Samuel .....	16
Caydugan, Sarah.....	20	Clark, Amasa P.....	20
Centre, Mrs.....	21	Clark, Mosely .....	22
Chaffee, Isaac.....	17	Clark, Mrs. Eliza (Mosely)..	22
Chaffee, Polly .....	17	Clark, Mary.....	30
Chaffee, Jonathan.....	17	Clark, Mrs. Lydia.....	27
Chaffee, Mary.....	18	Clark, Stephen W.....	31
Chaffee, Laura.....	19	Clark, Mrs. Irene (S. W.)..	31
Chamberlain, Charles.....	19	Clark, Mary E.....	31
Chamberlain, Mrs. Roxana..	20	Clark, Sarah B.....	31
Chamberlain, Ormund.....	20	Cleveland, Brainard.....	17
Chamberlain, Mrs. Chloe... 14		Cleveland, Sally.....	13
Chamberlain, Caroline.....	21	Cleveland, Lydia .....	18
Chamberlain, Amelia.....	21	Cleveland, Aaron.....	17
		Cleveland, Almeron.....	28
		Cleveland, Mrs. Almira....	17

Cleaveland, Benjamin.....	16	Cox, Mrs.....	24
Cleaveland, Mrs. Lucretia...	16	Coye, Dorcas.....	26
Cleaveland, Mallah.....	22	Coye, Mrs. Nancy.....	19
Cleaveland, Julia.....	28	Coye,, David.....	22
Cleaveland, Thomas.....	28	Coye, Caroline.....	26
Cleaveland, Adin.....	28	Crampton, Elijah M.....	25
Cleaveland, Caleb.....	32	Crandali, Mrs. ....	19
Clough, Mrs. Patty.....	14	Cravath, Samuel Sen.....	13
Cobb, Sophia M.....	28	Cravath, Phebe.....	15
Cobb, Calvin C. ....	24	Cravath, Samuel Jr.....	14
Coburn, Mrs. Abigail (Wm.)	16	Cravath, Mrs. Mary.....	14
Coburn, Zebediah.....	17	Cravath, Prosper.....	15
Coburn, Mrs.....	17	Cravath, Mrs. Merriam....	15
Coburn, Penninah.....	24	Cravath, Obed.....	15
Coburn, William W. ....	24	Cravath, Anna.....	15
Coburn, Lovina.....	24	Cravath, Mrs. Betsey (Oren)	26
Coburn, Abigail .....	21	Cravath, Oren.....	23
Coe, James .....	14	Croft, Mrs. ....	4
Coe, Mrs. Anna.....	14	Crofoot, Mrs. Eliza (Schuyt.)	30
Coe, Mrs. Sarah (James)...	25	Curtiss, Mrs. Polly .....	14
Coleman, Catherine.....	28	Curtiss, M. Spencer.....	27
Collins, Thomas .....	16	Curtiss, Joseph S.....	27
Collins, Mrs. Hannah .....	16	Cushman, Mrs. Polly .....	14
Colton, John O.....	21	Cushman, Jabez N.....	14
Comstock, Sarah.....	15	Cushman, Josiah.....	15
Cone, Anna M.....	28	Cushman, Mrs. Elsie.....	15
Cone, Jane.....	28	Cushman, Hannah.....	15
Cone, Mrs.....	22	Cushman, Isaiah .....	16
Congden, Lyman.....	22	Cushman, Joanna.....	17
Congden, Alvin.....	22	Cushman, Oliver.....	17
Cook, Mrs. Betsey(Matthias)	25	Cushman, Fanny .....	18
Cook, Eunice.....	23	Cushman, David .....	25
Cook, Mrs. Adaline (George)	26	Cushman, Mrs. Julia M....	25
Cook, Elizabeth .....	28	Cushman, Maria.....	28
Cook, Cornelia.....	30	Cushman, Elizabeth A.....	22
Cook, George.....	31		
Corey, Benjamin.....	17	D.	
Corey, Mrs. Benjamin.....	17	Daball, Austis.....	26
Corey, David .....	23	Dady, Noah.....	23
Corey, Mrs. Pernelia (D)...	23	Dady, Mrs. Sally (Noah)....	23
Corey, Julia .....	28	Dady, Noah C.....	28
Corwin, Ezra.....	16	Dady, Susan M.....	28
Corwin, Mrs. Hannah.....	16	Dady, Catherine A.....	28
Cowles, Harriet .....	24	Dada, William B.....	28
Cowles, Betsey Ann .....	24	Dady, Edward.....	30
Cowles, Lydia .....	24	Dady, Emily .....	23
Cowles, Luther P.....	24	Dady, Sarah.....	20
Cowles,, Jerusha .....	25	Danforth, Loring.....	27
Cowles, Mrs. Jerusha (Hor.)	27	Danforth, Harriet .....	27
Cowles, Mrs. Lydia (Jerem'h)	27	Darrow, Mrs. Dotia.....	13



Davis, Joel.....	27	Emmons, Peter W.....	31
Davis, Orpah.....	27	Ensign, Frederick.....	19
Day, Susanna.....	19		
Day, Nancy.....	19		
Dean, Mrs. Lydia.....	14		
Dean, Samantha.....	18		
Devoe, David.....	19		
Devoe, Lucy.....	19		
Devoe, John.....	23		
Devoe, Marilla.....	24		
Devoe, Mary.....	26		
Devoe, Eliza.....	19		
Devoe, Maria.....	19		
Devoe, Mrs. Helena.....	14		
Dewey, Achsah.....	19		
Dewey, Sarah.....	19		
Dewey, Silas.....	16		
Dexter, Stephen.....	14		
Dexter, Mrs. Lydia.....	14		
Dickson, Mrs. Ruth (And'w)	18		
Dickson, Mrs. Ruth (And'w)	25		
Dixon, Joseph R.....	31		
Dixon, Mrs. Eliza A. (J. R.)	31		
Dixon, Archibald.....	17		
Doud, Mrs. Polly.....	14		
Doud, Theodore.....	14		
Doud, Mrs. Hannah.....	14		
Doud, Lent.....	16		
Doud, Eli.....	18		
Doud, Benjamin C.....	30		
Doud, Betsey.....	16		
Doud, Mrs. Phebe (Hiram)	20		
Downer, Joseph G.....	19		
Drake, Benjamin B.....	17		
Drake, Malinda.....	19		
Dunning, Edwin I.....	26		

## E.

Earle, Mrs. Eunice H.....	28		
Earle, Mrs. Elizabeth (Thos.)	26		
Earle, Harriet E.....	29		
Earle, Ward T.....	30		
Earle, Phila A.....	30		
Earle, Almira.....	31		
Eastman, Nathaniel W.....	26		
Eaton, Mrs.....	22		
Edgerton, Cynthia.....	27		
Edmonds, Mary.....	20		
Edwards, David F.....	32		
Elder, Sally.....	18		

## F.

Fairbanks, Louisa.....	24		
Fairbanks, Juliet.....	27		
Fairbanks, Mary L.....	28		
Fairbanks, Lucy.....	27		
Fairbanks, Harvey.....	18		
Fairbanks, Mrs. Lois.....	19		
Farr, Mrs. Naomi.....	25		
Fessenden, Rev. Thomas K.....	29		
Fessenden, Mrs. Nancy (Rev. T. K.)	28		
Fessenden, Mary C.....	29		
Field, Margery.....	18		
Field, Olive.....	23		
Field, Bennett.....	24		
Field, Lovisa.....	24		
Field, Marcia.....	24		
Field, Mabel.....	24		
Field, Mary.....	21		
Fish, Isaac.....	20		
Fish, Mrs. Dulcina.....	20		
Fisher, Cuthbert.....	32		
Fisher, Mrs. Celia M. (C.)..	32		
Fleming, Clarissa.....	18		
Fleming, Almira.....	24		
Fletcher, Robert.....	15		
Fletcher, Elizabeth.....	30		
Frasier, Lovisa.....	25		
French, James.....	27		
French, Mrs. Asenath.....	27		
French, Almira.....	27		
Frisbie, Laura.....	18		
Frisbie, Melissa.....	18		
Frisbie, John C.....	20		
Frisbie, David.....	22		
Frisbie, Mrs. Mercy (David)	22		
Ford, Lydia.....	17		
Ford, Gideon.....	18		
Ford, Sarah.....	18		
Foster, William W.....	23		
Fox, Frances F.....	30		

## G.

Gable, George W.....	17		
Gable, Mrs.....	17		
Galbraith, Mrs. Jennette....	29		
Garlick, Melissa.....	28		

Gault, Sabina .....	30	Hall, Amos .....	20
Gaylord, Phebe .....	18	Hall, Mrs. Sarah .....	13
Gaylord, Lucius .....	25	Hall, Talmadge .....	17
Gaylord, Mrs. Polly (Lucius) .....	25	Hall, Hannah .....	23
Gaylord, Angeline .....	25	Hall, Abigail .....	28
Gaylord, Sarah Ann .....	25	Hall, Martha .....	18
Gaylord, Mary Jane .....	25	Ham, Electa .....	29
Gaylord, Mrs. Polly .....	31	Hammond, John F. ....	23
Gillam, Cornelius W. ....	25	Hammond, Angeline .....	24
Gillam, Marcus .....	26	Hannum, Zelotes .....	17
Gillam, Jemima .....	27	Hannum, Mrs. Silence (Zelotes) .....	27
Gillett, Mrs. Mercy .....	14	Hannum, Benoni .....	17
Gillett, Gershom .....	16	Hannum, Anna .....	18
Gillett, Philo .....	28	Hannum, Seth .....	18
Gillett, Mrs. Almira (Philo) .....	28	Hardy, David .....	32
Glazier, Margaret .....	18	Hare, Joseph .....	27
Goff, Elizabeth .....	27	Harris, James .....	26
Goodell, Eliza J. B. ....	27	Harris, Mrs. Eunice (James) .....	26
Goodell, Lorenzo .....	22	Harris, Elisha .....	26
Goodell, Mrs. Polly (Erastus) .....	21	Harris, Martha Ann .....	28
Goodell, Benjamin .....	25	Harris, Nancy .....	29
Goodell, Erastus .....	26	Harris, Jane .....	28
Goodell, Erastus jr. ....	26	Harris, Mary M. ....	29
Goodell, Mary Eliza .....	26	Harris, Azro F. ....	31
Goodell, Maria .....	26	Harvey, Jesse .....	27
Goodell, Polly .....	18	Haskell, Susanna .....	19
Goodwin, Deborah .....	22	Haskins, Abigail .....	17
Goodyear, Polly .....	18	Hathaway, Thomas .....	26
Goodyear, Alvira .....	21	Hathaway, Thomas .....	27
Graham, Emeline S. ....	29	Hawley, Chester W. ....	31
Graves, Asher .....	20	Hawley, Isaac .....	31
Graves, Mrs. ....	20	Hawley, Mrs. Persis (Isaac) .....	31
Graves, Rufus .....	20	Hawley, Anna J. ....	31
Graves, Mrs. ....	20	Hawley, Evelyn P. ....	31
Gray, Charlotte .....	31	Heberd, Lyman H. ....	32
Greene, Mrs. Harriet (Ira) ..	32	Heberd, Ulysses .....	26
Greene, Caroline .....	27	Henry, Celinda .....	15
Greene, Mrs. Roxana (Dr. C.) ..	29	Herrick, Rachel .....	17
Grinnell, Mrs. ....	26	Herrick, Hezekiah .....	17
Grinnell, Maria .....	26	Herring, Anna .....	18
Grinnell, Permelia .....	26	Herring, Maria .....	20
<b>H</b>		Herring, Harriet .....	16
Hackley, Mrs. ....	17	Herring, Phebe .....	30
Hale, Nathaniel .....	14	Hibbard, Eunice .....	23
Halford, Eliza .....	14	Hibbard, Mrs. Rachel .....	14
Hall, Mrs. Hannah .....	17	Hibbard, Rachel L. ....	31
Hall, John B. ....	17	Hibbard, William .....	15
Hall, Clarissa .....	18	Hickok, William T. ....	32
Hall, Parna .....	15	Hicks, Polly .....	19

Hitchcock, Josiah L.....	26	Hoar, Mrs. Lois.....	13
Hitchcock, Aurelia.....	23	Hoar, Jacob.....	13
Hitchcock, Huldah.....	26	Hoar, Rachel.....	14
Hitchcock, Harriet K.....	28	Hoar, Chester.....	14
Hitchcock, Mrs. Susan (Coleman).....	29	Hobart, Adin.....	26
Hitchcock, Coleman.....	26	Hobart, Horace.....	27
Hitchcock, Noah.....	14	Hobart, Horace.....	29
Hitchcock, Amory.....	24	Hobart, Caroline.....	24
Hitchcock, Desire S.....	24	Hobart, Mrs. Peggy.....	15
Hitchcock, Charlotte N.....	24	Hobart, Calvin.....	15
Hitchcock, Anna.....	19	Hobart, Lucy.....	15
Hitchcock, Louisa.....	20	Hobart, Martin.....	15
Hitchcock, Diantha.....	20	Hobart, Samuel jr.....	16
Hitchcock, Mary.....	21	Hobart, Rebecca.....	18
Hitchcock, Mercy.....	22	Hobart, Sarah.....	18
Hitchcock, Mrs. Jane (Aug.)	23	Hobart, Mrs. Paulina.....	18
Hitchcock, Silence.....	16	Hobart, Uretta.....	23
Hitchcock, Eli.....	16	Hobart, Harriet.....	23
Hitchcock, Jeremy.....	17	Hobart, Adaline.....	23
Hitchcock, Mrs. Lettice.....	17	Hobart, Naomi.....	23
Hitchcock, Peter.....	13	Hobart, George.....	23
Hitchcock, Mrs. Ruth.....	13	Hobart, Oren.....	24
Hitchcock, Peter.....	17	Hobart, Charles.....	24
Hitchcock, Samuel.....	14	Hobart, Mrs. Rhoda.....	24
Hitchcock, Gad.....	14	Hobart, Flavia Ann.....	24
Hitchcock, Mrs. Lydia.....	14	Hobart, Araminta.....	24
Hitchcock, David.....	15	Hobart, John M.....	19
Hitchcock, Mrs. Samantha.....	15	Hobart, Eli.....	19
Hitchcock, Mrs. Mercy.....	15	Hobart, Joseph.....	15
Hitchcock, Horace.....	16	Hobart, Rachel.....	24
Hitchcock, Mrs. Azuba.....	17	Hobart, Asa.....	20
Hitchcock, Lois.....	20	Hobart, Mrs. Anna.....	20
Hitchcock, Abel.....	20	Hobart, Amos.....	20
Hitchcock, Noah jr.....	21	Hobart, Emeline.....	21
Hitchcock, Mrs. Lucy (N. jr)	21	Hobart, Ruby.....	21
Hitchcock, Mrs. Patty (Horace).....	22	Hobart, Sophronia.....	21
Hitchcock, Mary Ann.....	28	Hobart, Mrs. Rhoda (Sam'l)	21
Hitchcock, Mrs. Fanny (U.)	29	Hobart, Lucretia.....	21
Hitchcock, Persyette.....	29	Hobart, Lansing.....	22
Hitchcock, Lucy Ann.....	29	Hobart, Johnson H.....	22
Hitchcock, William E.....	29	Hobart, Horace.....	22
Hitchcock, Permelia.....	31	Hobart, Mrs. Anna.....	15
Hitchcock, Mrs. Clara.....	31	Hobart, Gideon.....	15
Hoar, Samuel.....	13	Hobart, Mrs. Electa.....	15
Hoar, Mrs. Dorothy.....	13	Hobart, Eliza.....	18
Hoar, Mrs. Cyrene.....	13	Hobart, Emily.....	24
Hoar, Flavilla.....	13	Hobart, Ann.....	24
Hoar, Daniel.....	13	Hobart, Asenath.....	24
		Hobart, Celinda E.....	24
		Hobart, Mrs. Jane (Amos).....	26

Hobart, Manly.....	27	Hull, Emma.....	32
Hobart, Duran C.....	30	Hull, Amanda.....	28
Hobart, Alanson.....	30	Hull, George.....	30
Hobart, Mrs. Hannah S. (D)	30	Hull, J. Dwight.....	30
Hobart, Alpheus.....	32	Hull, Harlan P.....	32
Hobart, Mrs. Lucretia (Alan- son).....	32	Hull, Jeremy.....	16
Hobart, Mary M.....		Hull, David.....	16
Hobart, Flavilla J.....	28	Hull, Mrs. Charlotte.....	16
Holbrook, Mary Louisa....	31	Hull, Mrs. Lois.....	16
Hollister, Reuben.....	17	Hull, Mrs.....	20
Holt, Lyman.....	15	Hull, Wooden.....	23
Holt, Mrs. Mary.....	15	Hull, Michael.....	24
Horton, Mary.....	24	Hull, James 2d.....	24
Horton, Mrs.....	20	Hull, Jason.....	24
Horton, Eliza.....	20	Hull, Loomis.....	24
Horton, Zebina.....	21	Hull, Joel.....	21
Hotchkiss, Mrs.....	20	Hull, Lucina.....	24
Hotchkiss, Lydia.....	28	Hull, James.....	24
Hotchkiss, Lydia.....	21	Hull, Mrs. Rebecca (Joel)..	25
Hotchkiss, Janette.....	24	Hull, Caroline.....	28
Hotchkiss, Lucy.....	14	Hull, Zerah.....	14
Hotchkiss, Fanny.....	15	Huntington, John.....	14
Hotchkiss, George W.....	20	Huntington, Elena.....	14
Houghton, Artemas.....	14	Hurlbert, Mary.....	17
Houghton, James.....	24	Hurlbert, Polly.....	17
Houghton, Mary.....	27	Hurlbert, Cynthia.....	17
House, John.....	14	Hutchinson, Ashley.....	17
House, Mrs. Joanna.....	14	Hyde, Porter E.....	31
Hovey, Harriet N.....	25	I.	
Hovey, Fanny W.....	25	Ingersoll, Billy.....	16
Hovey, Mrs. Esther.....	25	Ingersoll, Mrs. Cora.....	16
Hovey, Caroline A.....	25	Inman, Mary.....	29
Hovey, Catharine.....	25	Isham, Mrs. W.....	24
Howe, Amry.....	18	Ives, Catharine.....	20
Howe, Mrs.....	22	Ives, Jane.....	23
Hubbard, Stephen G.....	22	Ives, Mrs. Philura C. (Fred.)	29
Hubbard, Lyman.....	32	Ives, Jesse.....	16
Hubbard, Norman.....	27	Ives, Mrs. Polly.....	16
Hubbard, Mrs. Sally (John)	27	Ives, Louisa.....	20
Hubbard, Rufus B.....	28	Ives, Mary.....	20
Hubbard, Benjamin.....	23	Ives, William.....	27
Hubbard, Stephen.....	23	Ives, Sarah A.....	28
Hubbard, Mrs. Stephen....	23	Ives, Mrs. Amanda (Wm.)..	28
Hubbard, Julia.....	23	Ives, Laura M.....	28
Hubbard, Daniel.....	23	Ives, Helen F.....	31
Hubbard, Lucy.....	24	J.	
Hubbard, Francis.....	24	Jackson, Sophia.....	22
Hubbard, Sally.....	20	Jagger, James H.....	32
Hubbard, Eli.....	18		

Jagger, Mrs. Lydia E. (J.H.)	32	Kendall, Oren	29
Jeffrey, Samuel T.	28	Kendall, Eugene M.	32
Jeffrey, Mrs. Nancy C. (S.T.)	29	Kendall, Henry A.	32
Jerome, James H.	28	Kendall, Asa	13
Jessup, Samuel	29	Kendall, Mrs. Sally (Asa)	13
Jewett, Frances	17	Kentfield, Azuba	16
Jewett, Mrs. Elizabeth (W.)	26	Kentfield, Mrs. Jemima	16
Johnson, Rachel	21	Kerr, Mary Ann	26
Johnson, Ezra G.	25	Kerr, Jacob	27
Johnson, Susa	20	Kerr, Mrs. Mary (Jacob)	27
Johnson, Elisha	19	Kerr, Mary Ann	27
Johnson, Herma	19	Kerr, Gertrude	27
Johnson, Anna	19	Ketchum, Mrs. Mary	
Jones, Betsey	17	Keyes, Mrs. Martha	29
Jones, Nathaniel	19	Keyes, Emerson W.	30
Jones, Mrs. Laura (Nath'l)	21	King, Amelia H.	27
Jones, Philip	19	King, Caroline	27
Judd, Clarissa	23	King, James	13
<b>K</b>			
Kaner, Helen	19	King, Mrs. Amanda	13
Keene, Mrs. Huldah	14	King, Mrs. Hannah	27
Keene, Mrs. Chloe	16	Kingsbury, Charles	21
Keep, Mrs. Lydia	19	Kingsbury, Mrs. Permelia (C)	21
Keep, J. T.	21	Kingsbury, Louisa A.	28
Keep, Esther	21	Kingsbury, Hilpah	18
Keep, Mrs. Louisa	14	Kingsbury, Mrs. Susan (El'zr)	20
Keep, Mrs. Lucina	15	Kingsbury, Harriet M.	30
Keep, Joseph	16	Kingsbury, Andrew E.	31
Keep, Caleb	16	Kingsbury, Mrs. Mary (Aug.)	32
Keep, Mrs. Mercy	16	Kinney, Milton A.	20
Keep, Elvira	21	Kinney, Mrs. Harriet (M.A.)	21
Keep, Alvah	22	Kinney, Eliza	23
Keep, Asa	22	Kinney, Mrs. Buel	23
Keep, Simeon B.	22	Kinney, Darius	13
Keep, Loring	23	Kinney, Mrs. Lydia	13
Keep, Lucy	24	Kinney, Ira	13
Keep, Seth	15	Kinney, Ira jr.	14
Keep, Mrs. Sylvia (Timothy)	22	Kinney, Abel	14
Keep, Fidelia	23	Kinney, Miriam	14
Keep, Timothy	23	Kinney, Moses	15
Keep, Mary	27	Kinney, Mrs. Polly	15
Keep, Mrs. Prudence (Chauncy)	31	Kinney, Anna	15
Kelsey, Clarissa L.	31	Kinney, Mrs. Avery	25
Kendall, Harriet	19	Kinney, Bachus	15
Kendall, Miranda	19	Kinney, Lorin	15
Kendall, Philura D.	15	Kinney, Vina	15
Kendall, Oscar W.	28	Kinney, Polly	17
Kendall, Mary L.	28	Kinney, Lydia	18
		Kinney, Abel Frink	18
		Kinney, Elijah S.	23
		Kinney, Avery	28



Kinney, Samuel N. ....	28	Leet, Harvey .....	30
Kinne, Sanford B. ....	29	Lewis, Mrs. Lydia .....	14
Kinney, Viola .....	30	Lewis, Hetty .....	18
Kinney, Martin P. ....	22	Lewis, Eri. ....	23
Kinney, Peleg R. ....	26	Lewis, Margaret .....	30
Kinney, Sophia .....	15	Lewis, Mrs. Eli .....	23
Kinney, Freelove .....	16	Lewis, Mary J. ....	28
Kinney, Allen .....	17	Lilly, Mrs. Persis .....	27
Kinney, Mrs. Charity .....	19	Lilly, Mrs. Persis .....	14
Kinney, Nathan .....	22	Lincoln, Silas .....	17
Kinney, Loami .....	22	Lincoln, Mrs. Polly .....	17
Kinney, Benjamin G. ....	26	Little, Mrs. ....	22
Kinney, Harriet S. ....	30	Livingston, Mrs. Agnes ....	31
Kitchingman, Mrs. Mary ...	27	Lucas, Mrs. Sarah (William)	16
Knapp, Aaron .....	13	Lucas, William .....	16
Knapp, Esther .....	16	Lucas, Mrs. Sally .....	18
Knapp, Hannah .....	16	Lucas, William jr. ....	18
Knapp, Lucinda ...	24	Lucas, Polly .....	20
Knight, Mrs. Susanna .....	13	Lucas, David .....	22
Knight, Benjamin .....	14	Lucas, Benjamin .....	22
Knight, Mary .....	20	Lucas, Simeon .....	14
Knight, Samuel .....	20	Lucius, Mrs. Eunice .....	15
Knight, Lydia .....	21	Lund, Alfred .....	29
Knight, Mary .....	26	Lund, Mrs. Mary (Alfred) ..	29
Knight, Lucy Ann .....	27	Lund, Orlando .....	32
Knight, Olivia .....	23	Lund, Mrs. Helen L. (O.) ...	32
Knight, Almira .....	22	Loomis, Nancy .....	22
Knox, Hannah .....	20	Lord, Eliza Ann .....	28
		Lord, Harriet .....	29
		Lord, Mrs. Eli .....	20
		Lord, Sarah .....	20

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Lacy, Ger-shorn .....	16	Loring, Mrs. E. ....	24
Lacy, Charity .....	18	Loring, Clintha .....	24
Lacy, Mrs. ....	19	Loring, Maria .....	27
Lacy, Aurelia .....	21	Loring, Lydia S. ....	25
Lacy, Legrand .....	28	Loss, Homri .....	19
Lacy, Fidelia .....	23	Lothridge, John .....	18
Laid, William .....	29	Lothridge, Mrs. Nancy ....	18
Laird, Mrs. William .....	29	Lyman, Asahel .....	17
Laisdale, Betsey B. ....	15	Lyman, Mrs. Dolly .....	17
Lasher, Henry J. ....	31	Lyndes, William P. ....	27
Lathrop, Ezra .....	17	Lyndes, Martins S. ....	27
Lathrop, Mrs. Ezra .....	17		
Lathrop, Alvin .....	25		
Lathrop, Mrs. C. E. ....	25		
Lawrence, Mrs. Mary G. (C. G.) .....	30		
Lawton, Mrs. Sally .....	31		
Lee, Mrs. Polly .....	15		
Leech, Joseph .....	30		
Leech, Mrs. Laura (Joseph) .	30		

## M.

Maltby, Susan .....	27
Marsh, Emeline .....	27
Marther, Mrs. Margaret ...	16
Martindale, Almira .....	17
Marvin, Mrs. Mary .....	23
Mason, Sally .....	19

Mattoon, Mrs. Orilla.....	28	Miller, Cynthia E.....	27
Matthews, John B.....	22	Miller, Harriet.....	30
Matthews, Roxy A.....	23	Miller, William.....	17
Matthews, George M.....	19	Miller, Mrs. Harvey.....	24
Matthews, Oren H.....	15	Miller, Daniel.....	19
Matthews, Olive.....	18	Miller, John.....	20
Maxwell, Mrs. Abigail.....	25	Miller, Harriet.....	30
May, Sophronia.....	22	Miller, Harvey.....	24
May, Mrs. Eliza.....	22	Miller, Franklin.....	21
May, Miranda.....	18	Miller, Caroline H.....	30
McCrea, Mary.....	27	Miller, Charles B.....	32
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McKnight, Mrs.....	19	Mills, Mrs. Mary M.....	25
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McNeal, Mrs.....	19	Miner, Daniel.....	13
McNeal, Mary L.....	27	Moffatt, Artemas.....	21
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Melville, William A.....	14	Moffatt, Mrs. Mary.....	21
Melville, Mrs. Charlotte....	14	Moffatt, Martha.....	22
Merrick, Mrs. Patty.....	14	Moffatt, Mrs. Chloe.....	27
Merrick, Louisa.....	16	Moger, Emily.....	26
Merrick, Lovisa.....	25	Moore, Augustus C.....	17
Merrill, Ann Elizabeth.....	26	Morgan, Mrs. Sophia (Miles)	22
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Merrill, Mrs. Prudence (Hir.)	23	Morgan, Susanna.....	16
Merrill, Noyes M.....	26	Morgan, Laura.....	18
Merrill, Mrs. Lucy (L. L.)..	31	Morgan, Nathan.....	18
Merrill, Lewis L.....	32	Morgan, Mrs. Ruth.....	18
Merrill, Ann.....	26	Morgan, Phebe.....	18
Merrill, Mary Almera.....	26	Morgan, Almira.....	19
Merrill, William.....	30	Morgan, Edmond G.....	25
Merrill, Frances A.....	30	Morse, Catharine.....	20
Miles, Eliza.....	22	Moulton, Melona D.....	20
Miles, Louisa.....	23	Moulton, Abigail.....	23
Miles, Mary.....	17	Moulton, Mrs. Dorcas.....	24
Miles, Polly.....	18	Moulton, Mrs. Mary B.....	30
Miles, Lucia.....	20	Mulford, Samuel.....	26
Miles, Mrs. Sally.....	16	Munger Cynthia.....	25
Miles, Mrs. Harriet.....	23	Munger, Ebenezer.....	25
Miles, Polly.....	27	Munger, Mrs. Cynthia (Eb'r)	25
Miles, Caroline S.....	30	Munger, J. H.....	32
Miles, Edwin 2d.....	31	Munger, Mrs. M. A. (J. H.)	32
Miles, Mrs. Harriet W. (E. 2d)	31	Munn, Polly.....	16
Miller, Abram.....	22		
Miller, Martha D.....	21		
Miller, Mrs. Harriet (Dea.)..	21		
Miller, William.....	28		
Miller, Widow.....	17		

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Neff, Jacob.....	16
Nelson, Seth.....	21

Nelson, Mrs. ....	21
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Nelson, William B. ....	22
Nelson, Levi. ....	22
Nelson, Frances. ....	22
Nelson, Sophia. ....	23
Newel, Jesse. ....	14
Newel, Mrs. Sarah. ....	14
Newel, Joseph. ....	25
Newel, Samuel. ....	22
Newton, Lemuel D. ....	22
Newton, Mrs. Betsey (L. D.)	23
Nicholson, Oswald. ....	32
Nicholson, Mrs. Amelia. ....	32
Nichols, Luther. ....	15
Nichols, Mrs. Clarissa. ....	15
Norcott, Elizabeth. ....	18
Norcott, Reuben. ....	20
Northrop, Henry D. ....	30
Northrop, Minerva. ....	17
Northrop, Abel. ....	17
Northrop, Deborah. ....	17
Northway, Mrs. Betsey. ....	15
Northway, Janna. ....	15
Northway, Mrs. Elizabeth. ....	15
Northway, Samuel. ....	15
Norton, Harvey. ....	19
Norton, Theodore. ....	16
Norton, Esther. ....	16
Norton, Mrs. Mary. ....	13
Norton, James. ....	13
Nuttin, Mrs. Matilda. ....	15

## O.

Odell, Horace. ....	28
Olcott, Samantha. ....	18
Onderdonk, John. ....	27
Onderdonk, Mrs. Maria (J.).	27
Ormes, James. ....	25
Ormes, Mrs. Rhoda S. (Ja's)	25
Ormes, James. ....	27
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Ormsby, Catharine (D. D. R.)	25
Osborn, Eben T. ....	31
Owen, Mrs. Mary. ....	14
Owen, Mrs. Sarah (M.). ....	32
Owen, Ann E. ....	19
Owen, Mrs. Nathan. ....	23
Owen, Maria L. ....	25

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Palmer, Helen. ....	30
Palmer, Mrs. Abigail C. ....	27
Pardy, Ebenezer. ....	16
Pardy, Mrs. Thankful. ....	16
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Parsons, Abigail. ....	17
Parsons, Mrs. Sarah. ....	20
Parsons, Sanford. ....	21
Patterson, Ashbel. ....	25
Patterson, Mrs. Eliza S. (Dr. A.)	25
Patterson, Mrs. Charlotte (Dr. Josiah)	32
Patterson, Dwight H. ....	32
Payne, Mrs. Lucy Ann (B. W)	30
Payne, Barney W. ....	32
Peables, Harvey. ....	22
Perkins, Mary E. ....	23
Perkins, Benjamin. ....	23
Perkins, Mrs. Benjamin. ....	24
Perkins, Mrs. Eliza D. (Rev. E)	30
Perkins, Rachel. ....	16
Perkins, Mrs. ....	20
Perry, Mrs. Lucy (O. H.). ....	30
Petrie, Adam. ....	31
Petrie, Mrs. Lucinda (A.). ....	31
Phelps, Joseph. ....	16
Phelps, Rachel. ....	18
Phillips, James. ....	19
Phillips, Mrs. Sally (James). ....	19
Phillips, James. ....	27
Phillips, Mrs. Sally (James). ....	27
Phillips, Mary. ....	21
Phillips, Mrs. William C. ....	21
Phillips, William C. ....	21
Pickett, Susanna. ....	18
Pickett, Jeremy H. ....	18
Pickett, Melinda. ....	19
Pickett, Erie. ....	19
Pickett, Harriet. ....	21
Pickett, Benjamin. ....	14
Pickett, Ami. ....	21
Pickett, Sarah Z. ....	24
Pierce, Elijah. ....	14
Pierce, Mrs. Martha. ....	14
Pierce, Seth. ....	14
Pierce, Benjamin. ....	19



Rogers, Mrs. Betsey.....	16	Sharp, Sarah.....	20
Rollo, Eber M.....	27	Shaw, Dorcas.....	18
Rollo, Mrs. Eliza C. (E. M.)..	28	Shaw, Mrs. Polly.....	14
Rood, Levi.....	32	Shearer, Mrs. Priscilla (Reub)	22
Rood, Mrs. Augusta (Levi).....	32	Shearer, Polly.....	17
Rood, Eunice.....	32	Shelton, Abel W.....	32
Root, Elias.....	25	Sherman, Mrs. Betsey (Sam.)	25
Root, Mrs. Electa (Elias)....	25	Sherman, Charlotte.....	29
Root, Chauncey.....	18	Sherman, Mrs. Lucy (John)...	20
Root, Charles E.....	30	Sherman, Byron.....	26
Root, Mrs. Phebe.....	14	Sherman, Mrs. Emeline (J.)...	29
Ross, Mrs. Patty.....	16	Sherrill, Mrs. Franklin.....	20
Rose, Ira.....	16	Sherrill, Franklin.....	22
Rose, Mrs. Julia.....	16	Simons, Melinda.....	26
Rowe, Sarah Ann.....	27	Slocomb, Mrs. Maria (Hardin)	21
Rowland, Tamar.....	18	Slocomb, Mrs. Persis (Calvin)	26
Rumrill, Electa.....	15	Slocomb, Hardin.....	22
Rumrill, Mrs. Electa.....	14	Smith, Mrs. Susan (N. R.)....	21
Russell, Hannah.....	14	Smith, Noah R.....	22
Russell, Samantha.....	24	Smith, Mrs. Cynthia M (Geo)	29
<b>S.</b>		Smith, Mary C.....	30
		Smith, Harriet A.....	31
Salisbury, Ruth.....	23	Smith, John Cotton.....	17
Salisbury, George.....	23	Smith, Polly N.....	18
Salisbury, Mial.....	19	Smith, Aaron.....	20
Sampson, Susanna.....	15	Smith, Mrs. Aaron.....	20
Sampson, Mrs. Sally.....	16	Smith, Mary.....	21
Sampson, Deborah.....	18	Smith, George R.....	26
Sanders, Mrs. Tirzah (Jacob)	21	Smith, Orril.....	30
Sanders, Betsey.....	14	Smith, Sarah R.....	30
Sanford, Stella F.....	16	Smith, Frances S.....	26
Schermerhorn, Mrs. J.....	27	Smith, Zechariah.....	28
Schermerhorn, Matilda B....	29	Smith, Mrs. Melissa (Z.)....	28
Schermerhorn, Jacob M....	25	Smith, William H.....	28
Schermerhorn, Mrs. Louisa		Sneeden, Rachel.....	17
(J. M.).....	25	Sneeden, George W.....	17
Schermerhorn, Catharine E..	29	Snell, Eliza Ann.....	22
Schermerhorn, Anna M.....	31	Snow, Mrs. Priscilla (Calvin)	26
Schermerhorn, Jacob M....	29	Snow, Calvin.....	26
Schermerhorn, Mrs. Louisa	29	Spaulding, Samuel.....	25
(J. M.).....	29	Spaulding, Mrs. Hannah (S.)	25
Scudder, Elizabeth.....	21	Spencer, Polly.....	29
Searle, Mrs. Nomi (Dr. J.)....	29	Spencer, Persis.....	29
Searle, Mrs. Naomi (Jesse)...	14	Spencer, Mary.....	29
Searle, Jesse.....	13	Spencer, Christopher.....	29
Sears, William.....	18	Spencer, Ruth.....	14
Selkrigg, Olive.....	18	Sperry, Susanna.....	16
Service, Mrs. Lucretia.....	25	Sprague, Mary.....	19
Sessions, Henry.....	26	Sprague, Hiram B.....	28
Sessions, Mrs. Catharine (H.)	26	Squires, Henry C.....	31





Thompson, Mrs. Amanda J. (German) .....	29	Van Schaick, Nicholas.....	17
Thompson, Mrs. Mary .....		Van Schaick, Mrs. Rebecca.	17
Thompson, Hammill.....	28	Van Schaick, Reuben.....	17
Thompson, Mrs. Experience (H.).....	28	<b>W.</b>	
Thompson, Mrs. Margaret..	29	Wadsworth, Ezekiel.....	15
Tisdale, Jonathan .....	19	Wadsworth, Mrs. Zade ....	15
Tisdale, Mrs. Phebe .....	19	Wadsworth, Reuben.....	15
Tisdale, Mrs. Phebe .....	32	Wadsworth, Horace .....	19
Tisdale, Eveline.....	24	Wadsworth, Louisa .....	19
Todd, Amos.....	13	Wadsworth, Samuel .....	19
Todd, Laurence.....		Wadsworth, Archibald.....	30
Todd, Roxana .....	15	Wait, Mrs. Sarah G.....	27
Todd, Polly .....	15	Walden, William.....	26
Todd, Almada .....	29	Walker, Elvira.....	24
Tompkins, Alana.....	28	Walker, Henry .....	26
Tongue, Oren.....	25	Walker, Mrs. Frances (H.)..	27
Tongue, Mrs. Amy (Oren)..	25	Walker, Hinckley .....	24
Tongue, Levi .....	25	Walker, Mrs. Sally (H) ...	25
Tongue, Levi N. ....	30	Walker, Joseph F. ....	26
Topping, Esther G.....	18	Walker, Mrs. Harriet (J. F)	26
Tracy, Chloe .....	20	Walker, Mrs. Aurelia .....	15
Treat, Timothy .....	13	Walker, Phebe .....	15
Treat, Mrs. Beulah .....	13	Wallace, Samuel .....	22
Treat, Mrs. ....	17	Wallace, Mrs. Theodocia (S.)	23
Treat, Laura.....	17	Wallace, Sarah .....	27
Triscott, Irena.....	15	Walrad, Mrs. Lois Ann (P.).	31
Trowbridge, Rachel .....	23	Walrad, Philo .....	30
Trowbridge, Mrs. Lavinia (W)	24	Walrad, Harriet .....	30
Trowbridge, Mrs. Jane.....	31	Walrad, Calvin .....	32
Turner, Polly.....	16	Walrad, Peter .....	26
Turner, Esther.....	24	Walrad, Mrs. Catharine (P.)	26
Tuthill, Albert P.....	25	Walter, William .....	28
Tyler, Mrs. Phebe.....	13	Walrad, Catharine .....	26
Tyler, Nathan .....	16	Walter, Mrs. Almira (W.)..	28
Tyler, Hannah.....	18	Walrad, Mrs. Lois Ann....	
<b>V.</b>		Walter, Annie E. ....	29
Van Anden, Mrs. Eliza (L). .	31	Walter, Zelek .....	14
Vanderlyn, Mrs. Nancy .....	17	Walter, Mary .....	28
Vanderlyn, Sally .....	18	Walter, Cynthia J.....	28
Vanderlyn, Mrs. ....	22	Walter, Mercy.....	20
Vanderpool, Hannah.....	19	Walter, Nancy .....	14
Van Eps, Mrs. Jeremy.....	20	Walter, Mrs. Susanna .....	15
Van Frank, John .....	23	Walter, Michael.....	16
Van Frank, Mrs. Harriet... .	23	Warren, Lydia .....	18
Van Frank, Mrs. G. ....	20	Warren, David H.....	19
Van Frank, Garritt.....	20	Warriner, William Gates... .	30
Van Schaick, John.....	23	Washburn, George .....	27
		Washburn, Laura M. ....	29
		Washburn, Mary.....	29

Washburn, Lydia.....	26	Whitney, Thomas.....	19
Washburn, Nancy.....	23	Williams, Ambrose.....	17
Washburn, Mary.....	23	Williams, Mrs.....	17
Washburn, Charles E.....	23	Williams, Thomas.....	22
Washburn, Laura.....	24	Williams, Oren.....	23
Washburn, Mrs. Lucy.....	16	Williams, Helen.....	24
Webb, Darius.....	20	Williams, Clarissa H.....	25
Webb, Mrs. Margaret (C.)..	21	Williams, Caroline E.....	30
Webb, Albertus.....	29	Williams, Hannah.....	17
Webb, William H.....	31	Williams, Mrs. Phebe (Zeb'a)	21
Webb, Mercy K.....	31	Williams, Mrs. Olive (Tho's)	23
Webb, Curtiss.....	32	Williams, Maria.....	23
Webb, Davis.....		Williams, Zebina.....	26
Webb, Adin.....	16	Williams, Elvena.....	26
Webb, Mrs. Deborah.....	16	Williams, Sophia.....	26
Webb, Nancy.....	26	Williams, Henry Z.....	29
Webb, Sumner C.....	26	Williams, Susan A.....	30
Webb, Caroline.....	28	Williams, Samantha.....	24
Welch, Lucy M.....	30	Williams, Amelia A.....	31
Welch, William.....	28	Wilson, George W.....	31
Welch, Marcus.....	24	Wilson, Mrs. Maria.....	32
Welch, Mrs. Lucy (Marcus).	24	Wilson, Mrs. Susan.....	20
Welch, Vincent.....	28	Winegar, A. F.....	31
Welch, Harriet.....	28	Winegar, Mrs. Persis (A. F.)	31
Welch, Caroline L.....	81	Winegar, Eliza A.....	31
Welch, Edwin H.....	32	Winegar, Clarissa M.....	31
Welch, Mrs. Susan (V.)....	32	Wing, Desire.....	17
Welch, Cornelia.....	22	Wing, Joanna.....	17
Welman, Almira.....	21	Wing, David.....	17
Welton, Alexander.....	25	Wing, Mrs. Desire.....	17
West, Truman.....	23	Wing, Erethusa.....	18
West, Mrs. Truman.....	23	Wing, Nabby.....	18
Wheeler, T. C.....	23	Wismere, Mrs.....	21
Wheeler, Mrs. T. C.....	23	Wood, S. Needam.....	21
Wheelock, Elizabeth.....	14	Woods, Cato M.....	21
Whitcomb, Pliny.....	30	Woodward, Mrs. H. E.....	26
Whitcomb, Hannah T.....	25	Woodward, Lydia Ann.....	23
Whitcomb, Luke.....	26	Woodward, Mrs. Margaret (A)	30
Whitcomb, Emeline.....	27	Woodward, Ward, Sen.....	19
White, Mrs. Charlotte.....		Woodward, Elizabeth.....	20
White, Mrs. Nancy P.....		Woodward, Mrs. Elizabeth.	19
White, Eliza.....	30	Woodward, Isaac.....	21
White, George G.....	30	Woodward, Ward Jr.....	19
White, Collins.....	30	Woodward, Mrs. Hannah..	19
White, Charlotte A.....	31	Woodward, Mrs. Aiathea (I.)	22
White, James.....	23	Woodward, Alpheus G.....	24
White, Mrs. Penina (James)	23	Woodward, Charles.....	27
Whitmore, Daniel E.....	30	Woodward, Nancy A.....	29
Whitney, Betsey.....	19	Woodward, Albertus N.....	30
Whitney, David.....	19	Woodward, Hannah A.....	30

Woodward, Abraham.....	22	Woolworth, Samuel B.....	22
Woodward, Abraham.....	30	Woolworth, Mrs. Betsey (S.	
Woodward, Mrs. Eliza (Ab.)	23	B.).....	27
Woodward, Sophia.....	26	Woolworth, James M.....	30
Woodward, Franklin S.....	30	Wright, Slocum.....	32
Woodruff, Geda.....	19	Wright, Harvey.....	16
Woodruff, Mrs.....	19	Wright, Marinda.....	20
Woolworth, Mrs. Sophia (S.		Wright, Albert W.....	32
B.).....	22		
Woolworth, Mrs. Mary.....	25		
Woolworth, Louisa C.....	25		
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NOTE.—The Enumeration of Members on pages 33 and 34, includes those who have been excluded from the church and whose names do not appear in the Catalogues.

## MODE OF ADMISSION.

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Persons uniting with the church are requested to hand to the pastor their full names carefully written out ; if married females or widows, the names of their husbands also. If by profession, they are requested to state whether they have been baptized.

You will listen to the reading of the

## CONFESSION OF FAITH.

ART. 1. You believe that there is one only living and true God, existing from eternity, possessed of all possible perfections, the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of all things.

ART. 2. That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God ; the only unerring rule of faith and practice.

ART. 3. That there are three Persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost ; and that these three are one God, the same in substance, equal in power and glory

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### PROOF, AND NOTES.

ART. 1. Rom. i. 20. Deut. vi. 4. Ps. xc. 2. Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7. Neh. ix. 6. Dan. iv. 35.

ART. 2. 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. 2 Pet. i. 21—iii. 16. Isa. viii. 20.

ART. 3. *Three Persons*—not three distinct beings, (for God is one,) but a threefold mode of existence and action ; corresponding in some respects to the distinct agency of three different persons. We cannot tell *how* it is, nor can we tell how God exists from eternity, nor how he is every-where present. All we know is the fact. So here, all that we know is, that God's nature and mode of action is such as to render proper the language applied to him in the Bible ; the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. The Son and the Spirit are in some respects distinct from the Father ; yet, each is truly God ; and these three are truly one. There is no absurdity in this doctrine, when we remember that God is believed to be One in a different sense from that in which He is Three. Matt. xxviii. 19. 2 Cor. xiii. 14. John i. 1, 14. Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 20. Acts v. 3, 4. Heb. ix. 14.



ART. 4. That God worketh all things after the counsel of his own will; and that he executes his purposes in creation and providence, in a manner consistent with the freedom and accountability of intelligent beings.

ART. 5. That God made man at first in his own moral image, under the Law, as a covenant of works, and constituted him therein the federal head of his posterity.

ART. 6. That man fell from the state wherein he was created, and that since the fall all mankind, by nature, are totally depraved, and justly exposed to the wrath and curse of God forever.

ART. 4. *Worketh all things*—exerts a governing and controlling agency over all beings and events, so that all his plans are accomplished and nothing takes place contrary to his designs. If any thing could take place without his permission or contrary to his designs, then God might be disappointed and his counsel defeated. But this is impossible. Isa. xlv. 10. Matt. x. 29. Eph. i. 11. Acts xvii. 26. Rom. xi. 36. 1 Pet. ii. 8. Prov. xxi. 1. This purpose and agency of God is perfectly consistent with the freedom and accountability of his intelligent creatures. For he has made them free agents, and it is by means of their free agency that many of his plans are accomplished; e. g. the exaltation of Joseph, the crucifixion of Christ, the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. They always act in view of motives; and the presentation of these motives depends on God's providence. Would Joseph's brethren have sold him, if there had been no Ishmaelites to buy, or if they had not come along that very day? And yet they acted freely, and accomplished God's plan. See Gen. xlv. 5, & i. 20, & xlii. 21, 22. The crucifixion of Christ was expressly decreed and predicted hundreds of years before hand. Yet the Jews acted freely and wickedly in bringing it to pass. Luke xxi. 22. Acts ii. 23. Matt. xviii. 7. Isa. x. 5—7. 2 Sam. xxiv. 1—16. It does not follow from this that God is the author of sin, or that he is ever pleased to see men break his laws. James i. 13, 14. The relation of God to human temptation may be seen in part from the first and second chapters of Job.

ART. 5. *Moral image*—created him a perfect moral agent, and caused him to exercise the affections of a holy being; *federal head*—the head of the race, the original father of the human family, the man with whom the first covenant was made, in whom the question was to be tried for the race, whether man, created in innocence, would obey God or rebel against him. Gen. ii. 17, & i. 27. Eccl. vii. 29. Gal. iii. 21. Rom. v. 12.

ART. 6. *Fell*—Gen. iii. *By nature*—Gen. v. 3. Eph. ii. 3. *Totally depraved*—entirely destitute of holiness and inclined to all evil. This does not imply that all are as bad as they might be, for "*evil men were worse and worse*," nor that all are equally bad, for some are much greater sinners than others; nor that men are destitute of all good qualities, such as men call good and such as tend to promote the happiness of community; nor that they have no conscience, reason, or judgment, or ability to do right, for all these they possess. To be totally depraved, is to be totally destitute of holiness, of feelings and actions morally good and acceptable to God; to have a heart alienated from God, and inclined only to evil. All mankind are thus depraved, for,

ART. 7. That God foreseeing this state of sin and ruin, did, from all eternity, provide a Savior, his only begotten Son, who, in the fullness of time, became incarnate, fulfilled all righteousness, and by his sufferings and death made complete atonement for sin.

ART. 8. That exclusively on the ground of what Christ hath done and suffered, all who cordially receive him, obtain the forgiveness of their sins, and are accepted as righteous in the sight of God.

ART. 9. That salvation is freely offered to all; but inasmuch as all naturally refuse to accept it, God does, by the special influence of his Spirit accompanying the ministration of his word, bring to the exercise of repentance and faith those whom he chose in Christ unto eternal life before the foundation of the world.

ART. 10. That all true believers will be enabled, by the grace of God, to persevere in faith and holiness unto everlasting life.

ART. 11. That Christ having a Church in the world, hath appointed ordinances for its instruction and edifica-

naturally, they have not the love of God in them. John v. 42. Jer. xvii. 9. Rom. iii. 23, vii. 18, & viii. 7, 8. Heb. xi. 6. 1 Cor. ii. 14. Col. ii. 13. Eph. ii. 1—3. Rom. iii. 9—18, & v. 12. Ps. lviii 3, & li. 5. Rom. vi. 23. Gal. iii. 10. James i. 15.

ART. 7. Isa. liii. John iii. 16. 1 John iv. 9, 10. Rom v. 8. Rev. v. 9, & vii. 14, & i. 5. 1 Pet. i. 20, & ii. 24.

ART. 8. Rom. iii. 23—26. Acts xiii. 38, 39. Rom. iv. 1—25, & v. 1—11. Heb. v. 9. Phil. iii. 9. Rev. vii. 9—17. Yet none can obtain this free salvation but such as have a faith which produces sincere and uniform obedience. 1 Cor. xiii. 2. 1 Tim. i. 19. James ii. 18, 22. 1 John iii. 3.

ART. 9. *Offered to all*—Isa. lv. 1. John iii. 16. Rev. iii. 20, & xxii. 17. *All refuse to accept*—Luke xiv. 18. John iii. 19, & v. 40. *God does, &c.*—John vi. 44. Rom. viii. 29, 30. Eph. i. 4, 11, & ii. 8—10. 2 Thess. ii. 13. 2 Tim. i. 9. 1 Pet. i. 2. This is the whole of the doctrine of election. Christ has died for all; and through him God offers everlasting life to our entire race. But all reject the overtures of mercy. Foreseeing this, for reasons known only to himself, he determines to bring to bear upon certain individuals, such special influences as shall be effective in bringing them to Jesus. The *eternity* of the election, so strongly affirmed in Scripture, is no essential part of this peculiar doctrine; for since God is omniscient, he can get no new views, and therefore forms no new purposes. Whatever he purposes, he must have purposed from all eternity.

ART. 10. Job xvii. 9. Ps. xxxvii. 23, 24. Matt. xxiv. 24. John vi. 39, and x. 27—29. Rom. viii. 30, 38, 39. 1 Cor. x. 13. Phil. i. 6.

ART. 11. *A Church*—Matt. xvi. 16. 1 Tim. 3. 15. *Baptism*—Matt.

tion, particularly the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; the former of which is to be administered both to believing parents and their infant children.

ART. 12. That the first day of the week is the christian Sabbath, which is to be sanctified on the authority of the fourth commandment; and that public worship on this day, and family worship morning and evening on all the days of the week, are important christian duties.

xxviii. 19. The *mode*, whether by sprinkling, pouring, or immersion, is not prescribed. Either is truly Christian baptism. No argument advanced for exclusive immersion is valid. The word translated *baptize* is sometimes used in the original language where it cannot mean immerse. Take, e. g., Dan. iv. 33. "And his (Nebuchadnezzar's) body *was wet* with the dew of heaven." In the Greek of the Septuagint, which our Lord and his apostles habitually quoted, it is said, "His body *was baptized*." (Eba<sup>ph</sup>e.) Could it have been immersed in the dew? In Mark vii. 4, is mentioned, "The washing of cups, and pots, and brazen vessels, and tables," (or, as it is in the margin, "*beds*.") In the Greek, "the washing" here spoken of is "*the baptizing*." It is not conceivable that immersion was meant. John's baptism, whatever may have been its mode, (and a painting preserved in the catacombs of Rome from the ages of the earliest persecutions, shows that it was *by pouring*,) was not *Christian baptism*. See Acts xix. 1—5. And the baptism of our Lord has no bearing whatever on this point. It had not the slightest relation to the baptism of a *guilty soul in the name of the sacred Trinity*. The case of Philip and the Eunuch, so often alluded to, (Acts viii. 38) proves too much. If it shows that the Eunuch was immersed, it shows that Philip was *at the same time*. For "*They went down both into the water, both Philip and the Eunuch*." Besides "*into*" often means *unto* or *to*. See Matt. v. 1. In Matt. xvii. 27, the word which is translated "*to the sea*," is the same in the Greek as that which in Acts viii. 38, & Matt. v. 1, is translated *into*. Peter, in fishing, was not surely to plunge himself into the sea. They may have gone to the water for a single handful. At 1 Cor. x. 2, the Israelites are said to have been "*baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea*." Only the *Egyptians* were immersed in the sea, however. The three thousand, on the day of Pentecost, could not have been baptized by immersion, for there was no stream sufficient for baptizing so many in so short a time any where near Jerusalem. And their infant children—Baptism is the rite of initiation to the Church, and the seal of faith. Circumcision, under the old dispensation, was the same, (See Rom. iv. 11,) and it was administered to the children of believing parents. Christ changed only the rite, not the subjects of its administration. See Acts ii. 39, & xvi. 15, 33 1 Cor. i. 16. The Lord's Supper—1 Cor. xi. 23—26.

ART. 12. The Sabbath was instituted in Paradise, and of course designed for the whole human race. The fourth commandment was written on stone like the rest, and designed to be perpetual. The essence of the command is, that every *seventh day* shall be kept holy. The recognition of the existing fact that the seventh day of the week was the Sabbath, is merely incidental. A change in the day leaves the command just as binding as ever. The change of the day is indicated. Luke xxiv.

ART. 13. That at the end of the world the dead will be raised, and all mankind be judged in righteousness by Jesus Christ, who will doom the wicked to endless punishment, and receive the righteous to the glories of his eternal kingdom.

All this do you steadfastly believe ?

Baptism will here be administered to those who have not already received it.

Those who have been baptized in infancy will assent to the following Acknowledgment.

You do now acknowledge as valid the ordinance of baptism administered to you in infancy, by which your parents gave you up in solemn consecration to God, and you profess all the truths and, as far as you are concerned, assume all the obligations set forth and undertaken thereat, and by your own act you do here solemnly confirm the dedication of yourself to the service of the Triune God.

Those who unite with the church on profession of their faith will assent to the following

## COVENANT.

Sensible that all things are naked and open unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do, and that it is a solemn transaction to enter into covenant with God, yet encouraged by his mercy, and influenced by his authority as exhibited in the Gospel, you do, as you sincerely hope, give up yourself to him through Jesus Christ.

You humbly ask of God the forgiveness of your sins, through the atoning sacrifice of his Son, and accept of him with all your heart as he is offered to sinners in the Gospel.

You choose the Lord for the everlasting portion of your

1 John xx. 1. 19, 26. *Eight days after*, means on the eighth day, the next first day of the week. Acts ii. 1. Pentecost was fifty days after the passover ; of course the first day of the week. Acts xx. 7. 1 Cor. xvi. 2. Rev. i. 10. *Public worship on that day*—See examples of the Apostles, above. Heb. x. 25. *Family worship every day*—"Give us this day our daily bread." No community can use this prayer daily but those who are daily together, as are families. Jer. x. 25.

ART. 13. John v. 28, 29. Acts xxiv. 15, & xxvi. 8. 1 Cor. xv. 21—52. Acts xvii. 31. Rom. xiv. 10—12. Jude vi. Rev. xx. 11—13. Matt. xxv. 31—46. Rev. vii. 15—17, & xxii. 11—15. 2 Thes. i. 8, 9. 2 Pet. ii. 17. Jude vii. 13. Matt. xii. 31, 32. Mark xiv. 21, & ix. 43—48.



soul, and engage by his grace to walk before him in obedience to his commandments all the days of your life.

In dependence on Divine aid, you will forsake your sins, renounce the vanities of the world, deny all ungodliness, and demean yourself towards God and man as becometh a follower of Christ.

And while God's providence shall continue you among us, you covenant and promise that you will walk in communion with this church, submit to its discipline, seek its prosperity, bear your due proportion of the expense of its ordinances, and be religiously concerned in all things to adorn the doctrine of God our Savior.

With reliance upon divine aid that in all this you may be faithful do you solemnly covenant?

Those who unite by certificate from other churches will assent to the following covenant:

You do now enter into solemn covenant with this church. You here renew those engagements by which you first publicly dedicated yourself to the service of God and united yourself to his visible people, and you covenant, in particular, to walk in fellowship with this church, to watch over its members, and submit to discipline as here administered, to sustain its meetings, to bear your due proportion of the expense of its ordinances, and in all things to study its peace, purity and prosperity, and the glory of the most high God.

The church will rise.

We then, the members of this church, cordially receive you to our communion, and recognize you as a member, entitled to all the privileges of the church of Christ; and we promise on our part, faithfully to discharge towards you the duties which devolve on us, as brethren and sisters in the Lord. May God give us grace to be faithful in this our covenant through Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Lord bless you and keep you, the Lord make his face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you, the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace.

Now unto him who is able to keep you from falling, and to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God, our Savior, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. AMEN.



## THE BAPTISM OF CHILDREN.

In presenting children for baptism, parents are requested to hand to the pastor the full name, both of the children and themselves, distinctly written out.

For this child I prayed ; and the Lord hath given me my petition which I asked of him.

Therefore also have I lent him to the Lord ; as long as he liveth he shall be lent to the Lord.

Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not ; for of such is the kingdom of Heaven.

I will establish my covenant between me and thee, and thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant ; to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.

I baptized also the household of Stephanus.

And this I say, that the covenant that was confirmed before of God in Christ the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect.

For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, as many as the Lord our God shall call.

And if ye be Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed and heirs according to the promise.

## THE COVENANT OF PARENTS.

In presenting this child for the sacred ordinance of baptism, you are understood to profess a desire to dedicate it, as is your duty, to the service of the Triune God ; you are understood to profess also the belief that it is by nature a child of wrath, needing the washing of the blood of Christ and the renewing of the Holy Ghost. You present it nevertheless with faith in the promises of God, which are to you and to your children through the covenant to Abraham, the Father of us all.

And with reliance upon divine aid, you solemnly pledge yourselves to teach it to read the sacred Scriptures, to instruct it in the principles of our holy religion, to pray with it and for it, to set before it an example of consistent Godliness and by all the means of God's appointment within your power so to bring it up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord that it may become a polished stone in his glorious temple, the church, on earth and in heaven.

Do you thus profess and promise ?

The ordinance will here be administered.

The church will rise.

And we the members of this church solemnly promise to watch over this child in the Lord, to follow it with our prayers and with efforts for its salvation, to aid these pa-

rents in the mighty obligations which they have now assumed, and if they shall be taken from it ere it shall arrive at years of maturity to count it a special trust in the household of Christ.

And may that Jesus who, when on earth, took little children up in his arms, put his hands upon them and blessed them, bless this little one; and may the God of Abraham, the God of our covenant, keep you all unto everlasting life through the riches of his grace in Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

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## STANDING RULES OF THE CHURCH.

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I. This church is essentially Congregational in its organization; consequently all legislative and judicial power belongs to the members of the church in their collective capacity, subject only to such control as shall be voluntarily submitted to by the church.

II. The church being connected with Cortland Presbytery, on the plan of union, will submit their records for revision and admit appeals to that body from those members who choose to make such appeals, with the understanding that no appeal shall be carried higher than to presbytery; and that those who conscientiously prefer a mutual council shall be sustained in the enjoyment of that privilege.

III. The executive business of the church is committed to a standing committee, consisting of the pastor, deacons, and such number of brethren as the church shall annually appoint to this service. The duties of said committee shall be,

1. To watch over the conduct of church members and prepare cases of discipline, so far as to see that the previous steps are taken.

2. To superintend the financial concerns of the church, make appropriations for incidental expenses and the relief of the poor (not exceeding five dollars for any object) and recommend to the church such larger appropriations as they may deem expedient.

3. To exercise a brotherly care over the members of other churches residing within our bounds, and over our own members residing in other places; and see that the rules of the church are complied with.

IV. No complaint can be received against any member of the church unless presented by a member in regular standing, or by the

standing committee. But it is the duty of members when they hear reports from those out of the church unfavorable to the character of any brother or sister to take notice of the same, and if they see cause, bring the matter before the church. In all cases, except those of public and notorious scandal, the previous steps shall be taken according to Matt. xviii. 13-17.

V. If any member has aught against another member, or shall hear anything prejudicial to his christian character, and shall neglect or disobey the command of the Savior given in the 18th chap. of Matthew to go to him alone and tell him his fault (instead of spreading it abroad) he shall be liable to discipline.

VI. In conducting the discipline of the church the rules of the book of discipline of the Presbyterian Church shall be conformed to except so far as they may be inconsistent with the essential principles of Congregationalism, or with any special rule of this church.

VII. Any member proved guilty of disciplinable offenses or of heresy, and not satisfying the church as to their penitence shall be dealt with by suspension or excommunication according to the nature of the case. But no sentence of suspension shall extend beyond the period of six months. Nor shall any person be excommunicated for heresy until after the first and second admonitions.

VIII. In all cases of excommunication or of the confession of public offenses, the result of the action of the church, or the confession, shall be read by the pastor in the house of God on some subsequent Sabbath.

IX. No member ought to withdraw from communion on account of offensive conduct in another, but to take the regular steps for bringing such person before the church. If the offense cannot be proved by at least one unprejudiced witness the person offended ought to let the matter drop.

X. It is the duty of the church to see that the poor brethren and sisters do not suffer want, that orphan children of the church are provided for and religiously educated, and that parents instruct and govern their children according to their baptismal vows.

XI. Persons desiring admission to the church (if their examination be sustained by conference or committee) shall be propounded usually two weeks previous to their admission. The vote shall be taken in regular church meeting. Letters from other churches recommending persons to communion shall be read in public or in church meeting usually two weeks before they are received, and if no objection is made they shall be admitted. When objection is made to the admission of an individual to the church, and the pastor is not satisfied that the objection is valid, he shall submit it for decision to the church.

Requests for letters of dismission shall be presented and acted upon at the regular meetings of the church, or else publicly notified on the Sabbath; and letters granted after the expiration of two weeks, if no objection is made by any member of the church; but

if objection is made, it shall be referred to the church in regular meeting.

XII. Members of other churches of Christ, whether of our own or other denominations holding the same fundamental doctrines with ourselves, and conducting themselves as christians, shall be invited to occasional communion at the Lord's table. But when such persons continue to reside and commune with us for more than one year, they shall be required to bring a certificate of their regular standing from their respective churches or else give a reason for their neglect.

XIII. Members of this church removing to other places so as to be absent from our worship and communion, are required to report themselves within one year from the time of such removal, either asking for letters of dismission or assigning reasons for wishing still to continue in our connexion.

XIV. If any member of the church shall be absent from the bounds of the congregation for more than one year without reporting himself, it shall be the duty of the pastor and deacons to make diligent inquiry with regard to him, and if nothing satisfactory can be ascertained and the church shall not decide to act otherwise, the watch of the church shall be withdrawn from him, the fact shall be recorded, and he shall no longer be regarded as in regular standing. This course, however, shall not in any respect release the individual from his obligations to the church.

XV. The use and traffic in intoxicating drinks as a beverage is regarded by the church as an immorality; therefore no person can be admitted as a member who does not declare a purpose to abstain from such use and traffic, and every member who transgresses this rule is liable to discipline.

XVI. The following questions of christian duty have been decided by resolutions of the church, and it is expected that the members will conform to them.

1. That dancing, attending balls and other scenes of vain amusement, is improper and unchristian.

2. That taking more than legal interest for the use of money loaned cannot be justified on christian principles.

3. That buying securities and other similar modes of speculation, when so conducted as to oppress the poor and the unfortunate, is inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel.

4. That all unfair dealing, and all taking undue advantage of a neighbor's necessity in buying and selling, are inconsistent with the rules of Christ's kingdom.

5. That it is inconsistent with the christian profession to visit the Post Office on the Sabbath.

6. That no head of a family can fully discharge his obligations to God, to his family, or to the church, who does not pray with his family every morning and evening.

## RULES FOR CHURCH MEETINGS.

I. The pastor, or in his absence, the senior Deacon is *ex-officio* moderator in Church Meetings. In special cases the Moderator may be excused and a neighboring minister or a private member appointed Moderator *pro tem*.

II. The standing Moderator may call a church meeting at any time by giving public notice on the sabbath—provided the circumstances are such as to warrant the belief that notice will thus be generally conveyed to the members. Should he refuse to call a meeting when requested, any five brethren shall have power to warn a meeting in his stead.

III. The members in speaking shall address the Moderator, and no member shall speak more than twice on any question without leave.

IV. No member shall leave a meeting held for the transaction of business, without permission from the Moderator or the church.

V. Every question shall be decided by a majority of votes of the male members of the church present at a regular meeting, who are over twenty-one years of age.

VI. There shall be a meeting of the church on Thursday afternoon of each week. But unless otherwise demanded by the emergencies of the case the business of the church shall be transacted only on the last Thursday of each month.

VII. The annual meeting of the Church for electing the Standing Committee, temporary and other officers of the church, auditing the accounts of the Treasurer, disposing of the pecuniary concerns of the church, making statistical reports to the Presbytery, &c., shall be held on the last Thursday in March.

### MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION.

The Lord's Supper is administered in this church on the first Sabbath of January, March, May, July, September and November.

A Preparatory Lecture is attended on the Saturday afternoon previous to each communion.

Children may be presented for baptism at the Preparatory Lecture or at the Communion Season.

At each communion a collection is taken up for the poor of the church, &c.

The annual collections for benevolent societies are taken up as follows :

For the Home Missionary Society in February.

For the Education Society in May.

For Foreign Missions in July.

For the American Tract Society in September.

For the American Sunday School Union in October.

For the American Bible Society in December.

The time for other benevolent objects is regulated by circumstances.

FINIS.











